JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1883—1884.

VOLUME VIII.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

"The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology."

COLOMBO:

GEORGE J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.

1886.

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ERRATA.

JOURNAL, Vol. VIII., No. 28, 1884 :—

Page 242, line 8 from bottom, *for* "Sumaṇgala Unnánsé" *read* "Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha."

JOURNAL, Vol. VIII., No. 29, 1884 :—

Pages 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343—head-line should read "Threshing-floor Language."

Pages 393, 395, 397, in head-line, *for* "Balaṇgoḍa" *read* "Bogawantaláwa."

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

(CEYLON BRANCH.)

SIṆHALESE BIRD-LORE.

By W. Knight James, F.R.G.S., F.R. Hist. S.

(Read 23rd October, 1883.*)*

Amongst a simple rural population, such as the Siṇhalese villagers and cultivators are, one would naturally expect to find that the wild animals with which they were familiar should give rise to various superstitious stories and sayings. More especially would this be the case with those which they regarded particularly as either their friends or foes, or whose peculiar habits and characteristics came most frequently under their observation. This tendency amongst the Siṇhalese has been still further increased by their belief in the doctrine of transmigration, and in devil-worship and propitiation. The feathered-race has come in for at least its fair share of legend and superstition. In this Paper it has been my object to put together such jottings of Siṇhalese bird-lore as I believe have not for the most been previously known.

The Magpie Robin (Copsychus saularis), Siṇ. (Low-country) *Pol-kichchá,* "the cocoanut-bird;" (Kandyan) *Pahan-kichchá,* "the dawn-bird." Although the song of this bird in early morning and the evening is clear and sweet, it unfortunately has another less melodious one during the day, which is thought to resemble the ominous word "*miyachchi,*" "dead." This appears to have established it as a bird of ill-omen, and by the country people

it is regarded frequently with a kind of horror. Its voice is said to announce bad news. It is believed to be an incarnation of the demon *Huniyan-yaká*, and to bring with it misfortune to the healthy, and death to the sick. It is not an unusual thing for the villager to pelt it with stones away from the neighbourhood of his house and garden, and it is the greatest misfortune if it should build its nest within the precincts of the cottage.

The Black Robin (Thamnobia fulicata), Siṅ. *Kaḷu pol-kichchá.* The body of this bird is used as a charm in the incarnation of *Maha-Sóhon-bandhana* (the binding of Maha-Sóhona (the vampire demon), and of *Kaḷu-kumára-anduna* (the producing of desire). The preparation is as follows: A king-cocoanut is taken and a hole made in it; the water is then emptied out, and the dead body of the little bird is placed therein. It is then buried in the earth, where it remains for three months, after which it is disinterred and the putrid pulp and body of the bird are placed together in a chatty and taken to the burial ground, where a fire is made, and the oil extracted with the greatest care, lest the demon, in order to avert the charm, should spill it. Very often, it is said, that notwithstanding every precaution, the *yaká* manages to overturn the vessel. In order that, if such is the case, some portion of the oil may be recovered, leaves are placed round the fire to catch the precious particles.

The Indian Koel (Eudynamys honorata), Siṅ. *Kohá*, from its note. This bird was called by the Eḷu poets *Paraputu* (lit. 'that which is nourished by others'), from the habit it has in common with other cuckoos of laying its eggs in the nests of other birds. Its loud, though not unmusical, voice appears to have excited their admiration. The Siṅhalese say that although this bird is too lazy to build its own nest and bring up its young, it wishes to have its progeny when the trouble of rearing them is over, and they imagine its peculiar cry to be "*daruwá-ko? daruwá-ko?*" "Where is my child? Where is my child?"

The King-Crow, or Drongo (Buchanga Leucopygialis), Siṅ. (some districts) *Kawuḍu-panikkiyá*, "the crow's barber;" (in others) *Kapuṭu-bẹ́ná*, "the crow's nephew." This little

bird may be seen continually harassing and "bullying" the crows, frequently snatching a feather from the crow's head. In districts where the first name is used it is said that in a previous birth the drongo was a barber, and the crow a customer who failed to "pay up," and that as a punishment for his dishonesty the former was permitted to continue "dunning" him in his future state. In the districts where the bird is known by the name *Kapuṭu-bẹ́ná* it is said that the drongo is such a cunning fellow that even his crafty uncle, the crow, was never a match for him. Once upon a time the drongo challenged the crow as to which of them could fly the higher, and the challenge was accepted, on the condition that each should carry a certain-sized bag full of whatever material they liked, and that the winner should, as his reward, be at liberty to knock the loser on the head. The crow in his craftiness selected cotton as the material with which to fill his bag, but the drongo, after giving a knowing glance at the weather, filled his bag with salt, much to the surprise of the crow. They had not soared far before it commenced to rain, and consequently as the crow's load got heavier the drongo's got lighter, and before long he had nothing to carry but the bag. It is needless to say that he won, and is making use of the privilege he gained by continually tapping his uncle on the head.

The House Sparrow (Passer domesticus), Siṇ. *Gé-kurullá*, "the house-bird." A Siṇhalese legend accounts for the black patch on the male bird's throat by recounting how a house took fire, underneath the eves of which a pair of these birds had built their nest, and hatched their young. The hen flew away, but the cock battled bravely through the flames to rescue its young ones. In doing so he scorched his throat, the mark whereof still remains to testify to his bravery and paternal love. The building and breeding of the sparrow in the precincts of a house is considered an extremely good omen, and in order to make these birds build, chatties are frequently hung on the walls. If a sparrow should make its nest and rear its young in the building, it is believed that the next child born to the owner will be a boy. Sparrow's eggs broken and accompanied by incantation are used as a charm to stop objectionable tom-tom beating,

by causing the collapse of the instrument; and the shell, reduced to powder, placed on a betel leaf and mixed with some other ingredients, is said to be a love philtre.

THE PARADISE FLY-CATCHER (Terpsiphore Paradisi), Siṇ. *Gini-horá*, "the fire thief"; *Kapu* or *Redi-horá*, "the cotton thief." The male of this bird, probably about the middle of the second year, changes its colour from red to white, and frequently the tail feathers elongate, sometimes before and sometimes after this change. There is a Siṇhalese legend that these birds are transmigrated representatives of human beings, who were dishonest, and the red or white of the bird bears some resemblance to the colour of the articles which were stolen. The names have however no doubt been given because of the appearance which the bird has of carrying away a piece of cotton or a small fire brand when flying through the air.

THE SPOTTED DOVE (Turtur Suratensis), Siṇ. *Kobeyiyá*. The mournful note of this dove has attracted attention, and is accounted for by the following story. A woman put some *kẹbella* berries in the sun to dry, and as she had to go and gather firewood she told her little boy to be sure to watch them carefully. As they got dry, they stuck to the ground and could scarcely be seen. On returning she could not see the berries, and thinking that he had eaten them, she struck her child such a blow that it killed him. Immediately afterwards she saw that the berries were still where she had left them. In her remorse she killed herself and was turned into a dove. She now goes through the world mourning for her child, and crying "*pubbaru puté pú pú*," "Oh! (my) young son!"

THE COMMON BABBLER (Malacoercus striatus), Siṇ. *Demalichchá*, "Tamiḻ bird." The name *Demalichchá* or Tamiḻ bird was probably given to it from the fancied resemblance of a group of these babblers to a crowd of noisy Tamiḻs.

THE PARROT OR PAROQUET (Palæornis eupatrius, P. torquatus, and P. calthropæ), Siṇ. *Labu*, *Rẹna*, and *Aḷu Girawá*. In two of his 550 births Buddha is said to have been born as a parrot. The Siṇhalese attribute the power

of parrots to speak to the honour conferred by Buddha on the family. A common saying is :—

බලලා ඤෑව් ගෑවාම ගිරවාගේ දහඅට බාසේම ඉවරයි.

Balalá ñẹ́v gẹ́wáma girawágé daha-aṭa báséma iwarayi.

"When the cat mews all the parrot's eighteen languages come to an end."

Again :—

රත්රණින් රන්කූඩුව තැනුවත් ගිරව් ලගින්නේ වනාන්තරේ.

Ratraṇin rankúḍuwa tẹnuwat giraw laginné wanántaré.

"Though the cage is made of gold the parrot will (prefer to) roost in the forest."

ගිරවා වාගේ ගුණේ නැහැ.

Girawá wágé guṇé nẹhẹ.

"As ungrateful as a parrot." (Alluding to the fact that, no matter how kind one has been to it, it will fly away at the first opportunity.)

මූ ගිරවා වගේය.

Mú girawá wagéya.

"This fellow is like a parrot." (Meaning either that he is a chatterer or that he is merely an imitator.)

The Red-wattled Lap-wing (Lobivanellus Indicus), Siṉ. *Kiralá.* This bird is the type of watchfulness and faithfulness to its offspring. At all hours of the day and night when its nest is approached it rises with its shrill cry. In some districts there is a superstition that the eggs of this bird, eaten raw, will drive away sleep and induce watchfulness. There is a belief among the Siṉhalese that this bird lies on its back on its nest with its legs upwards for fear the sky should fall and crush its eggs. The same belief is mentioned by Jerdon as being current in Southern India.

In the *Mahawaga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* and in the *Gihi-winiya* or *Singálowádi Súttraya* we find the following stanza :—

කිකීව අඬංච මරීවචවාලධිං
පියං වපුත්තං නයනංවඑකකං
තථෙව සීලං අනුරක්ඛමානකා
සුපෙසලා හොථසදාසගාරවා.

Kikíwa an͡dan̥cha maríwawáladhin̥
Piyan̥ waputtan̥ nayanan̥waékakan̥
Tathéwa sílan̥ anurakkhamánaká
Supesalá hóthasadásagárawá.

"The very pious and revered priests are those who observe the rites (of religion as assiduously) as the *kiralá* guards her eggs, the *samara* deer its tail, the father his only son, and a man who is blind in one eye the other."

In the *Kusa-játaka* of *Alagiyawanna* a similar stanza occurs :—

රකිනා තම බිජුව ල්
කිරල සෙමරෙව් හැමක ල්
පොහො දවස අටසි ල්
රකී නිති පිරිසිදුව පංසි ල්

Rakina tama bijuwal
Kirala semarew hemakal
Poho dawasa atasil
Rakíniti pirisiduwa pan̥sil.

"(She) having become pure in mind and body, observes on *póya* days the eight rites and every day the five rites (as faithfully as) the *kiralá* (guards) her eggs and the *samara* deer his tail."

The Crow (Corvus splendens, or C. culminatus), Sin̥. *Kaputá* or *Kákká*, from its cry *Kátká* (*kát* = "everybody," and *ká* = "eat"), becomes by sandhi *Kákká*. Therefore the crow is popularly said to say *Kákká:* "(I) eat (the flesh of) everybody (but nobody eats mine)."

A common saying is :—

ප්‍රයොගකාරයාගේ බැල්ම කාක්කාගේ බැල්මවාගේ.

Prayógakárayágé belma kákkágé belma wágé.

"A cunning man's look is like that of a crow."

Another :—

මරක්කලයත් කාක්කත් නැතිතැනක් නැහැ.

Marakkalayat kákkat neti tenak nehe.

"There is no place where the Moorman and the crow are not to be found."

And again :—

ඉරටාදුනු කෙළිය නරකෙයිකියා කාක්කත් කීවා.

Iratádunu keliya narakeyikiyá kákkat kíwá.

"The crow even said: 'It is bad to play with bows and arrows.'"

There is a saying concerning persons who have been treated ungratefully :—

කාක්කාට නවාතැන් දුන්නාවාගෙයි.

Kákkáṭa nawáten dunnáwágeyi.

"As they gave lodgings to the crow." (Referring to the Játaka story of the peacocks who gave shelter to a crow, and he in return for their hospitality showed a fowler the way to their roost.)

The greedy and insatiable appetite of the crow is such that in the *Kapuṭu-játaka* it is said :—

රාත්‍රියේ තුන්යමින් එකිඑකී යාමෙක මූර්ඡාවෙති.

Rátriyé tunyamin ekiekí yámeka murchháveti.

"In each of the three watches of a night they faint (for want of food)."

ගිතෙල් ගැල්ලූ පහන්කඩයක් ගිලූකල තෘප්තිනිවාරණ-වෙයි බඩපිරෙයි.

Gitel gẹllú pahankaḍayak gilúkala tṛuptiniwáraṇaweyi baḍapireyi.

"When a rag dipped in ghee is swallowed (his) desire will be satisfied and he will be full."

The Domestic Fowl, Siṇ. *Kukulá* "the cock," *Kikili* "the hen."

A common saying is :—

කුකුළා අඬනකොට නැගිටපන්.

Kukulá anḍanakoṭa nẹgiṭapan.

"Rise when the cock crows."

There is an opinion among the people that at some seasons the cock crows 7½ hours *(pẹyas)* before dawn, and at others 5 hours before. A white cock is looked upon as a lucky bird, and likely to bring luck if kept and reared in a house.

Another belief is that if a white cock is kept in a cocoanut garden the trees will not be attacked by the *kuruminiyá* or cocoanut-beetle.

When a man starts on a journey, if a cock crows it is considered a good omen.

A talkative woman is often compared to a cackling hen.

The Pond Heron (Ardeola Grayi), Siṇ. *Koká.*

The Night Heron (Nycticorax Griscus), Siṇ. *Kana-koká.* The cry of the night heron is said to be an ill-omen and

when its cry is heard as it flies over a house is said to announce death to one of the inmates.

There is a Sinhalese saying—

කනකොකාගේ සුද පෙනෙන්නේ ඉගිල්ලෙනකොටයි.

Kanakokágé suda penenné igillenakoṭayi.

"You only see the white (beauty) of the *kanakoká* when it is on the wing," (*i.e.*, for a person to be seen to advantage he must put forth his powers.)

කොකාට එකවාරයක් නම් කෙකිට හත්වාරයක් එති.

Kokáṭa ekawárayak nam kekiṭa hatwárayak eti.

"For every one chance that the male heron has, the female has seven." (Alluding to the supposed cunning of women.)

කොකාටවාරයක් නම් තිත්තයාටත් වාරයක් එති.

Kokáṭawárayak nam tittayáṭat wárayak eti.

"If the heron has a chance, so has the fish." This probably has reference to the crab story in the *Hitópadésa.*

The Brown Fish Owl (Ketupa Ceylonensis), Sin. *Bakamúná.*—This bird is, if discovered in the day time, frequently subject to the attacks of mobs of crows. The story is told that once the *Bakamúná* was proposed as the king of birds, but the crow addressed his assembled brethren and said, "Our other kings have punished only those who were guilty of some offence, but if you accept the *Bakamúná* as our king the continual sight of his ugly face will be a terrible punishment which will affect equally the innocent and the guilty."

The ashes of the feathers of the *Bakamúná* mixed with the ashes of a human skull and beeswax is formed into an ointment which is used by *Vedarálas* for the cure of sores.

Owls.—The screeching of an owl near a house is looked upon as an ill-omen. If the villager possesses a door key he places it beneath the ashes of the fire, hoping that he will by that means counteract its ill-effects. The bark of the tree taken off whilst the owl is on the tree, but before it has screamed thrice, is considered a valuable charm. Its value arises most probably from the fact that it is next to impossible to cut the bark from the tree without frightening the bird away.

I add two common Siṇhalese bird legends.

1.—The Wood-pecker's tapping.—Once upon a time there was a *Korowaká* (water-fowl) who sold arecanuts. One day he went to his uncle's at *Veḷikilla* in order to obtain a supply. He gathered a large number and packed them in bags. The *Korowaká* then asked some geese to carry his bags to the waterside, and there he embarked with them in the *Kéṛallá's* (wood-pecker) boat. As the boat was overloaded it was before long capsized, and both boat and arecanuts lost. When the two birds reached the shore the water-fowl abused the wood-pecker for taking his property on such a good-for-nothing old boat. "But what," said the wood-pecker, "is your loss to mine? there are plenty more arecanuts, but where shall I get another boat?" Still the wood-pecker is wandering about tapping the trunks of trees and trying to find wood to make another boat. The water-hen is still walking by the waterside crying "*Kapparakaṭa puwak, puwak!*" ("a vessel full of arecanuts"). That the geese deformed their necks in carrying the heavy bags of nuts, any one may see by looking at them.

2.—A Story of borrowed plumes.—Long long ago the Swan-king had a beautiful daughter, and when the time arrived for her marriage he invited all the birds to his house in order that he might choose a husband for her. Now, at this time the Peacock was a very sombre-looking bird, but the *Pitta* was exceedingly beautiful. The Peacock therefore went to his friend the *Pitta* and told him that he was about to solicit the hand of the Swan-king's daughter, and entreated the loan of his beautiful feathers. The *Pitta* consented willingly, but the Peacock was so vain of his plumes, and strutted about in such an absurd fashion before the Swan-king's house, that he was turned out of the assembly. The *Pitta* requested the return of his feathers, but the peacock said: "Everybody knows that this is my dress;" and the poor bird, unable to obtain justice, has since been wandering about the jungle crying "*Mát kiyam, Mát kiyam,*" ("I shall complain—I shall complain"), and he will do so, it is said, until Mayitri-Buddha comes, who will doubtless strip the peacock of his dishonestly obtained finery.

NOTE.

The Eḷu poets, following a Sanskrit model, frequently wrote their poems in the form of *sandésas* or messages, which they poetically imagined to entrust to some particular bird to deliver. The following are the best known of the Siṇhalese Bird *sandésas*.

1. *Mayura-sandésa*, "the Peacock's message." Author not known. From Gaṇgasrípura (Gampola) to the temple of Vishṇu at Devinuwara (Dondra).

2. *Seḷalihini-sandésa*, "the Mina's message." By Srí Ráhula of Toṭagamuwa. From Jayawardhanapura (Kóṭṭé) to Keḷaniya, praying Vibhísana, the presiding deity of Keḷaniya, to give a son to Princess Ulakuda, the daughter of King Parákrama Báhu of Kóṭṭé.

3. *Paravi-sandésa*, "the Pigeon's message." By Srí Ráhula of Toṭagamuwa. From Kóṭṭé to Devundara, asking Vishṇu, the presiding deity of Devundara, to bless the army of King Parákrama Báhu's brother, who was then the Governor of Jaffna.

4. *Kovul-sandésa*, "the Koel's message." By Irugalkula Parivenádhipati, a priest of Mulgirigala, asking a blessing from Vishṇu, deity presiding over the temple at Devundara, upon the Prince Sapumal, the son of Parákrama Báhu, who was then conducting a war at Jaffna against A'ryachakravarti, the King of Karnáta.

5. *Tisara-sandésa*, "the Swan's message" (two.) One supposed to have been written by priest Vídágama of Rayigam Kóralé, author of many other poetical works of great merit. The other, whose author is not known, is characterized by correctness of versification and great elegance of style.

6. *Sevul-sandésa*, "the Cock's message." By Alagiyawanna Mohoṭṭála. Message to god Sáman, sent from Sítávaka to Saparapura.

7. *Girá-sandésa*, "the Parrot's message." By the priest Dharmmaráma. Message to Srí Ráhula of Toṭagama.

8. *Diyasevul-sandêsa*, "the Water-cock's message." By Samarajivali. Message to Vishṇu from Taṇgalla.

The poems are all written after the same fashion, and commence with a poetic description and eulogy of the bird. The following is the Introduction to Toṭagamuwa's *Paravi-sandêsa*, to which I append a literal translation :—

සැරද පරවිඳු සඳ පඬුවන් සුරත් සරණින්
පහළ කිරමුහුදින් සඟ පබල පලු සක්වන්
මිතුරු තුරු සරහණ මමිතුරු නවවසනයුරු
නුබිනෙන සඳෙහි නඳ මඳ මඳ පවනලෙලි
හෙබිපුල් කුමුදු හැඟැනොගතුද අතින්ගිලි
සුරගඟිනල නෙළුඹු දළි සඳ හසැනොවෙන පත
සුදුබුදු නිවෙසිනෙන නොප දැකලෙව් එසඳ
සුදුබුදු රැස් පිඬෙකැයි නොකළෝද පුද
සඳෙකින් නදු නුයනිනෙන මලෙකසුර නුඹේ
සඳෙතින් ලොබින් මටලා නොදැමුද ඉඹේ
නිදුකින් අවුද සකිසඳ අතරමග නුබේ
ඉතිකින් අපට සැපනම් දැක්ම මයි නුඹේ

"Live long! Great and noble pigeon! Thou, who art like unto a conch with coral leaves produced from the milky ocean, in consequence of thy white colour and deep red feet! O my friend! Thou adornest thy friend as early spring adorns a tree. When thou wast slowly moving in the sky and on a very gentle breeze, did not the people seize thee, taking thee for a full-blown white lily dropt from their hands? Did they not approach thee under the belief that thou wast a lotus-bud fallen from the celestial river? Having seen thee coming from the pure residence of Buddha, did not the people make offerings to thee, taking thee for the condensed white rays of Buddha? Did not goddesses kiss thee with delight, mistaking thee for a flower coming down from Nadunuyana Garden of India? Hast thou arrived without accident in thy aërial journey? Noble friend, to us thy sight is bliss."

I add Macready's beautiful translation of the best of the Siṇhalese *sandêsas*, viz., Toṭagamuwa's *Sẹlalihini-sandêsa :—*

1.

"Oh! mayst thou live long with thy kin, beloved
Sẹlalihiniya, *thou* who wisdom hast
Like thoughts of statesmen: *thou* who ravishest
With thy sweet strains of soft auspicious notes!"

2.

"Golden are these limbs, like pollen *golden*
Of full-blown flowers: yellow thy fair beak
As champac buds: thy comely feathers blue
As petals of blue-lotus: wherefore, when,
Like an image flower-wrought, thou comest
Through the sky: have not young goddesses
Placed thee among their long black locks? or bees
In lotus dwelling *oft* encircled thee?
Have not the wood-nymphs thee their ear-drop made?
Hast not met hindrance on thy way, my love?
Where thy affection rests it never leaves
That spot, but there it grows: *then* wherefore seek
We other joys! Enough thy sight for us."

3.

"*Blessed by the sight of thee*, in whom abide
Endearing virtues, like the spotless moon,
Whose shining limbs are delicately *formed*
As the white water-lily, *and* whose voice
Is sweet, *sweet* as the wishing gem, that gives
Both joy and wealth: by sight of thee *assured*
We know that we have deeds of merit done."

THE PAṆIKKANS OF MUCHALAI.

By G. M. Fowler, Esq., C.C.S.

(Read 23rd October, 1883.)

I have been unable to ascertain when or by whom this mode of catching elephants was introduced. There is one family, the members of which boast that they are the lineal descendants of the first Paṇikkan, but I fancy the genealogy is apocryphal. Whoever he was, the first sailor needed a "heart of oak" scarcely less than he.

The equipment of a Paṇikkan is simple in the extreme, and would put to shame an English sportsman who sets out in pursuit of the same game with half a dozen elaborate rifles. It consists merely of a rope of raw hide, about 25 feet long, with a large knot at one end and a slip noose at the other. Besides these ropes, a number of ordinary ropes are carried by the attendants, which are used to tie the elephant after he has been noosed.

The hide rope will stand a great strain, but as might be expected, frequently snaps, and sometimes an elephant will break a dozen ropes before he is safely tied up.

The title "Paṇikkan" is properly applied only to those men who have succeeded in putting the first noose on an elephant which has been ultimately secured.

Each party of elephant catchers consists of four or five Paṇikkans and about twenty assistants and coolies who are learning the art, and who carry spare ropes. When the party has succeeded in approaching a herd of elephants without disturbing them, the Paṇikkans go on in advance, and when sufficiently close alarm the elephants by shouting, and as the herd takes to flight, each singles out an elephant, and endeavours to slip the noose over its hind leg as it runs. As soon as the Paṇikkan has succeeded in getting the noose round its leg, he slips the bight of the rope round a

tree, and makes it fast by passing the knot through the loop. This is done with marvellous dexterity, and the elephant is brought up short with a tremendous jerk, which either snaps the rope, or sends him on to his head ; the assistants then come up, and in a very short time the elephant is made fast with a rope round each leg, and another round his neck.

If the first rope breaks, another is handed to the Paṇikkan, and he pursues the elephant until it is noosed, or escapes into thick jungle where it is impossible for the Paṇikkans to keep up with it.

Sometimes an elephant is savage, and charges instead of taking to flight with the rest of the herd. In this case it is not unusual for one man to stop and take off its attention from the rest, by inducing it to charge him, while he dodges behind trees, and in this way leads it away, while the other trappers pursue the herd. When it is at a safe distance he easily gives it the slip, and joins his companions.

The Paṇikkans are a very fine set of men, physically tall, well built, and muscular, but they are very ignorant and inconceivably superstitious. The forests are, to them, peopled with demons of every kind ; every animal, tree, or rock has its attendant devil, who is dangerous if provoked. This belief is turned to profitable account by certain individuals called "Annávis," who are magicians, and who undertake for a consideration to propitiate the demons who are in charge of elephants.

Every party that starts for the jungle is accompanied by one of these imposters, and in spite of the repeated failure of his predictions, their faith in him remains unshaken. The Annávis are of course fertile in excuses, and there is generally a saving clause attached to each of their predictions.

Before starting for the jungle, the Annávi collects from the members of his party a cocoanut, a quart of raw rice, a large *kuddán* or cake of jaggery, half a quart of rice flour, and a white cock. These things are heaped together, the Annávi says prayers over them, and they are then packed up for subsequent use when an elephant shall have been caught. Besides these things others are required to

propitiate the demons who accompany each elephant. The demons are five in number, and are called Káḷi, Karuppan Kádéri, Kancha Vírapattiran, Narasiṉka Vayiravan.

(I have not been able to find out any particulars as to these demons, and do not know whether they are recognised in Hindú mythology. Káḷi is not, as far as I can ascertain, identical with the goddess of the same name. The Paṇikkans are all Muhaṃmadans, as far as they have any religion at all.)

The sacrifice to these demons consists of a cocoanut, some sandalwood dust, benzoin, three arecanuts, and three betel leaves. These are placed in a heap, and the Annávi offers them to the demons, reciting certain prayers or charms over them. A circle is then formed with a piece of jungle creeper called *pirandaik-koḍi*, and the Paṇikkans and their men take their stand within the circle.

The Annávi breaks the cocoanut, and the result of the expedition is foretold by the position in which the two halves rest on the ground. If the nut breaks into two equal halves, and rest with their convex sides on the ground, a tusker will be caught; if one half has the convex side on to ground, and the other the concave, a female will be caught; and so on. When these ceremonies are over, the party is ready to start, but, in spite of all precautions, the expedition may prove a failure through the machinations of enemies.

It seems that formerly the Annávis alone were able to work charms and counter-charms, but now-a-days they say that any one—man, woman, or child—can frustrate all the efforts of Paṇikkans and Annávis combined. Owing to this, a Paṇikkan will not even punish his child for juvenile offences when he is about to start for the jungle. This change is easily accounted for. Before elephant-catching was stopped by Government, the Paṇikkans were so expert that the Annávi was rarely called on to account for failure, but during the years that elapsed before the restriction was removed, the Paṇikkans lost their skill, and during the last two or three years the Annávis have been hard put to it to find excuses for their erroneous prognostications. It was obviously easy for them to lay the blame on counter-charms,

the old device of the baffled wizard. I have no doubt that as the Paṇikkans regain their skill, the Annávies will regain their power.

There are endless charms employed to bring bad luck to the Paṇikkans. Most of these are common everywhere among the natives, such as tying up a coin in a piece of rag and placing it in the roof of the person whom it is desired to injure, but it is believed that each of these charms works in a different way ; the above charm, for instance, does not prevent the Paṇikkan from seeing elephants, but from catching them. But if one watches the path by which the Paṇikkan goes to the jungle, and then carefully effaces his foot-prints with a piece of *pirandaik-koḍi*, the unfortunate Paṇikkan will wander about the jungle without ever seeing an elephant at all. Another more elaborate and particularly spiteful charm is to invoke the aid of the aforesaid five devils, Káḷi, Karuppan, &c., An offering is made to them of seven arecanuts, seven betel leaves, camphor, benzoin, roasted paddy, and unleavened bread made of grass seeds. The inevitable cock, (in this case a black one,) is sacrificed, and *mantirams* or charms are said over it near the path by which the party went to the jungle. This charm does not prevent the capture of an elephant, but after it is caught it will inevitably die of a peculiar disease, bleeding at the mouth and trunk.

In order to avoid these hostile charms, the Paṇikkans are careful to keep secret the time when they intend to start, and when they do start they set out in the opposite direction to that which they intend really to follow. I have known an instance where the Paṇikkans packed all their ropes, &c., into bags and set out with tavalams of bullocks, pretending that they were carrying paddy; in this case they got safely into the jungle, and captured two elephants in a very short time, —no doubt the knowledge that no one had attempted to interfere with them had much to do with their success ; but any lingering doubts they may have had on the subject of magic must have been for ever dispelled.

After an elephant has been captured, further ceremonies are necessary. The white cock, provided at starting, now meets his fate, and goes into the chatty with the rest. But

if the cocoanut proves rotten, or if the jaggery is bad, the elephant that has been caught will become blind.

It is a very common thing for newly-caught elephants to become blind, owing to want of sleep, and the unaccustomed glare of the sun; so the Annávi in whose charge the cocoanut and other things are, has here a grand opportunity of establishing his reputation as a prophet.

The Annávi's share of the proceeds is, as a rule, 12½ per cent. of the value of the elephant, besides Rs. 10 as fee for his charms and ceremonies. Twenty per cent. is given to the Panikkan who first noosed the elephant, and the balance is divided equally among the rest of the party, the Annávi getting his share in addition to the 12½ per cent. already received. Thus, if the elephant is sold for Rs. 300, the Annávi's total share will amount to Rs. 57, supposing twenty men form the party.*

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* Further interesting particulars of these Elephant-catchers appear in an account communicated through Mr. G. P. Sanderson, Superintendent, Indian Government Kheddahs, to the "*Pioneer*" on September 15th, 1881, and copied into the "*Ceylon Observer*."—*Hon. Secy.*

NOTES ON ANCIENT SIṆHALESE INSCRIPTIONS.*

By Dr. E. Müller.

1.—Inscription of Abhayawaewa.

(Report on Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon (XXV., 1881, No. 3) and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII., p. 223).

dasanawawanne:—"the 19th." The termination *wanne* stands for Skt. *guṇa*. Cf. *tunwanne* (Wadurag's inscription at Polonnaruwa, *Anc. Inscr.* No. 119, A 4); *pasaḷoswanne* (Mahâkalattaewa No. 110); later, *waeni*; in modern Siṇhalese, *weni*. Comp. Childers' Notes, II., 4.

Maendindinne:—old *Majimodini* (Habarane No. 67, 10) = "March—April;" later *maendiniyae* (Parákramabáhu's inscription at Polonnaruwa, No. 137, 37); and present *maendina*.

Bayaéawaew:—for *Abhayawaewa*. The first *a* is dropped as in *bisow* and several other instances. The modern Tamiḷ name derived from this is *Bassavakuḷam*.

Máwaḷ:—most probably from *Mahâwila*, "the great tank," with change of *i* to *a*. At present there is a place called *Mávil* in the Eastern Province.

karwanukot:—the last part = *kṛitvá*; whilst *karwanu* stands for *karuwanu*, an acc. pl. of *karuwa* = *káraka*. Comp. Ambasthala (121) A 47, Wandarúpa (153) 11.

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* In the MS. of these *Notes*, Dr. Müller's transliteration differs from the system adopted by the Ceylon Government (Minute, November 16th, 1869) and followed usually in the C. A. S. Journals, in that he employs the circumflex instead of the acute accent on long vowels, as *â* for *á*, ආ;

also, *æ* for *e̦*, ඇ
c for *ch*, ච
ç for *ṣ*, ෂ
ṃ for *ṇ*, ං

Owing, however, to the want of the necessary type, the *acute* accent is here retained, *ae* is used for *æ*, and *ṇ* for *ṃ*.

wat :—general formative (originally gen.) of the plural. Comp. Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 29.

wadáḷeyin :—composed from *wadáḷa*, past participle of *wadáranawá* = *avadháreti*, and *heyin* = *hetuná*.

kanae :—may be derived either from *skhanna*, "embankment" (as in Habarane, 2), or more probably stands for *koṇa*, "corner."

pahaṇak :—for *páshána* "stone." This is one of the first instances of the so-called indefinite declension in *ak*.

hinwá :—gerund of the causative of *hinnawá*, modern *innawá*.—√ *sad*.

mas = *matsya*; modern *málu*.

maerú :—gerund from *maranawá*. Comp. *naengú* and *laengú* in the inscription of Ambasthala. The termination of this form seems to have been *í* and *ú*, but sometimes also *á*, as it is at present—e. g. *paḷá* and *tabá* (Amb. A 57.) The change of *a* to *ae* in *maerú* and *naengú* makes it probable that originally there was an *i* or *y* in the termination.

kenekun :—Comp. Childers' Notes II., 12.

raekae :—infinitive of *rakinawá*; and *genae* of *genawá*. These infinitives were very common in the 10th and 11th centuries, as can be seen in the inscription at Ambasthala (No. 121).

paetwu :—the same form as *maerú*, with *u* shortened. About the meaning, I am not quite certain.

laddá = Skt. *labdhvá*. Forms of this verb are very frequent in inscriptions, e. g. *ladi* = *labdha* (Mahák. 110, B); *ladi* = *aladdhi* (Mahák. D); *ladu* (Galpota, 148, A 3); *ladin* (Galpota, A 7); and *laddan* (Wewelkaeṭiya, 122, 24; Kongollaewa, 112 C.)

atin :—most probably from *hasta* or *anta*; but the form is difficult to explain. The termination belongs to the ablative. Comp. Minneri (123) A 47.

hanak :—a measure; perhaps = *suvarṇa*. The word occurs in Parákramabáhú's inscription (137) 21 and 31 in the form *hanekhi* and *hanhi*, in connection with *kamaṭa yedí*; but I believe this is rather a derivative of Skt. *çana* "pace," Páli *sanikam*, and modern Sinhalese *haniki*.

máḍae biyá:—?

karawáre (B 5):—read *karawanu*, and comp. above *karwanu.*

kasawa: = Páli *kasáya* or *kasáva* "sin."

kewul: = *kaiwarta*, Páli *kevaṭṭa*, Mágadhi *kevaṭa*, (Cunningham, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 42.) The cerebral *ḷ* seems to be the original.

2.—Kasappá's Inscription at Mihintalé (115).

weherín:—abl. sing. The terminations of the instrumental in *in* or *gen* are also used for the ablative in inscriptions of the 10th or 11th centuries: comp. Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 10. In the oldest inscriptions the ablative is formed by the affix *då* = Skt. *tas* e. g., *padana galida* (Tissamahárâma, 67, 8.)

dunumaṇḍlan:—stands most probably for *tunmaṇḍala*, Páli *timaṇḍala*, i. e. "the robe of the Buddhist priest which covers three circles." Here as well as at Mahákalattaewa (110), it simply means "priest." The form is the acc. pl.

ganná:—comp. Amb. A 48, B 42. This, as well as *wadná*, is a peculiar form of the infinitive, only used in a certain context of words: the common form is *genae.* Most probably the modern infinitives, like *karanne*, are derived from these forms.

mahawar: = *mahápára.*

wadná:—a verbo *wadinawá*, "to enter." Comp. Amb. B 55; Mahák. B; Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 32.

mangdiwa pediwa:—The second part of these two words is derived from $\sqrt{dh\acute{a}v}$; the first part of the first one = *margá* "road," and of the second = *pada* "foot": this word is generally found under the form *piya* e. g., *piyagiya* = *padagata*, (Mahák, C; Amb. B 53.) *Pe* is most probably contracted from *piya*, similarly as in *welanawá* "to dry," older *wiyalanawá.* This explanation seems to me more natural than to recur to the form *peda* in *pedenpeda* (Kávy. III., 4), which looks like a forgery of the Paṇḍits. The word is to be found besides at Inginimiṭiya (113) B 24; Kongollaewa (112) A 16.

waḍatalan:—"palmyra;" composed from *waḍa* "high," and *tal* = *tála.*

pulapan:—"cocoanut" (Nám. 136.) At Mineri (123) A 49, we find *pulup kol*. The word is probably derived from *phala* by the same suffix *p* which we have in *watup* "garden" = *watu* (Kávy. X., 99), Páli *árámavatthu* in Mahávagga III., 5, 6, and in *watup* "wages" (Nám. 209; Gutt. 176; Kávy. XIII., 64), spelt *waetum* at Amb. A 47. If so, the dental *l* is the original.

miwan:—pl. of *madhúka*, spelt *míwan*, Amb. A 50. The older form *madhuka* occurs (Kong. D 4).

sinibalán:—"ferns": comp. *sínidda* and *bolidda*. (Nám. 127; Glossary Dhammapada, 54.)

kapanu:—infinitive of *kapanawá*: comp. Journ. C.A.S. 1879, p. 21. The Amb. inscription has *kaepiyae* in the same context.

kaepu:—gerund from the same root. See above *maerú*.

kamtaen: = *karmasthána*.

genae:—infinitive from *genawá* (Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 39.)

dat:— ?

pawu: = *parvata*.

sangwaella:—nom. from the thema *sangwaeli* = *sanghaváluká* "the ground (lit. sand) of the priesthood," or simply "the priesthood." Comp. Amb. A 39, B 21.

adakkalam:—"½ kalanda." *Kalam* is the Tamil and Malayalim form of the Simhalese *kalanda*, which we find at Mineri (123), A 48. Comp. Gundert's Malayalim Dictionary.

aeti: = *asti*.

kiyaé:—infin. from √ *kath*: comp. *kiyú* (Amb. A 12).

ayat:—"taxes" (Amb. A 52; Dambulla, 143, 7), most probably = *sattva*.

ganmin:—participle from *genawá*. The termination *min* is the old *mána* of the A'tmanepada.

sitiya:—part. from *sitinawá*.

wadálamhayi:—1st pers. pl. of the past tense of *wadáranawá*, "to declare." The terminating *i* is *iti*, and the *y* is inserted; so that the real form is *wadálamha*, which stands probably for *wadálamaha* with an *a* added to the Skt. termination *mas*, and change of *s* to *h*. Similar forms

are *dinamaha* (Tiss. 67, 18); *dunamaha* (W. P., D. 14); *danamhayi* (Gp. B 21.)

ároghya sidhí :—is a tatsama.

3.—Inscription at Wandaru'pa wihára (No. 153.)

paemiṇi :—comp. *paemunu* in inscription at the Ruwanwaeli Dágaba (145) B 25; *pamini* (Gp. B 15.) This is derived from *pa* + √ *áp*, Páli *pápunáti*, with change of *p* to *m*; like Jaina Prákrit *manáma* for *manápa*. The *ae* shows that the forms with *i*, *pamini* and *paemini*, are the original ones; although *pamunu* agrees better with the Páli form. We find two other forms of the same word besides, where the *n* of the derivation is changed to *l*, viz., *paemili* (Mayil. 20, A 4) and *pamili* (Dambulla, 1). These forms would be difficult to explain by themselves; but the context shows that they must be identical with those above named. For the change of *n* to *l*, comp. *pirihelá*, *piriheḷíma* a verbo *pirihenawá* (Nám. 62; Parákramabáhu's inscription 137, 20, 25.)

dewana :—" The 2nd," modern *deweni* (Childers I., 4).

paṭan : = *prasthána*, " since."

sisárá :—gerund of *sisaranawá* = *saṇcarati*. Comp. Gp. C. 2, Ruan. D. 23.

Samanoḷa :—older form for *Samaneḷa* = *Samanakúṭa* " Adam's Peak" (Maháv. 68, 6).

digantarayehi :—from *diç* and *antara*, with change of *ç* to *g*.

satra :—comp. Dambulla, 21; Ruan. D. 14; generally translated " resthouses." At Gp. B 22, we have *dánasatra*, of which a synonym is *kuḍadánasála* (Inginimiṭiya, A 22); another form is *saetraya* (Thúpáráma VIII.), and the Tamil equivalent *cattiram*. About the origin of the word I am doubtful; but I believe it has nothing to do with Skt. *chattra*, " canopy," of which the genuine Simhalese form *sat* occurs at Ambasthala, A 3; Ellawaewa Pansala, A. 12.

naṇwá :—only used with *satra*, and once with *dewálayak* (Gp. B 20). As it only occurs in inscriptions of Niççaṇka Malla we are justified in considering it as a corrupted tatsama—similar to *ruswá* for *rucitvá* (Amb. A. 6)—which replaced the old *laengú* in the inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries. At Amb. B 23 we find a form *nangá*, which

seems to be only a clerical error for *naengû*, (line 24, 25;) but may be also an intermediate state between this and *nanwá* of Niççaṇka Malla's inscriptions.

walaṇ :—"bracelet," Skt. *walaya* (Nám. 169; Gp. A 19, B 22); more modern *wael* (Kávy. XII., 81). The cerebral *ḷ* cannot be accounted for.

nadaḷî:—?

naengî :—comp. *naṇwá*. This form, as well as *naengú*, occurs at Ambasthala (Journ. C. A. S. 1880, p. 11), and seems to be a genuine form; whereas *laengú* = Páli *langhetvá*, and *naṇwá*, are tatsamas.

dukpatun :—acc. pl. = *duḥkhaprápta*.

suwapat : = *sukhaprápta*.

naká : = *nikáya* (Amb. A 20; P. P. 13.)

samanga ; = *samágra*.

dá : = *dhátu*.

kaemaeṭa : = *káma* + *asti*. The *i* of the last syllable has influenced not only the preceding *a*, but also the first one: comp. *kaemae stawunṭa* (Dambulla, 16; Sáhasa Malla's inscription, 156, B. 31.)

baegae : = *baegin* at line 7; the locative used for the instrumental.

kiyaé :—see above Kassapa's inscription, C 3.

gaṇit :—comp. Niççaṇka Malla's inscription at Polonnaruwa 23; Gp. A 17. It is the 3rd pers. pl. of *genawá*; a similar form is *kaenditi* (P. P. 32.)

kaeraewú :—past part. of *karawanawá*.

wehedayi : = *wedayi* (Ruwan. D 10; S. M., B. 16; Gp. A. 21). This form seems to be the original one, and the other a contraction; but I am not sure about the etymology of the word.

piyumak : = *padma*, Páli *paduma*.

saepat: = *sampatti*. Comp. Gp. C 11. A corrupted tatsama of the same derivation is the modern *sanipa* "healthy."

dewá : = *dattvá*, corrupted tatsama derivation from *denawá*; just like *enwá* from *enawá* (Amb. A 58).

utté :—?

sakak : "six," older form *caka* (Hab. 4). This seems to

be a composition of *saka* + *aka* = *aksha*, as is shown by the following *hataraka* and *tunaka*.

paessé : = *paçcima*. Comp. Gp. A. 17.

niyáyen :—comp. Gp. A 17; Ruwan. D 27.

wyawasthá :—tatsama corrupted into *wawastamá* (Mayil. A 25).

4.—Situlpa wihára (16.)

maḷu : = Skt. *kumára*, later *malaṇuwan* (S. M. A 27), modern *malaya*. The cerebral *ḷ* is the genuine transformation of *r*, as *haḷu* for *kshára*, *aetuḷu* for *antara*, etc.

ṭabiya :—Skt. *sthápita*. From this is derived the modern *tibenawá*. In the 10th century we find *tubu* (Mahák.), and in the 13th century we have the following forms, *tabanawá* (Sidat Sangaráwa I., 6), *tabá* (S. M., B. 24.)

aleya :—"canal," Skt. and Páli *áli*, as in *álinsaro daka* (Maháw. I. p. 221; II., p. 195; Ját. I., 336.) We find the form *aḷi* in the inscription at Sandagiri wihára (23); later on *aelu* (Gp. A 20); and *aela* (Nám. 91, S. S. 22.)

akaḷa (Hab. 7): = *akṛita*.

kaṇa :—"embankment," = Skt. *skhanna*.

waya :—another form of *wawi* = *vápi* "tank," which leads immediately to the contracted form *wae*. There seems to be a contrast between the *aleya wawi*, "the channel tank," and the *kana waya*, "the embankment tank;" but it is difficult to say where the difference lies.

mudawatiyaṭa :—most probably from *muc*. Comp. *midinawá* (Tiss. 5).

jinapalisatari :—comp. Journ. C. A. S. 1879 p. 12.

dini :—3rd pers. past tense from *denawá*. Comp. *dinihi* (Hab. 9), *kiṇiyihi* (Tiss. 5.) The *hi* is the termination of the Skt. *s* aorist which was dropped later on. Comp. Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 7.

5. Tonigala (1.)

acagirika and *acanagaraka* :—The second part of these words requires no explanation; the first I consider as an equivalent of Skt. *accha* "clear," "open" as we find it in *acchagalaka* (Maháw. I., 127) the opposite of *rahagalaka*. The signification of these words would be "the open,

unfortified mountain," and "the open town." The opposite of *acanagara* is *tawirikiyanagara*, "the fortified town," Skt. *sthavara*. I give this explanation, with all reserve, as a mere hypothesis.

6.—Gajabáhu's Inscription at the Ruwanwaeli Dágoba, Anurádhapura (5.)

manumaraka:= Skt. *manorama*, is the common expression for "grandson" in ancient inscriptions; modern Siṇhalese *munubura*.

araba:—Skt. *árabhya* "beginning from," that is to say, "others are following." I prefer this explanation to that of some commentaries, which identifies *araba* with *áráma* "garden," ancient Siṇhalese *arub* (Amb. A 18, 46.)

karaya and *rakawiya*:—These are the ordinary forms of the gerund in old inscriptions. Later on the final *a* is dropped and we find *nimaway* (Amb. A 10,) *karay* (*ib.* A 5). Still later the *y* is dropped also and the *a* lengthened instead, which gives us the modern forms.

bajika:—stands for *bajikahi* or *bijakahi* in Meghavaṇṇa's inscriptions at Mihintalé (20), and Ratmalagala (6). Perhaps both readings are incorrect, and we should read *bojikahi*, as we have *bojiya* in the inscription of Habarane (5, 6).

patisawanak:—most probably for Páli *patissawa*, "faith."

tiri:—Skt. *sthira*.

papataka:—most probably = Páli *papatanam*; but the reading is not quite sure.

paṭisatara:—more likely = *pratisaṇskára*, as we find change of *k* to *t* also in *anit* for *anik* = *anyaka*. In this case the translation should be, "having restored the decayed buildings."

dine:—is most probably the same as *dini* at Situlpawihára.

bikusagaha aṭaya:—This is the old form of the dative composed from the genitive in *ha* or *sa* = *sya* + *aṭaya* = Skt. *artháya*.

paceni:= *pratyaya*, later on *pasa* in the inscr. of Lag Wijaya Siṇha (157). For the termination, comp. Páli *apassenam* for *apassaya*.

paribujanak:= *paribhojana*.

7. Alutgal wihára (52.)

bikawawiya := *bhikshuvápi.*

sagawawiya := *saṅghavápi.*

talatarawi ketahi := *tuladháravríhi kshetra,* "the goldsmith's field."

uliwawiya :—most probably the modern *ulu* "tile," "brick" = *ishṭiká.*

wihiraka ketahi :—This occurs again at Ratmalagala, but the signification is not quite clear.

8. Kaikáwala wihára (13.)

jita := Skt. *duhitá* "daughter," Bengáli *jhi* (Beames Comp. Grammar I., 192.) This is the oldest form of the word we have in Siṇhalese; later on we find *du* (Gp. B 3; Saelalihiniya, 36) and *duwaṇiyan* (Wewelk. 34; Kávy. X, 84.) In this latter form the termination *ṇiya* is honorific as in *maeṇiyan* "mother." Another form *diyani* occurs (Gp. B 24; Nám. 154.)

ameti :—a common word for "minister" = Skt. *amátya.*

9. Mailagasṭeta (120.)

kaeta := *kshatriya.* Comp. Ruwan. D 15; Dambulla 9. Another form is *ket.* (Gp. A 16.)

paemili :—See above Wandarúpa wihára.

parapuren (Ell. P.; Amb. A1, 48) *parapurehi* (P. P. P. 1):—This form is always used in the beginning of inscriptions for Páli *parampará* "in succession" (Maháv. I., 218); but later on in the text we find the tatsama form *paramparáyen,* e. g. P. P. P. 62.

baṭ :—"descended from." Part. of $\sqrt{bhranç}$, modern *bahinawá.*

purumuwanaṭ :—dat. pl. of *purumuwa* = *parumaka* (Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 2.)

poḷoyon := *prithví;* also written *poḷowa* (Gp. A 14, E. P. A 7, etc.)

himi := *svámi.*

upan : = *utpanna.* Another form of this word is *upaeni* (Amb. B 21; S. B. M. 2) and *upáni* (Amb. B 9.)

niyae (Attanayála, 15; Nám. 52):—I believe this form to

be an abbreviation of *niyana* =*jñána*, from which also *naena* and *nuwana* are derived.

karaṇḍ (Amb. A 21, B4) :—always used in connection with *nawam* = *navakarma* "repair." The original meaning of the word is "box" or "basket;" but here it means most probably "the inner room of the temple where the ordination of the priests was held," and in the Ambasthala inscription has adopted the signification of "treasury" or "revenue."

utumhi :—loc. of *utu* = *ṛitu*.

mahanam : = *mahanakarma*, later *mahanuwam* (Gp. A 23) "ordination of a priest;" *mahana* = *çramana*, fem. *meheni* (Mahák. A.)

uwanisi :—most probably an old aorist from *upaniçri* "to establish." Comp. *nisi* from the same root, Páli *nissita* (Amb. A 7, 24, 41.)

wawastamá :—corrupted tatsama for *vyavasthá*.

kaerae :—infinitive used as gerund. Comp. the identical passage *vyavasthákoṭa* (Dambulla 10.)

radahara :—"royal taxes."

bili :—"offerings" (Nám. 270) = Skt. *baḷi*.

bun : = *bhagna?* but the meaning is not clear. Comp. *sunbun* on the slab at Kaelani.

waeriyan :—comp. Mahák. C, and Goldschmidt's remarks on the passage.

samdaruwan (Kong. C 9; W. P. D 5; Wewelk. 46; Minn. A 48):—always used in the same context *rada kol samdaruwan*. At Mahák. C we find instead of this *rad kol kaemiyan*, where *kaemiya* = *karmika*. I have no doubt that *samadaruwa* is the same as *kaemiya*, and that we have to translate "the officers of the royal family;" but I am not sure about the etymology of the word = *samadháraka?*

bisamwat :—*bisam* I take as plural of *bisow* "queen," with *m* instead of *n*, the ordinary sign of the plural. For the meaning of *wat*, comp. Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 28.

10. Inginimiṭiya (113.)

sawanaga puridase :—*puridase* is the same as *puradasa* (W. P A 4) "the bright half." As to *sawanaga*, I am doubtful whether it means "the sixth" and is a formation analogous to *dewana*, "second," *tunwana*, "third,"

or whether it is derived from *çrávana*, as Dr. Burgess suggested to me. See Ind. Ant. VI., 68; IX., 271.

mahápaṇan (Ruwan. D 12; Gp. B 4): = *maháprajña*, "the great sage."

paráparawen :—another form of *parapuren* (see above).

dánakuḍasaḷá :—most probably the same as *danasala* in the inscription at Meḍiyáwa (Report XI., p. 6.)

radol (Wewelk. 17) : = *rajakula* "headman."

denamo :—"we give" (Mahák. A; Wewelk. 8; Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 26.)

Hinginipiṭi :—later *Ingini* (S. S. I., 22) "the clearing nut." This seems to be the older name of the present village Inginimiṭiya.

atsáṇi :—the same as *attáṇi* (Mahák. B; Kong. C 13; W. P. D 11) and always in connection with *paerahaer* = *parihára*. The *s* is most probably a blunder of the mason; but *attáṇi* also is difficult to explain. Goldschmidt derived it from *áṭman*, which, however, gives regularly *tuma* in Siṇhalese.

awan :—"market" (Gp. A 20) = *ápaṇa*.

melattina :—generally *meláṭ* (Amb. B 53; Mahak. C; Mayil. A 33; K. M. A 14) "assembly"?

ataṇin nepanná :—"dependent upon themselves;" for Páli *attaná nipphanná*. *Ataṇin* is a regular instrumental of an *a* stem.

paṇḍur : = *paṇṇakára*.

nasná:— $\sqrt{naç}$ "to destroy."

11. Dambulla (143.)

apiriyat : = *aparyanta* "endless" (Attanayála 1); at Devanagala we have *apiriwat*.

ikut : = *atikranta*.

guṇamuḷin uturat :—*muḷin* instrumental of *muḷa*; *uturat* = *atirikta* "exceeding."

Dambadiwuhi :—locative.

an : = *anya*; modern form *anit* = *anyaka*.

pámili :—see above *paemiṇi* (Wand.)

praḷaya :—tatsama. The cerebral *ḷ* is a mistake for the dental.

koṭ ae : = *kṛitvá*, older *koṭ* (Mahák. B; Amb. A 22.)

paramparáyen:—identical with *parapuren*; the second is the correct Sinhalese form, the first a tatsama.

nomin:—"multitude."

gaembara:—modern *jaemburu* = *gambhira*.

teda: = *tejas* "glory."

nisal: = *niçcala*.

dan: = *dána*.

sirin:—instrumental of *çrî*.

Udágal:—"the mountain of the dawn," is generally written with cerebral *ḍ*: e.g. *uḍgalae* (Amb. A 34), but *udágal* with the dental also at P. P. P. 12; Gp. A 12.

mundan: = *múrdhan* (P. P. P. A 12; Amb. A 25, 56). The nasal is inserted as we find it often in Sinhalese.

pat: = *prápta*.

riwi: = *ravi*.

maḍulu: = *manḍala* "like."

satur:—"enemy," pl. of *çatru* (Gp. A 13, B 21.)

anduru: = *andhakára*, "darkness," Máldive *andiri* (Gray 15.)

durulá: = *dúrikṛitvá*, modern Sinhalese *duralu*. The change of *t* to *l* is the same as in *kaḷa* = *kṛita*; but *durulá* is always written with dental *l*. Another derivation given by the commentaries, is from *lanawá*, the same verb which, according to the Sinhalese Paṇḍits, forms the second part of *Síhala* "Ceylon;" but as this verb does not occur anywhere in inscriptions, I prefer the derivation given above.

saet: = *chattra*.

karawuwara:—"Royal revenue," Páli *kara*.

haerae: (Rank. D 2; Gp. A 16,) *haeriyae* (Amb. A 25, 58) a verbo *harinawá*.

diwel: = *jiwel* (Amb. A 45) "gifts of land."

wahal:—"slave" (Nám. 184; Kávy. X, 142.)

sarak: = *çakwara* by metathesis.

pamuna:—?

matuwana:—"future" (Ruwan. D 32): *matu* = *mastaka*; *wana* from *wenawá*.

waḍá genae:—"having increased." *Waḍá* from $\sqrt{\textit{vṛidh}}$; *genae* from *gannawa*. The two forms *genae* and *ganná* are used alternately already in the inscription at Ambasthala

(A 28, B 42; Gp. A 17.) At Amb. A 32 we have *genae* spelt with a cerebral *n*; the form with the dental occurs besides at Wewelk. 30.

maenaewaeyi: = *manápamasti* (S. M. B. 25; Ruwan. D 7; L.V.K.C.)

sitá:—"having thought," √ *cint*, modern gerund with the termination *á*.

mandara:—a measure (Gp. A 17.)

sáka:—"six." See above *sakak* (Wandar. 14.)

kaeti aya:—"the Royal half."

katu:—"thorn" = *kantaka* (Amb. B 46.)

kanu: = Páli *khánu*, Skt. *sthánu*.

bá:—from *bahinawá*. Comp. Kávy. XI, 21.

heyin: = *hetuná*.

haemae: = *sarva* with suffix *ma*, contracted from *saeruma*.

dasakam: = *dásakarma*, "compulsory labour."

kalavunta:—dat. pl. of *kritawán*.

dena: = *jana*.

hira: = *súrya*, modern *ira*.

pamunu: = *pramána*.

weyan:—pl. of *weyá* = *upaciká*, "white ant."

míyan:—pl. of *mí* = *múshika*, "rat."

sopadrawa:—tatsama, "exposed."

talpatae: = *tálapattra*, "palmyra leaf."

líyá:—√ *likh* gerund, modern *liyanawá*.

diye:—loc. of *diya* = *udaka* "water." This word disappeared from the language shortly after the time of this inscription and was replaced by *watura* (so already in Gp. and Thúp.)

haendi:—"surface." Comp. *haenda* = *áchádana* (K. J. 51; Amb. A 10), *haendae* (P. P. 31.)

hiri:—"a line" (Nám. 280; Kávy. II., 28.)

pawatná:—from *pawatinawá*, "to continue."

tambapatae:—*támrapatra*, "copper plate."

hasun: = *çásana*.

liyawá:—gerund of the causative of *liyanawá*.

pawat: = *pravritti* (Nám. 60.)

yálak (L.V. K. B; Ruwan. D 31) and *yaela* (P. P. 50):—

the etymology of the word is obscure.

paedakuṇu : = *pradakshiṇa.*

balá :—"having seen," from *balanawá* = *avalok.*

gaéniya : = *grihiní.*

anaengi : = *anargha*, "priceless."

kumukda :—"what;" *kim* with the termination of the indefinite *ak*. From this is derived the modern *mokada* by apocope of the first syllable.

kiyana :—from $\sqrt{kath}$.

wal : = *vana*, "wilderness."

semehi :—"in peace," loc. of *kshamá.*

tabá :—gerund of *tab* = *stháp*. See above *ṭabiya* at Situlpa-wihára.

dwanda :—?

dewarak :—"twice," *dva* + *vára.*

waeḍae :—"having struck." This word occurs in the form *waedae* with dental *d* (Amb. A 49; P. P. 29.)

ewú :—gerund of the causative of *enawá.*

eḷawá (Gp. B. 9):—a verbo *eḷawanawá.*

genwá :—"having taken," gerund from *genawá.*

waeḍa hindae :—comp. *waeḍaehun* (L. V. K. A.), *waeḍaesitae* (Gp. A 14.) *Waeḍae* is the gerund of *waḍanawá*, which is joined to another verb when a king or person of great importance is the subject.

purá :—"having filled" (Gp. B 6; P. P. 1.)

siwuranga : = *caturanga*, "four-fold."

naewaetae :—from *nawatinawá.* Comp. P. P. 50.

tewaḷá : = *tripiṭaka.* Comp. *waḷá* = *piṭaka* (Amb. A 12.)

wiyadam :—"expenditure" $\sqrt{yác}$. Comp. *yadinawá.*

12. Sáhasa Malla's Inscription at Polonnaruwa (156.)

wirudu : = *viruddha*, "strong," Comp. Gp. B 14.

sakwala : = *cakrawála.*

baéṇan :—"brother," composed from *bae* = *bhrátá*, and *ṇan* the honorific termination, as in *rájáṇan*, *piyáṇan*, etc. This word means "the elder brother," opposite to *maḷanuwan*, the "younger brother." Another derivation is from *bhágineya*, "nephew," but the sense is evidently in favour of the first.

pasu : = *paçcát.*

kípa :—most probably=Páli *kíva* with hardening of *v* to *p.*

gili : = *glána,* but generally *gilan* (Amb. A 11; P. P. 32.)

sanda: = *candra* "moon."

udá :—for *udaya* tatsama.

lat : = *labdha,* generally *ladi* or *ladu* (Gp. A 3 ; Amb. B 37.)

anduruwae :—loc. of *anduruwa,* "darkness."

tubú (Mahák. B):—the same as *tabá.*

ábonáwan :—comp. *bonáwan* (W. P. B 11.)

sanda : = *kshaṇa.*

yedí:—√ yuj, gerund ; other forms of the same are *yeda* (P. P. 25), *yedu* (P. P. 51), *yodá* (P. P. 24 ; Gp. C 7), *yodi* (P. P. 16 ;) infin. *yedenawá* (P. P. 20).

budalnáwan :—stands for *mudalnáwan,* derived from the Tamiḻ *mudal,* "money."

rajahu :—nom. sing., with the termination *hu,* as in *maharajhu* (Amb. A 3) or *maharadhu* (E. P). Comp. S. S. 26.

niyamawá : = *niyamaka,* "steersman."

naewak:—"ship," probably corrupted tatsama.

pawatneyae :—see above.

hobaneyae :—a verbo *hobanawá* or *sobhanawá,* √ çubh. The three forms *hobanayae, pawatnayae,* and *wanneyae* resemble the Páli optative, but are the only forms of this kind I have met in Siṇhalese.

aṇasak : = *ájñácakra.*

wanneyae :—from *wenawá.*

mul:—pl. of *múla.*

wiyaḷak :—"dry land" (Nam. 271 ; Kávy. XIII., 42) Comp. *welanawá,* "to dry."

tenaeyae :—most probably a mistake for *taenaegae* = *sthánamasti,* but the change of *ae* to *e* may be genuine ; just as *ket* (Gp. A 16) for older *kaet* = *kshatriya.*

malaṇuwan :—See above *báenan.*

yawá :—causative of *yanawá.*

waḍá awut:—*waḍá* is the same as *waeḍae* above in the Dambulla inscription, and *awut* = *ágata.*

losasun : = *lokaçásana.*

rakumha:—the same form as *wadáḷamha* (K. M. C. 10.)

baéṇae :—gerund of *baṇinawá*. Comp. Amb. B 2.

waesi : = *vási* "living." Comp. P. P. 40, Gutt. 90.

peraharin :—instrumental from *parihára*, older *paeraehaer* (Mahák.) Here also we find the secondary change of *ae* to *e*.

dekaṭa :—dative of *deka*, "both."

pohosat : = *praçasta* (P. P. 23); later on it was contracted into *pó* (Kávy. X., 89.)

rakná :—participle of *rakinawá*. (Amb. B 37.)

patá :—gerund of *patanawá* = *pra* + *arth*.

sádhá :—"having overthrown" (Gp. B 15. ; P. P. 22.)

punsanda : = *púrṇa candra*.

naengae : = "having risen," infinitive instead of gerund. Comp. above, *naengí*.

páná :—"shining," derived from *pán* = *pahan*, "lamp.'

mohothi :—loc. of *muhúrta*.

muhurdu : = *samudra* contracted into *múndu* (Gp. B 14.)

pásae :—"back" = *prishṭa*.

manga petae :—"finding their way." About the etymology of *petae* I am doubtful.

Tri-Siṇhala :—"the three parts of Ceylon," Máyá, Pihiṭi, and Rohana.

ratpaṭá :—"a red girdle." Comp. *paṭabandinawá*, "to confer a title or office by lying on the forehead a flat piece of gold engraved with the name, title, &c."

situwá :—gerund of $\sqrt{cint}$. See above *sitá*.

mewaeni :—"such"; *waeni* = *guṇa*.

daruwan :—pl. of *dáraka*.

mawunṭa :—dat. pl. of *mawu*, "mother."

waeḍi : = *vṛiddhi*, "increase."

manáwedayi :—Comp. P. P. P. 30.

maéṇiyanṭa :—another form for "mother," with the honorific suffix *ṇiyan*.

gamwara :—This is the older form of the plural instead of the modern *wal*. We find it besides in the inscription of Amb. *pereḷiwar* (A 38), *dáwar* (A 44), *gamanwar* (B 24), and in Námawaliyá *surawara*, *ukulawara*. As to the explanation of these forms compare the Introduction to my "Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon," p. 9.

siyalu : = *sakala*.

sampattiyaṭa :—tatsama. The Siṇhalese is *saepat*.

kaḷawun :—See above.

kiríma (S. S. 10; P. P. 13, 31, 37):—A verbal noun most probably contracted from *kirikarma*, just as *senim*, *siṭim*, &c. (Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 24.)

paridden (Gp. B 8; P. P. 9, 16):—instrumental of *paridi* = Skt. *paridhi*, "according to."

wadálaseyekae :—modern *wadálaseka*. The origin of this honorific form is not quite clear, as we cannot trace it back beyond the time of this inscription.

kí :—gerund from *kiyanawá*, $\sqrt{kath}$.

deya : = *dravya*.

maekuwá :—from $\sqrt{mraksh}$, modern *wakanawá*, "to crush."

kawuḍu :—"crow" = *kapuṭa* (Nám. 142.)

13.—Ruwanwaeli Dágoba, Anurádhapura (145).

sesat : = *çvetachattra*.

gos : = *gatvá*.

sorakam : = *corakarma*.

masu :—See Rhys David's Coins and Measures of Ceylon, p. 23 (note); Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, p. 218.

maeṇik : = *mánikya*.

gaḷawá (Gp. B 24) :—from *gaḷawanawá*, "to loosen."

má :—"by me," instrumental of the personal pronoun.

dun : = Páli *dinna*.

wirulusekae :—"in a heroic manner," *wiru* is Skt. *víra*.

naengemi :—stands for *naengimin*, part. pres. átmane pada. Comp. *ganmin* (K. M. C. 7).

urehi :—*urasi*, loc. sing.

dá : = *játa*.

agamesun :—contracted from *agamehesun*.

woṭuṇu : = *veshṭana*, modern *oṭunna*.

saedi :—gerund of *saedinawá*, "to decorate."

pawatwá :—from *pawatinawá*, "to continue."

daenae :—"knowing," infinitive from "*danawá*," used as a participle.

kiluṭu : = *klishṭa*, corrupted tatsama.

siwuru : = *civara*.

halawunta :—from *harinawá*, "to throw away ;" just like *kalawunta* from *karanawá* in the Dambulla inscription. See above.

katayutu :—"duty" (P. P. 27, 37.)

pilí :—*patiká* "clothes," (Amb. B 8, 21.)

yakada :—"iron," composition with *kada* ; just like *lakada* and *malakada*. The first part of *yakada* seems to be Skt. *ayas* with loss of the first syllable.

dae : = *dravya*, see above *deya*.

palibodha :—"reproach," tatsama.

wurwamaná :—comp. *wurwa* (P. P. P. 55 ; Gp. C 11.)

naé :—"relation" = *napát*, old *napa* (Galwana), later *natuwa*.

siwu : = *catvar*.

pasaya : = *pratyaya*. Comp. *pas* (Amb.)

paturuwá :—gerund from *paturuwanawá*.

wasanaseyek :—See above *wadálaseyek*.

pinisae (L.V.K.B ; P. P. 26.) The origin of the word is doubtful.

satarawannehi :—"in the 4th year."

nikmae : = *nishkramya*.

penena :—from *penenawá*, Páli *paññáyati* (Childers II., 15.)

mánayehi :—"distance."

baesae :—inf. from *bahinawá* used as participle.

maluwa : = *málaka*.

walli : = *váluká*, "sand."

tawaranná :—from *tawarannawá*, "to sprinkle."

atutae : = *ástritvá*.

pudunná :—$\sqrt{\textit{púj}}$. Comp. *pidú* (Gp. A 11) and *pijnúwat* (Amb. A 35.), modern *pudanawá*.

sisárá :—See above, *wandarúpa*.

átapaniwáraya :—"protection from sun," tatsama.

kapura :—"camphor," Skt. *karpúra*.

suwanda : = *sugandha*.

kaluwael :—"incense" (Nám. 132).

gawwak : = *gavyúti*, "a gow."

hátpasin :—"around."

satun :—pl. of *sattwa*.

haekkaeyi:—?

lawá:—from *lanawá* (P. P. 22; Gp. A 21.)

wae: = *waewa*, Skt. *vápi*.

badana:—most probably from √ *vadh*, "to strike, kill."

asá:—"having heard."

Mirisawiṭi:—There is a temple of this name about 14 miles from Colombo on the road to Kandy, but I do not think that this can be the identical one. Another one of this name is at Anurádhapura, but this was built by Duṭṭhagámini.

14. Niççaṅka-Malla's Inscription at Polonnaruwa (149).

piḷiweḷi: = *paṭipáti* (Amb. A 2.)

paelaendae (Gp. A 7; Kávy. X 180), derived from *pilandhana*, Skt. *pinaḥ*.

keremin: = *kriyamána*, part. átmanepada.

wasanaseyek:—See above.

kahawuṇu: = *karshápaṇa*.

gim:—*gríshma*.

niwú:—from *níwanawá*, Skt. *nirvá*. Comp. *niwi* (P. P. 4), *niwa* (Gp. A 19, B 18.)

daekae (P. P. 7):—a verbo, *dakinawá*.

kaḷamha:—This is the first person plural derived from the part. *kaḷa* = *kṛita*; just as *wadálamha* (see above) from *wadála*.

koṭalu:—*koṭa* = *kṛita*, + *lu* from *lanawá*. Comp. S. S. 57.

ganit:—3rd person plural. See above.

dohoyi (P. P. 9):—interrogative particle.

wadáranaseyek:—honorfic instead of *wadála* in the older inscriptions.

aes: = *akshi*.

denná:—"giving," part. of *denawá*.

kaṭayutu:—stands for Skt. *kartum yuktam*, older *katae* (Amb. A 8) for *kaṭa* (Gp. 6, &c.)

kaḷáhu:—3rd pers. pl. derived from the part. *kaḷa*. Comp. above *kaḷamha*.

kaewo:—seems to be derived from *kaewa*, part. of *kanawá*; but this part. I have not found anywhere else.

tumú: = *átman*. Comp. *tuma* (E. P.) *tumaha* (Hab. 7.)

nasiti :—3rd pers. pl. from √*naç*, "to destroy."
ekwu :—"together" = *ekabhúta*.
wisiya :—(Amb. A 20, 43.)
yutteyae :—corrupted tatsama. Comp. Gp. C 15, 22.
siṭiyawun : = *sthitawán*, √*sthá*.
rájawarun; *bisowarun* :—old form of the genitive plural.
taekiya :—a verbo *takanawá*.
pereḷi :—Comp. Amb. A 38; S. S. 14.
kaeṇahilá :—"jackal" (Nám. 141; Gp. C 17.)
gowí : = *gopaka* (Gp. C 15.) Another form of the same word is *gowu* (Amb. B 37.)
waenda :—from *wandinawá*.
laddáhu :—3rd pers. pl. derived from *ladda* = *labdha*.
kíwan : = *kathitawán*.
paemuṇu :—See *paemini* (Dambulla).
karannáha :—future of *karanawá*. Comp. Journ. C. A. S. 1879, p. 27.
soyá :—from *soyanawá*.

15. Parákrama-Báhu's Inscription at the Galwihára, Polonnaruwa (137).

tisa : = *tṛimçat*.
param : = *párami* or *páramitá*.
purá :—"having fulfilled," gerund from √*par*, which is regularly changed into *pur*. Comp. *puramin* (Gp. A 7), *purá* (P. P. 21, 24.)
waeḍaesiṭae :—See above.
sewemin :—from *soyanawá*, part. átmanepada.
niwamin :—part. from *niwanawá*.
abiyes :—"neighbourhood," corrupted tatsama.
Kusinárá :—contracted from *Kuçinagara*.
dhátuwen :—Siṇhalese instrumental, from a tatsama. The genuine word is *dá*.
diwi : =*jívita* (Gp. B 6.)
sára :—contracted from *catvar*, modern *hára* in *wisihára* (Níṭinighaṇḍuwa 5.)
piriwemin :—from *piriwenawá* or *pirihenawá* (Gp. A 15, C 10), part. átmanepada. The *n* is elided before the *m*.

telehi :—loc. of *tala*.

waḍanuwan :—composed from *waḍa* and *nuwana* = *jñána*.

máwaeni :—" like me," composed from *má* and *guṇa*.

kiluṭak :—corrupted tatsama from *klishta*.

nassi :—from *nasanawá*, " to destroy."

sathu :—nom. pl. of *sattwa* with the termination *hu*. See above.

bhága :—most probably tatsama for *bhágu*.

weti :—3rd pers. pl. from *wenawá*.

dahasa : = *sahasra*.

pawatwá :—from *pawatinawá*.

dosenawarjjun :—acc. pl. of a tatsama.

kawurun : = Skt. *katará*.

paridden :—See above.

kerem :—1st pers. sing. pres. of *karanawá*.

dohoyi :—See above, P. P. P. 24.

sitá : = *cintayitvá*.

maeḍae :—a verbo *maḍinawá*.

gatahuṛu :—?

naká : = *nikáya*.

kirímen :—instr. of *kiríma*, verbal noun of *karanawá*.

mahaaegi : = *mahárgha*.

keremin : = *kriyamána*.

eḷabae :—" approaching," from *elabanawá* = *avalamb*.

dhuraḷayehi :—tatsama for *dhuraḷaya* with cerebral *ḷ*. Comp. *praḷaya* (D. T. 1 ; Gp. A 13.)

yodí :—from √*yuj*, generally *yedí*.

alepa and *cajata* :—?

asá :—" having heard," from *asanawá*.

sandahá :—Páli *sandahati*.

wihidae :—from *wihidenawá*, Skt. *viçri*. Comp. *wihida* = *viçirna* (Nám. 114 ; Kávy. IX., 71 ; Gutt. 66.)

deṭu : = *jyeshṭa*.

aturehi : = *antara*.

nisadennaṭa and *mindennaṭa* :—*nisa* = *niçcaya* and *min* = *manas* (Nám. 52 ; K. J. 125). *Dennaṭa* is an infinitive of *denawá* with the dative termination.

wasannawun :—acc. pl. of the part. of *wasanawá*.

pamá : = *pramáda*.

wiyae:—infinitive from *venawá.*

dí: = *dattvá.*

yaeṭat: = *adhástát*, older *yaṭa* (Amb. A 34.)

piriseyin:—from *parisa*, "assembly" (Nám. 16; Kávy. I., 18.)

Kudusikha:—"the Khuddasikkhá," a separate text belonging to the Vinaya literature.

Pámok: = *Pátimokkha.*

sadawana:—part. of the caus. of *sadanawá.*

piriheḷiyae:—verbal noun from *pirihenawá* = *piriwenawá.* See above (Amb. A 15).

yedennawun:—part. from *yedenawá*, √*yuj.* See above *yodí.*

piraewa:—infin. from *pirenawá*, √*par.*

iriya:—Páli *iriyá*, Skt. *iryá.*

pinsuda: = *parisuddha.*

palaha:—?

hunu:—comp. *gatahunu* (13.)

attánam ewa paḍhama parirúpe nivesaye:—Páli quotation. "Let him first establish himself in what is right." (Dhammapada 29.) *Parirúpe* is a mistake for *patirúpe.*

atwaeḍa; *parawaeḍa*:—*atwaeḍa* "profit," from *hasta* + *vṛiddha.* Comp. *atwaṭu* (Amb. A 56), from *hasta* and *vastu.* The meaning of *parawaeḍa* is not quite clear.

sádhamin:—part. of *sadhanawá.*

hena:—part. of *henawá.*

lawá:—from *lanawá*, used in the modern language like a preposition.

sekhiya:—Páli *idem*, Skt. *çaikshya.*

pot: = *pustaka*, "book."

winiça: = *viniçcaya.*

vicála:—part. from *vicaranawá.*

pohosat: = *praçasta.*

menehi karawá: = *manasi kṛitvá.*

hadárá:—from *hadaranavá*, "to repeat."

nimi: = *nirmita.*

uganwá:—from *ugannawá*, "to learn."

yawanu:—part. of the caus. of *yanawá.*

paewaetwiyae :—infin. of the caus. of *pawatinawá*.
heraṇa := *samanera* (S. S. 57.)
keḷa : = *koti* (J. K. 42.)
hikmaewiyae :—false spelling for *ikmaewiyae*, infin. of the causative of *atikram*.
haemmena :—part. of the passive of *han*.
waedae :—infin. of *wadinawá*.
kaṇawaenda :—" widow."
bunangana :—" sister."
sabramsarun : = *sabrahmacárí*.
singáyaṇa :—" begging" (Níṭinighaṇḍuwa 10.) This form is most probably identical with the Sanskṛit *bhiksh*. See my Contributions to Sinhalese Grammar, p. 20.
kiwaewun :—past part. from *kiyanawá*.
behedak : = *bheshaja*.
paewaerú :—gerund from *pawaranawá*.
piritaṭ :—dat. of *pirit* = *paritrá*.
meyin :—instr. abl. of the pronoun *me*.
piṭat : = *pṛishthatas*.
yannawunṭa :—part. of *yanawá*.
dat :—3rd pers. pl. of *denawá*.
dukulá : = *dukkaṭa*.
aewaet :—" guilt" = *apatti*.
poho : = *uposatha*.
danná :—a verbo *dannawá*, " to know." Comp. *ganná*, a verbo *genawá*.
wasawan :—caus. of *wasanawá*.
hun :—part. of *hinnawá*, modern *innawá*.
paewidi :—a verbo *paewidinawá* = *pravraj*.
daekae :—infin., a verbo *dakinawá*.
waesaewiyae :—caus. of *wasanawá*.
nindi : = *nidrá*, " sleep."
sewumin : = *sewamána*.
siriru :—*çaríra*, (K. J. 61.)
maendinayaemae := *majjhunayáma*, "the middle watch of the night."
sampajakuyen :—corrupted tatsama for *samparyanka*.
satapa :—from *saetapanawá*.
aluyaemae :—loc. of *aluyam*, " morning" (Nám. 48.) For the following passage comp. Amb. A 9.

kamaṭa hanhi yedi:—Comp. *kamaṭa hanekhiyedi*. *Han* means "quickness" according to Nám. 26; so the whole sentence most probably signifies "having quickly gone to work."

hindae; sitae:—parts. of *hinnawá* and *siṭinawá*.

sakman: = *cankramanam*.

kirímen:—instr. of *kiríma*, a verbal noun from *karanawá*.

gewá:—gerund from *gewanawá* = *kshepeti*.

puhuṇu:—"lesson."

piriwaha:—Comp. *piriwahanná* (Amb. A 20, B 5; S. B. M. A 3.)

siwuru:—*cívara*.

Sakasá: = *Saṇskṛitya*.

haendae; pirawae:—part. of *handinawá*, √*chad* and *porawanawá* = *parupati*.

daehaeti:—older *daehit* (Amb. A 10) = *danta-kashṭha*, "tooth-cleaner."

kisa: = *kṛitya*.

nimawá:—gerund of *nimawanawá*, older *nimawas*.

aeduru: = *ácárya*.

senasun: = *çayanásana*.

sapayá:—a verbo *sapaçanawá*, "to procure."

kanda:—"food," a verbo *kanawá*.

dawana:—part. of the causative of *denawá*.

hal: = *sála*.

eḷaebae:—See above.

kaenditi:—3rd pers. pl. of *kanavá*.

watáwat:—"attending."

ekbittehi:—"afterwards;" etymology obscure.

pat: = *prápta*.

ikman:—from *atikramaṇa*, "quick."

aetiyawun:—part. derived from *aeti* = *asti;* a contraction of this form is *aetawum* on the eighth pillar at Polonnáruwa, which was misunderstood by Rhys Davids. (Indian Antiquary II., 248.)

sessawun:—"the rest." Comp. *sessuwar* (Amb. A. 45.)

yawá:—gerund of the causative of *yanawá*; *dawasyawá* means "daily."

gihiminis :—"the householders, laymen," opposite to *paewijiyan*, "priests."

saṇsaṭṭha :—Páli tatsama.

poloná :—?

raeswú :—"assembling;" *raes* = *ráçi*.

"*sannipátitánaṇ vo bhikkhave dvayaṇ karaṇiyaṇ dhammi vá kathá ariyová timhibhávo*" :—quotation from Páli.

dekin :—abl. from *deka*, "two things."

piṭat : = *pṛishṭhatas*, "except."

sewiyae :—infin. from *soyanavá*. See above *sewumin*.

ebena :—part of *ebenawá*.

manggi : = *márgagata* (Mahák. C.; Mayil. B. 10.)

pasili :—"ascetic."

pael :—"shrub" (Nám. 260.)

kaepa :—"proper, fit."

laegum :—a verbo *laginawá*.

kipi : = *kupita* (Gp. A. 7.)

keḷi : = *kríḍita*.

tepul :—"talk," "words." (Nám. 59; Kávy. X., 118.)

mawun :—pl. of *maw*, "mother" = *mátá*.

malakuḍu :—"virgin."

ḷadaru :—"child," generally written with the dental *l*. (Nám. 150.)

mahallawun :—pl. of *mahalu*, "old"; Páli *mahalaka* (May.) *mahálaka* (Burnouf, Lotus, 367.)

dawwá (Gp. B 15) :—gerund a verbo *danawá*.

daehaewili :—"great anger," (Nám. 70) derived from *dah*, "to burn."

ayati : = *ádatta*, "belonging."

yakaduru bhallan :—? perhaps *bhallan* is the same as *balikaraya* (Journ. C. A. S. 1855, p. 74; 1875 p. 12.)

genemi :—stands for *genemin*, part. átmanep. of *genawá*.

awaḷawiya :—See above *lawá*.

wigamana :—"departure."

temen :—instr. of *tema* = *stutikarma* (Nám. 259; Kávy. IX., 74.)

ebandu :—"in that way."

mihita := *smita* "laughter."

s í n á :—" laughter" (Nám. 69) ; another form is *sená* (Kávy. XIII 27.)

v i h i d aé :—See above 18.

m u w a : = *mukha.*

s a n h i n d e n a :—a verbo *sansidati.*

" *l e k h a asaṇjantena bhikkhuná*" and " *ámisavtáya lolatá*" are Páli quotations.

SIṆHALESE CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH PADDY CULTIVATION IN THE LOW-COUNTRY.

By H. C. P. Bell, Esq., C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.
(*Read February* 15, 1882.)

On nearly all that pertains to the general process of native tillage in this Island, the curious enquirer need but consult the quaint description given by Robert Knox in his "Historical Relation of Ceilon," or more recent writers, notably Pridham and Campbell,—who have, however, done little more than condense Knox's account.*

It is proposed here rather to follow out the particular branch of enquiry taken up by Mr. R. W. Ievers, C.C.S., in his interesting paper contributed to the Society's Journal for 1880, by dealing with the superstitious beliefs and practices which continue to this day—though, be it noted, with marked diminishing force—to centre round and form an integral part of the agricultural operations of the Siṇhalese cultivator.

A record of these semi-religious rites and ceremonies is important, not merely for purposes of comparison with those found cropping up under one form or another all over the world, but as tending to bring out, more than ought else, the actual, if confused and undefined, religious ideas and aspirations of the unenlightened *goyiyá*.

The faith of the Siṇhalese is a strange mixture of demonolatry (including the worship of devils or *Yakseyó* and demi-gods or *Déviyó*) tempered more or less by Buddhism, but withal showing unmistakeable traces of that older "nature worship," which preceded both, and dates from the

* Pridham, "Ceylon and its Dependencies," Vol. I., pp. 362–7, 1849; Campbell, "Excursions, &c., in Ceylon," Vol. II., pp. 34–48, 1843; Knox "Historical Relation of Ceilon," pp. 7—11, 1681.

childhood of the world. The power of sun, moon, and stars are invoked jointly with the dreaded spirits of evil—those "unknown gods," to whose baneful influence is attributed the many changes and chances incident to daily life—and the less malignant *Dévatávó*, to appease whom resort is had alike to the priest of Buddha, the *Kaṭṭáḍiyá*, and the *Kapurálá*.

That the ignorant cultivators should themselves be unable to account for the performance of these ceremonies—the inheritance of ages—is not surprising; but, though they are slowly and surely dying out with the spread of knowledge, the majority of villagers in inland districts attribute the short crops of the past few years to their non-observance and the waning faith in their efficacy.*

In no other occupation are superstitious practices more rigorously observed than in agriculture. This is only natural, when the vital importance to the *goyiyá* of ensuring against precarious seasons and failure of crops is held in view.

Preliminary Operations.

From the first commencement of agricultural operations until the harvest is fitly closed by the feast of thanksgiving to the gods, every stage is made dependent on the occurrence of a "lucky hour," or, to speak more accurately, the position of planets and asterisms at specified moments.

At the outset the astrologer *(neketrálá)* is interviewed with the *bulat-ata* or usual fee of 40 betel leaves and a leaf of tobacco, and asked to name a suitable time to start work.†

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* "And indeed it is sad to consider how this poor people are subjected to the devil; and they themselves acknowledge it their misery, saying their country is so full of devils and evil spirits that unless in this manner they should adore them, they would be destroyed by them. .... If a stranger should dislike their way, reprove, or mock at them for their ignorance and folly, they would acknowledge the same, and laugh at the superstitions of their own devotion; but withal tell you that they are constrained to do what they do to keep themselves from the malice and mischief that the evil spirits would otherwise do them, with which, they say, their country swarms."—Knox, Ceilon, pp. 77, 83.

† Note 1.

At the appointed hour, on arriving at the ground, one of the cultivators, who has the credit of being fortunate, begins the work *(puravaḍanavá)* by clearing the boundaries of jungle with a bill-hook and mamotie *(baḍaweṭiya gahanavá* or *dánawá)*; and at the second lucky hour he and his companions go to the field with the required number of buffaloes. These are yoked together and driven about the field for the purpose of trampling down and destroying weeds and grass, and puddling the soil. This is the first mudding *(puran-meḍavuma)*: if the fields are dug up by men with *udali*, the proper term is *puran-koṭanavá*: if *keḳulan* fallow land has to be broken up, oxen are used to plough it *(binneḡan-hiya)*.

The dams are then repaired and sloped with mud, openings for the water cut *(vakkaḍaval kapanavá)*, and again closed at points of exit *(vatura bandinavá)*, and the channels for irrigation *(depá eḷa)* cleared.

If at the expiration of five or six weeks from the time of the first ploughing the grass and weeds are not sufficiently decayed, the fields are mudded or ploughed a second time *(de-meḍavuma; de-hiya)* though with less regard to a lucky hour. In some Kóralés a third ploughing *(eḍduma)* is found necessary.

In the low country the fields are usually swampy, necessitating considerable labour to drain. The day before the seed paddy is sown, a *yotumána** is erected on the boundary dam *(vélla)* at the lowest part of the field, where the water chiefly accumulates and can be readily bailed out into the channel intended to carry off the surplus. The bailing goes on throughout the night, the men whiling away the time by songs.†

* A *yotumána* is generally constructed as follows:—Six bamboos are planted on the dam, three on either side and about two yards apart, so as to meet about 8 or 9 feet above, and form three crutches. Across these is laid an arecanut stem, and the whole structure made fast by two extra bamboos supporting the ends. To the arecanut cross-pole are then suspended as many *yoṭu* as may be needed for bailing. These *yoṭu* are elongated canoe-shaped scoops, about 6 feet long by 3 in girth, hollowed out of logs, one end of which is to serve for a handle.

† Note 2.

A few days prior to manuring, the fields are trampled by men to crush the larger clods *(keṭa págananá)*; after the bone manure has been sprinkled about, it is trodden into the mud *(maḍa kakul gánavá)*, often by boys. The *liadda* (space within four dams) is then levelled and divided into small beds *(pátti)* by a mamoty.

Sowing.

When a favourable hour has been ascertained, as before, the cultivator, taking a handful of seed paddy, strews it over a corner of the *liadda* he has raised with mud, and in the centre of which he plants a *habarala* plant or an arecanut flower with as many nuts on it as possible.* The rest of the field is then sown with germinated paddy mixed with bone dust.† For some days after the seed has been sown, and until the paddy plants have attained a height of 3 to 4 inches, the field is bailed nearly dry of water every morning; subsequently a few inches of water are allowed to remain, the openings through the dam being stopped with mud.

To prevent the young plants suffering from the ravages of insect pests, such as *geṭapanuvó, kokkannávó,* and *goḍavéllu,* charmed sand or ashes are thrown over the field at different stages of the growth of the grain.

This ceremony is performed by a *Kaṭṭáḍirálá* at dusk. Taking the sand to the field and removing his waistcloth (which he wraps round his head), he proceeds to scatter the

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* Note 3.

† Seed paddy is prepared in the following manner:—The paddy is put into an earthen or wooden vessel, full of water, and allowed to soak for 90 *pẹyas* (36 hours). It is then taken out, strained, and spread upon a mat covered with plantain and arecanut leaves. More leaves of the same plants and another mat are placed over the paddy and kept down by weights for 150 *pẹyas* (2½ days). The seeds which adhere together are finally separated from each other by gently rubbing between the palms.

Another way is to keep a bag of paddy in water for 90 *pẹyas*, after which it is taken out and covered with leaves of the *burulla, habarala,* and *wereniya* during the day, and put in water again at nights until the paddy germinates.—See, too, Knox, p. 10.

sand about the boundaries of the field : then, without a word to any one, or allowing so much as a quid of betel to pass his lips, he retires for the night to a deserted house ; otherwise the charm will have no effect.

It is considered advisable to protect the paddy plant by the performance of a separate *kema*, or charm, as it attains each of its nine nodes *(geṭa ; puruka)*, or rises each internode *(petta.)**

When there is every prospect of a very good crop, a *Gará-yakun* ceremony is resorted to in the hope of warding off the baneful influence of evil-eye *(ẹs-vaha)* and evil-tongue *(kaṭa-vaha)*, as Mr. Ievers has noted in the Kẹgalla District.†

Reaping.

Similarly, when the crop is ready for the sickle, a lucky hour is named, and the cultivator, after bathing and putting on a clean cloth and eating *kiribat*,‡ enters the field, and at the set time cuts three handfuls of ripe ears. These are kept apart for *Kataragama Déviyó* on a tree, or post, close to the field, and at the close of the harvest used in the *Déviyanné dánaya.*§ Reaping is then commenced in earnest, men and women working jointly and "beguiling their labour" with cheering songs.‖ The unthreshed paddy is stacked in ricks or cocks *(goyan-kola keṭi)* frequently encircled with young cocoanut leaves or jungle creepers, round, or within, the plot of ground reserved as the threshing-floor *(kamata ; kalavita ; pávara.)*

Threshing.

Two or three days elapse before the important business of threshing begins.

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* Note 4. † Journal C. A. S., 1880, pp. 47-8.

‡ Rice pudding made with cocoanut milk and a little salt in a shallow dish *(vaṭṭiya)* and cut or pressed into convenient pieces for eating.

§ "When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest, and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord to be accepted for you."—Leviticus, xxiii., 10, 11.

‖ Note 2.

In the preparation of the *kamata*, scrupulous attention is paid to minute details, which vary considerably in different districts.*

In the Rayigam Kóralé, before the sheaves are removed from the ricks, five, seven, or nine large mats *(mágal)*, about 4 feet 6 inches by 25 feet, are spread on the ground, and three concentric circles traced upon them with ashes *(aḷuhan vaḍanavá.)* Two straight lines bisect the circles at right angles, E. to W. and N. to S., and within each segment of the innermost circle are drawn representations of four agricultural implements, viz., *póruva* or scraper, *deṭi-goyiya* or pitch-fork, *kulla* or winnowing basket, and a *láha* measure. [Diagram No. 1.] At the centre of the figure is placed the *mutta*. This consists of a large conch shell† (with seven points, whenever procurable), into which are stuffed a little gold (beads, &c.), silver, copper, brass, iron, ashes, cowdung, a jak flower *(waraká-mala)*, and, if obtainable, a *goṇgohoré*—or clot of hair which certain bullocks are supposed to vomit—wrapped together in white rag. A smaller conch serves as stopper to keep all in ; after which both shells are further covered with *tolabó* leaves, *hirẹssa*, and three sheaves *(uppiḍi)* of paddy, and tied into a bundle with *baḍavá-madu-veḷ* creeper.

At the lucky hour, a *goyiyá*, reputed fortunate, placing a sheaf of corn on his head walks thrice solemnly round the *mutta*, bowing towards it each time at the four corners of the mats. Then, looking in the direction fixed by the astrologer with reference to the *nẹkata*, he deposits it upon the *mutta* and thrice salutes it with joined palms. After this, the corn is brought in by the rest and spread out on the mats, round and over the *mutta*, the ears pointing upwards. Six, or sometimes seven, bullocks yoked with ropes in two lots, are now driven over the corn round the *mutta*, until all is roughly trampled out.

A ceremony termed *áṇḍu-karanavá* is next performed. The chief *goyiyá* on the *kamata* taking *deṭi-goyiya* lays it

* Note 5.

† Conch shells may be commonly noticed on the necks of bullocks as talismans against the powers of evil.

across the back of his neck, with some straw hanging from its ends, and two other cultivators do the same with sticks. The leader then walks seven times round the corn whilst the bullocks are in motion, repeating this refrain *(goyi-basa)*, the other two following him. At the completion of the seventh round, the three shout in chorus the last two words :—

දෑති දෑති කුමන දෑති
සමනලින් ගෙනා දෑති
කොස් දෑති කොසඹ දෑති
කටුපිල ගැට දෙමට නිකද කොබ්බෑ දෑති
රන් දෑති රිදි දැති
එරන් දැතෙතන් එරන් උකුලට කොල සලාබා පුරවනි
එගල් මෙගල් තද මෙරගල් මලරන්දෝ මලබොඩදෝ
  පරුවතදෝ මලගිය මල දෙනගේ මල වස්සා
    ආණ්ඩු, ආණ්ඩු

Deṭi deṭi kumana deṭi
Samanalin gená deṭi
Kos deṭi kosamba deṭi
Kaṭupila geṭa demaṭa nikada kobbẹ deṭi
Ran deṭi ridi deṭi
Eran deṭten eran ukulaṭa kola salábá puravati
Egal megal tada meragal malarandó malaboḍadó
  paruwatadó malagiya mala denage mala wassá.
    Aṇḍu, Aṇḍu.

Deṭi, what *deṭi?*
Deṭi brought from Adam's Peak,
Kos deṭi, kosamba deṭi,
Kaṭupila, geṭa, demaṭa, nikada,
Kobbẹ deṭi.
Gold *deṭi*, silver *deṭi :*
With these golden *deṭi* toss the corn and fill the golden centre.
O dead calf of the dead cow, are you sturdy as this rock, or that rock, or Meru rock, or like dead gold, a *malabaḍa* (tree), or mountain ?
    Peace ! Peace !*

In the Siyanẹ Kóralé the procedure differs slightly. The *súlan* or *trisúla* is introduced more frequently into the diagram drawn on the *kamata*, and a hole *(arakvala)* dug at

* Note 6.

the centre. Inside this hole are arranged seven *divi-kaduru* leaves, and upon them is placed either a small margosa-wood plank *(kohomba-lẹlla)* 3 by 4 inches (on which two circles to represent sun and moon have been described), with a knot of *korasa* creeper *(korasa-gẹṭé)*, a pointed conch shell *(kaṭu-hakgeḍiya)*, and a stone—or, more commonly, outline representations in ashes of these articles and of a scraper *(póruva)*, flail *(dẹti-goyiya)*, broom *(bolatta)*, measure *(yála-goyiya)*, *andura*, and Buddha's foot *(Budu-ṣrí-patula)*. [Diagram No. 2.]

The cultivator at the fixed time looking towards the field from which the paddy was reaped, and reciting the *Nava-guṇa-gáthára*, walks with some corn on his head seven times round the *arakvala*, and, once more looking at the field places the corn into the hole. The whole of the corn is then put onto the *kamata*, and some six pairs of bullocks driven over it. Within a short time the corn on the borders of the threshing-floor is tossed onto the centre heap with the *dẹti-goyiya*, the bullocks made to trample it, and the straw *(vaṭa-kẹḍu-mẹḍuvan)* thrown outside the *kamata*.

Of the corn that remains unthreshed, two-thirds are separated and winnowed *(halábánavá)* and again thrown under the bullocks' feet, and the resulting straw *(maha-mẹḍuvan)* removed as before.

The rest of the corn is once more tossed about, winnowed, and made into a heap, over which the bullocks are a third time driven, and the straw *(goyikamé-mẹḍuvan)* finally cast aside.

The paddy is then collected *(ráhí-karanavá)* into the heap *(ví-varuva)* ready to be measured.

To return to the Kalutara District. At the conclusion of the *áṇḍu-kerima* ceremony—during which the bullock-drivers run the risk of getting a sound rap on the head with the *dẹti-goyiya* should they forgetfully shout to their animals *(aṇḍahẹrati yanavá)*—the threshed corn is piled in heaps at the four corners of the mats, and the men begin to winnow *(halábánavá)* the seed *(bẹta)* from the straw *(mẹḍuvan.)* Every time the men stoop to remove the grain from the straw *(mẹḍuvan-karanavá)* or to sweep the paddy towards the *mutta (bolati-yanavá)* they bow in adoration of the corn-heap in the centre.

When about three-fourths of the corn is reduced to grain, all the ears of corn, except those on the *mutta*, are taken off the heap, separated from the grains (scattered round), spread out, and threshed as before *(vaṭa-nelanavá.)* After the grain has been threshed out of this, and the straw put aside, the bullocks are driven outside the *kamata*, and the heap of paddy *(pávara)* further freed from chaff with the hands *(pávara-sudda-karanavá.)* The ears of corn on the *mutta* are then removed, husked, and spread round it on the rest of the paddy, the bullocks being driven over it for the last time *(palla-pellanawá.)*

Meanwhile a cultivator prepares the *amákeṭé*,* a whisp of straw six inches long and of the thickness of the wrist, in which are enclosed a few seeds of paddy, some ashes, a scrap of the bullock horns, a hair or two from their foreheads and tails, a little dung of the two bullocks moving immediately round the *mutta*, a bit of the rope yoking them, and chips of the driver's rod, of the *deṭi-goyiya* and *póruwa.*

After all the grain has been freed from straw, the chief *goyiyá* steps into the centre of the paddy and stands on the *mutta*, whilst the others pile the paddy round him knee-deep, covering the heap with a mat, and hand up to him the *amákeṭé.* He changes it from one hand to the other round his legs, repeating each of the following lines three times, and at the end jumps down backwards :—

අමාකැටද ගොන්තැඹිලි
තබා මුදුන නහරවැල්
මක්කම සිරී පාද උසට
සමනල සිරී පාද උසට
ඉහල වෙලේ තිබෙන බැතත්
පහල වෙලේ තිබෙන බැතත්
අටුකොටුවල තිබෙන බැතත්
ඇද පුරවන් මේ කමතට

Amákeṭada gonṭembili
Tabá muduna nahara weḷ
Makkama Siripáda usaṭa
Samanala Siripáda usaṭa

* Unknown in the Siyanẹ Kóralé. Grass sods turned up in ploughing are termed *amákankeṭé*.

Ihala velé tibena beṭat
Pahala velé tibena beṭat
Aṭu-koṭu-vala tibena beṭat
Ẹda puravan mé kamataṭa.

O sweet grain-cock ! O *ṭembili*-hued oxen !
Place creeper (yokes) on (their) heads.
May the paddy in the upper fields—
The paddy in the lower fields—
The paddy in lofts and barns—
Be drawn to fill this *kamata*,
As high as Mecca's sacred foot,
As high as Samanala's sacred foot !

Ashes are given him at once and with them he lays three lines, one above another, round the grain. Two other cultivators next join him in placing five or six empty bags a-piece, mouths in front, on their heads, and walk thrice round the paddy, bowing to it each time at the four corners of the mats. Two or three men then cautiously open just enough of the mat covering the paddy heap to allow of their hands being introduced, and briskly fill the bags which are handed to them from behind. Meanwhile the principal *goyiyá* remains kneeling on the opposite side with his fore-head resting on the grain, and repeats the *Navaguṇa-gáthárva* :—

ඉති පිසො භගවා අරහං සම්මා සම්බුද්ධො
විජ්ජාචරණ සම්පන්නො සුගතො ලොක විදූ
අනුත්තරො පුරසධම්ම සාරථී සත්ථා දේව
මනුස්සානං බුද්ධො භගවාති

Iti piso bhagavá arahaṇ sammá sambuddho
vijjácharaṇa sampanno sugato loka vidu
anuttaro purusadhamma sárathi satthá deva
manussánaṇ Buddho bhagaváti.

Lo ! that Blessed One is sanctified, is fully enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Auspicious One, acquainted with the world, the unrivalled trainer of the human steer, the Instructor of gods and men, the Wise One, the Holy.

Silence is strictly enjoined throughout the performance of the *amákeṭé* ceremony until the paddy has been put into bags, all requirements being indicated by motions of head and hand.

Indeed, little licence is permitted inside the limits of the *kamata* from the commencement of threshing operations. It is unseemly to stand on one leg or to place the hand under the chin, whilst the presence of certain persons and articles of food is absolutely tabooed. Any one who may have eaten of meat or fish which is held unclean—names ending in *ran̥* are impure—is not admitted: nor are (unless after bathing and putting on clean clothes) persons who have attended a funeral or come from an "unclean house." After threshing has once commenced, women are prohibited from entering the threshing floor altogether.

The tabu extends even to the words employed at the threshing-floor. All terms conveying a negative or unlucky sense are discarded, and, *a fortiori,* the names of *Yakseyó* never breathed.

Mr. Ievers has already drawn attention to the strange conventionalism adopted by Sin̥halese cultivators of substituting an odd shibboleth for the ordinary colloquial talk of everyday life.

This *goyíbasa* or threshing-floor speech, as might be expected, varies in different localities. A comparative list is appended of some of the words in use in the Kẹgalla District, the Rayigam and Siyanẹ Kóralés of the Western Province, and a portion of the Galle District, which, however incomplete, may serve as a nucleus for further investigation into this branch of the subject.*

If threshing is done by men *(minissunnen páganavá)* a *katura* is erected. This construction consists of four poles, placed so as to form two crutches, across which another pole *(pávara-líya)* is laid horizontally, chest high. Mats are spread underneath, and the corn from the heap gradually trodden out by men, who hold on to the cross pole from either side to make greater play with their feet.

When all the grain has been threshed, the mats are taken up and the bags covered with straw to protect them from rain. The paddy is winnowed *(hulan-karanawá* or *gahanawá)* finally a day or two days afterwards and dried for two or three days more as required.

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* Note 7.

Measuring and Storing.

Then follows the measuring of the paddy, which in some districts at least is carried out with equal superstitious scrupulousness of detail. A mat is first laid on the ground, and a large picked-bag of paddy *(paturu malla)* placed on it and covered with one end of the mat. The person about to measure the grain bows thrice to the bag, and thrice moves the *láha* measure, bottom upwards, round his legs; then, pressing it between his body and the bag, he rapidly places the fingers of one hand over those of the other upon the bottom of the measure three times, and turns it again round the legs thrice every third time the hands are shifted.* After this he sits down on the mat, tilts the bag over towards him, and after saluting it thrice proceeds to measure.

The cultivators of some part of the Galle District, before proceeding to measure the paddy, consider it essential to draw on the heap with both the palms a rough representation of the *trisúla*, or trident, the signification of which they do not profess to understand.†

The paddy is taken home at another lucky hour. There the seed paddy is first dried in the sun, and put up in bags of 12 or 15 *kuruni* each. The rest of the paddy is similarly treated, except the portion—a *laha* or two—set apart for the gods *(akyála; Déviyanné vi)*‡ at the threshing-floor, which is so dealt with last. At a further lucky hour the bags of seed paddy are first secured in the loft, and afterwards the

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* To the world-wide prevalence of this "mysterious practice of touching objects to baffle the evil chance," the Siṇhalese *goyiyá* and the Tamil or Moor cooly are no less witnesses, when ignorantly striking the *láha*, or the bushel-box, with open hand before measuring grain, than was Royalty some centuries back by assenting to touch for "the King's evil."

† The *trisúla*, Shíva's emblem (especially common in Coorg at places connected with superstition), denotes that the three great attributes of Creator, Destroyer, and Regenerator are combined in him.

‡ "There is yet another due *ockyaul*, which belongs to their gods, and is an offering sometimes carried away by the priests, and sometimes they bestow it upon the beggars, and sometimes they will take it and hang it up in their houses, and at convenient time sacrifice it themselves. It is one of their measures, which is about half a peck."—Knox, p. 101-2.

remainder, leaving sufficient for the New Rice Feast *(aḷut-bat-kẹma.)* The *Déviyanné vi* is stored in a separate part of the loft. *Mantras* are occasionally resorted to for the preservation of the paddy from rats.

Aḷut-Bat-Kẹma.

Where, as is too frequently the case, the cultivators are poor and in want of food, the *Déviyanné-dạnaya,* or offering of the first-fruits of the harvest to the gods* is deferred until after the New Rice Feast, though such action is generally admitted to be irregular and only justified by necessity.

The *Saṅgha-dáné* or almsgiving to Buddhist priests, also precedes or follows the New Rice Feast according to the religious fervour of the *goyiyá* donor.†

Timely intimation of the day appointed for "eating the new rice" *(aḷut-bat-kẹma)* is given to friends and relations. On the day itself sufficient paddy having been previously dried and husked, first by pounding on an ox or elk hide *(vi koṭanawá)* and finally in the usual wooden mortar *(hál pahinavá),* the resulting rice is cooked, as well as vegetables and fish, none of which may be tasted during preparation. The lucky moment for commencing to eat is marked by the chief man of the house tasting the food; after which he serves those assembled and seated, with rice and curries upon plantain leaves.

Déviyanné–Dánaya.

To name a suitable day for the *Déviyanné-dáné,* the feast in honor of the gods, a Kapurálá or Pattinihámi is called in. Upon the set day the house is well cleansed and the *Déviyanné-vi* taken out, divided into three portions, one of which is

* Corresponding with the 'Sing Bouga' of certain Hill Tribes of India. "It is solemnised in August when the gord rice ripens, and till the sacrifice is complete the new rice must not be eaten. The offering in addition to rice is a white cock. This is a thanks-offering to the Creator and Preserver. It is called 'Jumnama,' and considered of great importance."

The close similarity between the Siṇhalese *goyiyá's* offerings and the sacrifices enjoined upon the Israelites at harvest time by the Levitical law will not fail to be remarked in the ensuing description of the *Déviyanné dáné.*

† Note 8.

reserved for a succeeding ceremony, *Rálahámi-pidíma* or *Kuḍá-yakun-pidíma*. The other two portions, after being again dried in the sun on clean mats, are husked by about a dozen women, who have purified themselves by bathing and putting on clean cloths *(piruwaṭa.)* The rice is then put into bags and kept in the *dáné-pẹla* or cadjan covered alms-shed, which is erected opposite the space where the Kapurála is to perform. Inside the *pẹla* are also placed the different vegetables brought by those attending the *dáné*, and a hearth roughly built for cooking. The Kapurála requires to be got ready for him 50 sticks, 6 young cocoanut branches, 4 arekanut flowers, 6 young cocoanuts *(gobaḷu)* a bundle of *vallá* fibre, 2 clean cloths for each man, 50 torches, a clay oven *(gini-kabala)*, and 5 chatties—a *kotalé*, a small *kaṭṭiya*, and three *kalageḍi*. A boy is sent ahead to erect a small shed *(kúḍuwa; koraṭuwa; mal-pẹla; pahan-pẹla)*, adorned with young cocoanut leaves, flowers, and encircling lamps.*

On arriving in the evening with three or four assistants, the Kapurála first places his box of bangles *(deyiran-karaṇḍuwa)* on two chairs cleansed with saffron water† and covered with a white cloth.

Then the *pé-bat* meal, consisting of untasted rice and vegetable curries, is served, and the Kapurála with the other persons assembled there sit on mats and proceed to eat from plantain leaves, after the Kapurála has invoked the gods' blessing *(yága-karaṇawá)* and first tasted the food. Dinner concluded, four or five women, dressed in clean cloths, repair to the *dáné-pẹla* and begin cooking, while the Kapurála, tying a cloth round his head, enters the *mal-pẹla* and makes obeisance to the red cloth arras embroidered with representations of deities, and taking a tom-tom

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* "When they worship those whom they call devils, many of whom they hold to be spirits of some that died heretofore, they make no images for them, as they did for the planets; but only build a new house in their yard, like a barn, very slight, covered only with leaves, and adorn it with branches and flowers." (Knox, p. 77.) He adds that "victuals" are placed on "stools at one end of the house, which is hanged with cloth for that purpose."

† See C. A. S. Journ. 1865-6, p. 58, note (*).

(udekkiya) and dancing in front of the seated house-inmates *(áturayó)* recites songs *(yádini)* in honor of Pattini and Kataragama Deviyó.*

Having continued this performance for some time, the Kapurála calls for a *pehidun-tada* or pingo of three *neli* rice, six cocoanuts, a bunch of plantains, a pumpkin, and a packet of chillies *(miris-mula)*, and smoking it with *dummala* (resin) incense,† places it in front of the figured curtain inside the *mal-pela*. Again chanting awhile, he has brought to him some untasted oil in an arecanut leaf cone *(goṭuwak)* covered with a clean cloth, which, after perfuming, he pours into one of the lamps (scooped out of half papaw fruits by the *Madupurayá*, an assistant, and hung round the *pela)*, lights the wick and bids the *áturayó* light the rest. When this is done, and he has recited more *yádini*, the Kapurála desires them to bring their *panduru* or money offerings, which are sprinkled with saffron water, saluted and deposited with the *tada*. Next, the Kapurála, still singing, covers himself entirely, except the face, with a red cloth and opens the box containing the *deyiran;* then washing his hands, and perfuming the bangles, puts them on his wrists and begins to janggle them *(halan-páwádenawá)*, finally appealing to the *áturayó* to offer them *panduru*.

Continuing his chant, the Kapurála drives a stake into the ground together with a piece of a plantain stalk to which he affixes twelve torches at the bottom, and puts some cocoanut refuse round the foot. Then taking three betel leaves he holds them over the lighted torches, rubs them on the heads of the *áturayó*, and tosses them once or thrice into the air. If the majority of the leaves fall face upwards, it is looked upon as a good omen ; if otherwise, the gods are not satisfied *(Devi-dósa)*.‡ Subsequently two additional six-*kuruni* bags of paddy with two cocoanuts in each are placed near the chair on which the *halan* box stands. The Kapurála recommencing his incantations, separately ties to three pieces of cocoanut stalk, a cocoanut flower and a pair of young cocoanuts, and directs the *áturayó* to touch them ; after which he

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* Note 9. † See C. A. S. Journ. 1865–6 p. 62, note.

‡ Cf. Mr. Fowler's account of the Panikkans' similar ceremony, *ante* p. 15.

carries them three times round the *deyiran* box, and ends by planting them in the earth in a line, exclaiming "*Bohó bó veṇḍa, purá, purá!*" 'May it be (a harvest) of great plenty! full, full!'* At the same moment the *Madupurayá* breaks a cocoanut with a bill-hook *(gana-deviyan-gahanavá)*. Once more the *áturayó* are invited to contribute *panḍuru* for the *deyiran*.

The night is generally well advanced before the above rites are carried through. When dawn is approaching, the Kapurála turns his attention to the last ceremony preceding the actual feasting, known as *kiri-itiravíma*, or "causing milk to overflow." Entering the *pahan-pęla* he ties a piece of white cloth over his mouth, and places three new clay pots on three 'gipsy-kettle' supports in a row. Into the pots he puts some rice with water, and kindles a fire under each, fanning the flames, but taking care not to blow the fire with his mouth. As soon as the water boils he pours in untasted cocoanut milk and allows the whole to boil over. Much weight is attached to the direction towards which the scum runs over, as on it is believed to hang the cultivators' fortune for the ensuing year. If it fall Eastwards or Southwards all will be well *(subha)*; if to the West or North it portends the form of ill-luck, called respectively *Devi-dósa* and *Yak-dósa*. The boiled milk is then poured into another chatty, and the *áturayó* sprinkled with it by the Kapurála, whilst chanting something more.†

Meanwhile, during the night women have been cooking the *dáné*—a meal differing in some respects from that con-

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* Just as many an old orchardist in the cider districts of Devon and Cornwall will drink to his apple trees on the eve of Epiphany some such toast as this. (Notes and Queries, Vol. 6, 2nd Series):—

"Here's to thee, old apple tree!
Whence thou may'st bud, and whence thou may'st blow,
And whence thou may'st bear apples enow!
Hats full,—caps full!
Bushels full,—sacks full!
And my pockets full!
Huzza!"

Há, há, purá, hondayi, Deviyanné pihiṭayi! is a common Siŋhalese ejaculatory prayer preceding any undertaking.

† Note 9.

sumed at the subsequent feast which closes *Rálahámi-pidíma*, and consisting merely of untasted rice and vegetable curries, *kiri-talapa*,* and the inevitable betel. Anything fried having special attraction for the *Yaksayó*, flesh and cakes are invariably excluded from the gods' *dáné*.

When all is in readiness for the feasting itself, the Kapurála, or an assistant, places not far off a *goṭuva* (which he has filled with a little of each kind of food provided) upon a three-cross-stick stand, and a chair covered with a clean white cloth (*ẹtirilla*) on which is put a plantain leaf with a similar offering, *panḍuru*, a quid of betel, and may be a cheroot.

Sometimes for the single *goṭuva* and chair *taṭṭuva*, are substituted two *goṭu* placed one above the other on the same frame, some space apart—the upper for the celestial beings, the lower for *Mahikántává* the female Atlas of A'ryan mythology.

The gods are now considered to have received all their just dues, and nothing remains but to partake of the meal.

First, all the women who have prepared the *dáné* are sprinkled with saffron water, and atonement made to the gods by the Kapuwá for any fault they may have unwittingly committed. The Kapurála and the rest of the persons then sit down and proceed to eat, after the former has blessed the food with an incantation and tasted it. The meal over, the Kapurála and his assistant carry away the food and *panḍuru* collected since the evening.†

RÁLAHÁMI-PIDÍMA.

Some days—at least three—elapse before the *Rálahámi-pidíma* or ceremony and feast to propitiate *Kosgama Deviyó*,

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* A kind of custard pudding made of rice flour, cocoanut milk, and honey, boiled to some consistency, and eaten with rice as sweetmeat.

† "And all that time of the sacrifice there is drumming, piping, singing, and dancing; which being ended, they take the victuals away, and give it to those which drum and pipe, with other beggars and vagabonds, for only such do eat of their sacrifices; not that they do account such things hallowed, and so dare not presume to eat them; but contrariwise they are now looked upon as polluted meat, and, if they should attempt to eat thereof, it would be a reproach to them and their generations."—Knox, p. 77.

the bane of crops and cattle, whose good will it is essential to win over by a special sacrifice.*

On the day selected, four or more women, after bathing and dressing in clean cloths, husk the paddy previously set apart for this *dáné*, as before. When well beaten out they place it in a room, which has been thoroughly cleansed, and inform the Kapuwá summoned to officiate, who, filling a chatty *(ṇémbiliya)* with the rice and muttering some incantations, hands it over to the women. In the same room is collected the rest of the food intended to be consumed at the feast—e.g., oranges, sugar-cane, toddy, arrack, opium, fish and meat, salt, milk, honey, vegetables, biscuits, cocoanuts, and three kinds of plantains (as *ratnamálu*, *púválu*, and *kannannóru)*.

Some of the women-cooks pound the rice to flour, extract oil, and fry cakes, seven of which they put into each of three bags. Others are employed in cooking the *dáné*, for which are required, in addition to the cakes, three chatties of boiled rice (each containing three *nẹli*)† and seven curries made with seven different kinds of vegetables. Everything should not only be untasted, but prepared without so much as blowing the fire with the mouth.

Whilst the cooking is proceeding, the Kapurála constructs a shelf *(yahana)* waist-high, and over it a cloth canopy adorned with flowers. The cooking over, and all being ready, the Kapurála, tying a piece of white cloth across his mouth, enters the room. Upon the clean white cloth spread over the *yahana* he arranges five plantain leaves, and on the floor he lays a mat with a white cloth, and puts two other plantain leaves there ; lastly, he uses a chair as a *mal-bulat-taṭṭuwa*. The dishes as cooked are placed in a line, the first chatty nearest to the shelf, and so on. The Kapurála puts some boiled rice into a *ṇémbiliya*, and from it deposits a little on each plantain leaf three times. With a cocoanut-

* Note 10.

† This is the number usual in the Galle District. In the Rayigam and Siyanẹ Kóralés, seven chatties of rice are provided, and seven plantains; and in the latter Kóralé the pounding of the paddy is done by two men, called *Koṭṭóruwó*, who have to purify themselves before commencing.

shell spoon he then mixes in the *nẹmbiliya* a little of each of the seven curries taken thrice, thus forming a *hat-máluwa*, which he adds to the seven rice heaps, perfuming them and muttering *mantras (kẹpa-karaṇavá)*. Next he takes the three cake bags, and after incensing them puts all the cakes (one from each in turn) on to the several heaps. So with the three plantain bunches, from each of which seven fruits are taken : a little *kirijja* (boiled cocoanut-milk remaining after the oil is skimmed off) is further added. The "dessert"—the oranges, biscuits, &c.—is also incensed and placed on the shelf in a *vaṭṭiya* dish, so that any demi-god or demon may help himself at pleasure.

This done, the Kapurála makes a cone-pouch *(Káberi-goṭuva)* out of a plantain leaf, and putting rice and other articles of food into it, formally deposits it for *Káberi-Yaksayá* on a support made of three-cross-sticks *(kattirika)*. The last cooked chatty of rice he covers with a plantain leaf, after putting inside three cakes and three plantains : this chatty is called *yahan-hẹliya*. When everything is thus arranged, the Kapurála supplicates the gods and demons to receive the offering, perfuming all afresh and reciting over them a *kannalavu-yátikáva*,* followed occasionally by some powerful *mantra*.

After this propitiation *(kẹpa-gannavá ; disṭi-lanavá)* the Kapuwá comes out of the room and locks the door. About a *pẹya* afterwards he knocks at it, as though seeking permission from the *Yaká* to enter, and opens it. Accompanying his dancing with further invocations, he closes the door again, bringing out the *Káberi-goṭuva*, which he leaves at the back of the house. Then taking *paṇḍuru* and a quid of betel from the *áturayó*, he re-enters the room, as before, and laying them on the *yahana* recites some stanzas ; and whilst so engaged takes one of the empty cake bags and a plantain leaf, and on them puts a little of every kind of food as well as a lighted torch. This offering he carries to the stepping stone in front of the house, (after locking the door for the third time) and there presents it with a suitable *mantra* to *Mólankaḍa Aimáná*—the demon known elsewhere as *Kaḍavara-Yaksayá*. He then returns

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* Space will not permit of the insertion of the several incantations, &c., embraced in the ritual of *Bálahámi-pidíma*.

to the room, and at his bidding the house inmates offer more *paṇḍuru*, and are sprinkled with the holy saffron water, as well as the women who have prepared the *dáné*.

Finally, the Kapurála taking some *dummala* (resin), charms it with a *kẹpa-harina-mantra* and perfumes the whole of the food about to be partaken. Those assembled then seat themselves on mats in a row, and do justice to the viands, only waiting for the Kapurála to first taste something. The *mal-bulat-taṭṭuva* and the seven plantain leaf offerings are placed at a little distance from the house—left for dogs and crows, into whom it is considered has entered the *disṭi* or perception of the *Yaksayó*.

As though the superstitious rites of the *Deviyanné-dánaya* and *Rálahámi-pidíma* were not sufficient "spots on their feasts of charity," the Siṇhalese *goyiyá* too frequently resort to further devil ceremonies such as *Devol-maḍu*, *Gam-maḍu*, which need not be described at length here, not being intimately connected with the subject in hand.*

NOTES.

(1.)

Astrology in Agriculture.

Those who may care to become thoroughly versed in the set "times and seasons," which ought to be observed in native agricultural operations, will find full particulars in the *Muhúrtta-chintámaṇi*, a metrical treatise on the subject, by the famous astrologer Ẹ'pá Appuhámi, published at Colombo in 1876.

The following extracts from a similar ola MS. in the writer's possession give some idea of the extent to which "the stars in their courses" influence the action of the Siṇhalese cultivator.

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* In other districts (Siyanẹ Kóralé, to wit) instead of the 'gipsy-kettle' support, a post (*ẹvari-kanuva*) is planted outside the compound with a light upon it, and the plantain-leaf-cone there offered to *Kaḍa-vara Yaksayá*. The *yahana*, too, is constructed in the compound, and

Definitions.

I.—The following are the twenty-seven asterisms *(nękęt)*.*

1.—Aşvida.	10.—Mánękata.	19.—Mula.
2.—Berana.	11.—Puwapal.	20.—Puwasala.
3.—Kęti.	12.—Uttarapal.	21.—Uttarasala.
4.—Rehena.	13.—Hata.	22.—Suvana.
5.—Muwasirisa.	14.—Sita.	23.—Denata.
6.—Ada.	15.—Sá.	24.—Siyáwasa.
7.—Punáwasa.	16.—Visá.	25.—Puwaputupa.
8.—Pusha.	17.—Anura.	26.—Uttaraputupa.
9.—Aslisa.	18.—Deta	27.—Révatiya.

II.—The fifteen lunar days (*tithi*) during which the moon waxes are named :—

1.—Pélaviya.	6.—Satawaka.	11.—Ekoloswaka.
2.—Diyawaka.	7.—Satawaka.	12.—Doloswaka.
3.—Tiyawaka.	8.—Atawaka.	13.—Teleswaka.
4.—Jalawaka.	9.—Nawawaka.	14.—Tuduswaka.
5.—Viséniya.	10.—Dasawaka.	15.—Pasaloswaka.

The same order should be followed for the fifteen *tithi* she wanes—the 15th day being termed Amáwaka.†

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not inside the house. The house inmates are directed by the Kapurála to stand by the *ęvari-kanuwa* and *yahana* in bowing attitude with joined palms, whilst he chants *yádini* regarding *Kaḍavara Yaksayá's* birth and power, invoking his aid to ward off sickness from them, and to prosper their tillage and trades. The Kapurála then tastes each of the seven heaps, and the whole are afterwards eaten by all assembled. If the ceremony ends with the eating of this rice, it is called *Kuḍá-yakun-piduma*, but *hęllun maḍuva* if the dancing and tom-tom beating is continued till morning.

Many other *Yaksayó* are jointly propitiated, such as *Dunumála-yakun, Moraṭuwé-yakun, Kaṭugampola-yakun, Kalu-kumára yakun, Viramuṇḍa-yakun.*

* Strictly speaking there are 28 *nękęt* or asterisms: the *nękata* 'Abiyut' (a fractional or occasional "mansion" only, consequent on the moon's periodical revolution occupying 27-8 days) lies between 'Uttarasala' and 'Suvana.' The Máldivians retain the full number of "lunar mansions," but place 'Avihi' (Abiyut) last, save 'Réva' (Révatiya), thus:—Assida, Burunu, Keti, Rónu, Miyaheliha, Ada, Funós, Fus, Ahuliha, Má, Fura, Utura, Ata, Hita, Hé, Vihá, Nora, Dorha, Mula, Furahala, Uturuhala, Huvan, Dinarha, Hiyavihá, Furabaduruva, Fasbaduruva, Avihi, Réva. "The *tithi* and *nękata* of any day or time are those in which the moon is in her course through the zodiac in that day or time."

† The lunar month is divided into *pura* or *purva pakshé* (from the day after the new moon to full moon day), and *ava* or *apara pakshé* (from day after full moon to new moon day).

III.—The seven days are :—

1.—Ravi	... ...	Sun.
2.—Chandra	... ...	Moon.
3.—Kuja	... ...	Mars.
4.—Budha	... ...	Mercury.
5.—Guru	... ...	Jupiter.
6.—Ṣukra or Kivi	...	Venus.
7.—Ṣeni	... ...	Saturn.

IV.—The twelve signs of the Zodiac (*rási*) are :—*

1.—Mésha.	7.—Tulá.
2.—Wṛishabha.	8.—Wṛiṣchika.
3.—Mithuna.	9.—Dhanu.
4.—Karkaṭaka.	10.—Makara.
5.—Siŋha.	11.—Kumbha.
6.—Kanyá.	12.—Mína.

Commencing Operations.

V.—The *neḳeṭ* Pusha, Sá, Uttarapal, Uttarasala, Uttaraputụpa, Sita, Anura, and Beraṇa, and the *tithi* Pẹlaviya, Diyawaka, Tiyawaka, Viséniya, Satawaka, Dasawaka, Ekọloswaka, and Pasaḷoswaka, and the days Kuja, Guru, and Budha, in the *rási* assigned to the planets, Guru, Ṣukra, Budha,† are auspicious for entering upon a field to commence cultivation.

Ploughing.

VI.—For ploughing adopt the following *neḳeṭ* :—Puwapal, Puwasala, Puwaputụpa, Hata, Sita, Máneḳata, Deṭa, Mula, Réwatiya, Anura, Punávasa, Suvana, Pusha, Uttarapal, Uttarasala, Uttaraputụpa, Sá, Visá, Muwasirisa, Denaṭa ; *oja tithi* having no *riktá* ;‡ the days Ravi, Budha, Guru, Ṣukra ; the

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* "The Sun, Moon, and Planets move through these *rási* in their courses. *Avurudda* ('year') is the time during which the Sun travels through all 12 *rási* in his course, beginning from the first point of Mésha *rási*;" and the solar month the time during which the Sun continues in any one *rási*.

† Of the twelve *rási*, that called Siŋha (*Leo*) is allotted to the Sun, and Karkaṭaka (*Cancer*) to the Moon ; the rest are given to the other five planets in the order of their position with regard to the Sun. Mithuna and Kanyá, the *rási* bordering "the mansions" of the Sun and Moon, on either side, belong to Mercury : the two beyond these, viz., Wṛishabha and Tulá, are assigned to Venus: the next two, Mésha and Wṛiṣchika, to Mars: Mína and Dhanu to Jupiter: and the last two, Makara and Kumbha, to Saturn.

‡ "*Oja tithi*" are the eleven *tithi* from Dasawaka of *pura paksa* to Viséniya of *ava paksa*. Of these, Tuduswaka and Jalawaka are "*riktá*," and rejected as bad for all work.

*lagnas** Wṛishabha, Karkaṭaka, Makara, Mína, Mithuna, which are best ; Tulá, Dhanu and Kanyá, fairly good. At these *nękęt*, and observing the *lagnas*, *wak*, &c., make one, three, or five furrows, with the plough gazing Eastwards, without stooping or looking down.

Introducing Water.

VII.—The following *nękęt* are good for admitting water into a field :—Mula, Puwasala, Uttarasala, Suwana, Réwatiya, Denaṭa, Máņękata, Muwasirisa, Puwapal, Deṭa, Sá, and Beraņa.

Sowing and Transplanting.

VIII.—Sow seed paddy at the *nękęt* Má, Hata, Mula, Tunaturu,† Pusha, Siyáwasa, Anura, Sá, Muwasirisa, Réwatiya, and Suvana; on the *tithi* Viséniya, Satawaka, Ekoḷoswaka, Teḷeswaka, and Pasaḷoswaka ; and on the days Sandu, Budha, Guru, Ṣukra, also observing the *lagna* which these planets belong to.

For sowing paddy according to the *kękulaņ* system, adopt the *nękęt* Tunaturu,† Punáwasa, Pusha, Anura, Hata, Má, Reheņa, which are to be taken for transplanting also.

On Sunday mornings in the month of Mithuna and Siņha sow *ęl* paddy.

Reaping.

IX.—Reap corn on good days (i.e. days having no *ava-yóga*‡) at the *nękęt* Kęti, Reheņa, Ada, Pusha, Sá, Denaṭa, Siyáwasa, Puwapuṭupa, Tunaturu, Anura, Má.

Threshing and Measuring.

X.—Thresh corn at Anura, Réwatiya, Mula, Pusha, Sá, *nękęt*; and at the *lagnas*, Mithuna, Dhanu, Kumbha, and Mína, and when the planets Guru and Ṣikuru are in the said *lagnas*.

All work connected with paddy cultivation should be performed when the tide rises from the first *pęya* for eight *pęyas*, and from

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* The day of 60 *pęyas* or 24 hours *(hórá)* is in astrological calculations further divided into 12 *lagnas*, each *lagna* comprising roughly 2 *hórás*. The *lagnas* are synonymous with the 12 *rási*, and rotate in the same order, the first *lagna* of each day always being that of the particular *rási*, or month, through which the Sun is passing. See, too, C. A. S. Journ. 1856-8, pp. 181-194. "The Principles of Siņhalese Chronology," by Rev. C. Alwis.

† *Tunaturu*, i.e. Uttarapala, Uttarasala, Uttarapuṭupa.

‡ *Ava-yóga*, i.e. the unlucky conjunction of certain *nękęt* with special days Thus on Sunday, Ada and Deṭa, on Tuesday, Deṭa and Suvana, on Thursday. Ada, on Friday, Visá, and on Saturday, Punáwasa and Suvana, are *avayóga*, There are 10 bad *(dasa mahz dósa)*, and 4 good, *yógas*.

the thirteenth *pęya* for eight *pęyas* of the *nękęt* Kęti, Rehena, Muwasirisa, Uttaraputupa and Réwatiya.

The tide rises (*diya-wadí*) from the first *pęya* for eight *pęyas* of Pélaviya and Diyawaka, again at the 47th *pęya*, at the 2nd, 25th, and 50th *pęya* of Tiyawaka, the 20th *pęya* of Satawaka, the 22nd *pęya* of Hatawaka, 23rd *pęya* of Atawaka, the 20th and 55th of Dasawaka, the 20th of Ekoloswaka, the 20th of Doloswaka, 8th and 25th of Teleswaka, the 8th *pęya* of Pasaloswaka. At all these times from the commencement of the *pęya* the tide flows for 8 *pęyas*.

At the fourth *páda* of the four *lagnas* Mésha, Wrishabha, Mithuna and Karkataka, water will rise. For threshing corn and measuring paddy, if the moment when *nękata*, *tithi*, and *lagna* for the rising of the tide are contemporaneous can be taken, it is best: if two agree it is good: one alone is fairly good.

Storing and Consuming Paddy.

XI.—For storing paddy the *nękęt* Hata, Ada, Má, and Rehena and the *lagnas* Wrishabha, Sinha, Wrischika, and Kumbha should be taken, and (if possible) when seen with the planet Saturn.

On Sunday at sunrise at Rehena *nękata* consume paddy.

Eating the New Rice.

XII.—For *alut-bat-kęma* observe a good *tithi*, avoiding Mína Mésha, and Wrischika, at the *nękęt* Sita, Asvida, Hata, Punáwasa, Pusha, Suwana, Anura, Tunaturu, Muwasirisa, Dēnata, Rehena, Réwatiya, Siyáwasa, Sá, Mula, Má, and Visá.

In spite of the well-meant efforts now being made to convert the *goyiyá* from the error of his ways by opening a School of Agriculture, and the introduction of modern appliances, it is to be feared that years must elapse before his mind is disabused of the conservative notions he shares with the American "Farmer Ben" (Notes and Queries):—

"I tell ye it's nonsense," said Farmer Ben,
  This farmin' by books and rules,
And sendin' the boys to learn that stuff
  At the agricultural schools.
Rotation o' crops and analysis!
  Talk that to a young baboon!
But ye needn't be tellin' yer science to me,
  For I believe in the moon.

If ye plant yer corn on the growin' moon,
  And put up the lines for crows,
You'll find it will bear, and yer wheat will, too,
  If it's decent land where't grows.
But potatoes, now, are a different thing,
  They want to grow down, that is plain;
And don't ye see you must plant for that
  When the moon is on the wane.

So in plantin' and hoein' and hayin' time,
  It is well to have an eye
On the hang of the moon—ye know ye can tell
  A wet moon from a dry.
And as to hayin', you wise ones, now
  Are cuttin' yer grass too soon;
If you want it to spend, just wait till it's ripe,
  And mow on the full o' the moon.

* * * * *

With farmers' meetin's and granges new
  Folks can talk till all is blue;
But don't ye be swollerin' all ye hear,
  For there ain't more 'n half on 't true.
They are tryin' to make me change my plans,
  But I tell 'em I'm no such coon;
I shall keep right on in the safe old way,
  And work my farm by the moon!

(2.)

Cultivators' Songs.*

I.—*Whilst bailing Water.*

1. බබලන පුන්සඳ මෙන් ගුණ බදි   නේ
සුබා රුසිරුඇති මගේ හිමිසදි   නේ
ඔබ ගියකල් නොම නාවා මෙදි   නේ
මම එනතුරු නුබ කොතනක ඉදි   නේ

2. හොම්පුර කාබෙරි පටුනක බූ   මේ
වෙන්කර නෑසිය අන් රට ආ   මේ
ලෙන්දෙර සෝගිණි කදුලෙන් නෑ   මේ
මූන් ඇර ගොස් මම කෙලෙසක වෑ   මේ

3. බූමේ මිතුරුව කම්පා වේන   ත්
මහමෙර ගුගුරා වැසිවැස ඒන   ත්
ඒ මේ කාරණ නුබ දුටුවේන   ත්
ඒ මේ වැඩනැත ගිය ගමනේන   ත්

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* The specimens given are throughout ungrammatical and disconnected, but just as taken down from the mouth of an ordinary illiterate *goyiyá*. The meaning is in places very obscure.

4. හිස් කල හිස් අතිනුත් එන අඟ නෝ
බස්ගොළු ඇස්නැති අයකර හිඟ නෝ
ගොස් දුට පෙරමගදී සොඳ ගම නෝ
නිස්පල වෙයි හිමියන් ගියගම නෝ
5.* ලොවේ වඩන ගුරුවරුණි අසන් නෝ
ඉබේ සිතින් විපරන්කරගන් නෝ
ලැබේ නුවන ගණදෙවි මට දෙන් නෝ
සබේ සියළුදෙන වරද නොගන් නෝ
6.* උතුන් දෙයකි බිජු ලොවට බොලන් නෝ
සතුන් සියළු සැමදෙන ලොබවන් නෝ
උතුන් බූමියේ බිජු බෝවන් නෝ
දෙතුන් වරක් මුනිඳුට වැඳදෙන් නෝ
7.* ලත්නම බිම මිටි තැන් බලමින් නෝ
ලත්නම සතොසින් බත් අරවන් නෝ
නිතනම කනුමුල් බිඳ හරිමින් නෝ
ලත්නම වැව් අමුනුත් බඳිමින් නෝ

1. Like the moon shining in full splendour,
My beauteous endearing lord.
Since the day of departure thou returnest not as yet:
Till I may reach thee where wilt thou remain?
2. At a desolate town of Negroes I arrived,
Leaving kith and kin for a foreign land.
With scalding tears I bathe my breast;
By him deserted, how may I sustain my grief!
3. Though the friendly earth quake and tremble,—
Maha Meru thunder with torrents of rain—
Though these, and such like portents, thou beholdest,
Whatever thy undertaking, it will not prosper.
4. A woman empty-handed, or bearing empty pot,
A beggar, be he deaf or be he blind—
These in good journey shouldst thou meet,
Fruitless will be thy going.
5. Hear me, ye learned, that benefit the world,
Consider it with mind unfettered:
Gaṇadevi, grant me to receive wisdom:
May the assembly not find fault.
6. Fellows, a mighty boon is seed;
Desired of every creature;
In fruitful land it multiplies:
Worship oft the Teacher.
7. Of land acquired spy out the low places;
Cause rice received to be served with glad heart;
From stumps and roots ever strive to rid you,
Building dams for tanks acquired.

* These three stanzas will be found in almost the same form in a small pamphlet of Harvest Songs styled *Goyam-málaya*, printed in Colombo, 1881.

II.—*Reapers' Song.*

1. ඉරිදෙවියන්වැඳ කෙතට බසින්නට සැමදෙවියෝ අවසර දෙන් නේ
සැමදෙවියන්ගෙන් අවසර අරගණ ගොයිසාමිනි දෑකැති දෙන් නේ
පායන ඉරුරැස් වලා මුවාකර සිසිල් අපට අද රැකදෙන් නේ
අද මේ තිස්පැය සියලුතොපාඩුම ගලවාදෙවියෝ සෙත්දෙන් නේ

2. කන්දේ පායන ඉරුරැස්දෙවියෝ මේ සබයට දූන් සෙවන කා ලේ
වැඩවෙන දෑකැති සුරතට අරගණ අම්මාහට පින් දෙමුවඅ නේ
ගොඩසිටලාවත් ගොයිමසාතුන්හට ඇසුනොාත් මේ මට තැගි ලැ බේ
සබේ සිටින ලොකු කුඩා මහත් අය දබරනැතිව කවි පවසන් නේ

3. බැසලා සත්දෙව් බවනින් එතනට පෙර තපසේ ඉඳ දන් ඉල්ලන්නේ
වපුල එරන් පරුවත මඩකරලා පැසීකරල් අග බරවෙන් නේ
ජසලා බෝජන ජලයෙන් ගිණිකර තෙදබලයෙන්මයි දන් දුන් නේ
බැඳලා මේ කයි කියණඩ පත්තිනිදෙවියෝ අවසර මට දෙන් නේ

4.* නමින් පැවතඑන රයිගම්කෝරලේ පරසිදු තල්ගස වැවුනි ය සේ
කියණඩ ලකුණ බැරිලෙස කිවිඳුට අලංකාරවිය නොයෙක් ලෙ සේ
ගමින් ගමට පරකාසයවෙනතට පියුම්පෙතිසෙ මල ඉසිරග සේ
සොඳින් මෙ තලමල උතුම් වරුණයෙන් අගේවඩනලෙස පිපුනාසේ

5. උදේසිටන් දූන් වරුවක්වෙනතුරු දෙවිපිහිටක් කිසි නැතුව මු ලා
ඉසසිට දෙපයඳ දසඟිලි දසයඳ ගලවා දෙවියෝ සෙත් දුන් නේ
අද අපි කිවු කවි සිතූ රාගපද කිවුවේ සුලඟට දුරඇර ලා
මේ වරුවේ වැඩ ඉවරවෙන්ට අද දෙනවද අවසර සිතාසි ලා

6.* මලේ වරුණ මම කියණඩ පදකර දෙවිඳුනි අවසර මට දෙන් නේ
විලේ රුවැති මල් රන්වන් පැයට දසඅතටම පෙති විහිදෙන් නේ
ජලේ වතුරපිට තිබුනයි මානෙල් මලේ සුවඳ වට විහිදෙන් නේ
විලේ රුවැති මල් රන්වන් පැයට දසඅතටම පෙති විහිදෙන් නේ

7.* ඇට වපුලේ ලොව පැලවගියේ ගස උඩ වැඩුනා උයනක් ලෙසි නා
උනගොපිලේ අතු වටගෙතුනාදූක මෙමලෙසිනේ තලමලේ ලකුනා
මල්කැකුලේ මල්පෙති තිබුනා දූක කොයි ලෙසිනේ මග බැසයන්නේ
ගොස්නවිලෙන් බැස වස්හරිනා දූක දෙවිසොඳිනේ අප රැකගන්නේ

8. එ රන්තැඹිලි දෙසි දෙඩන් බෙලිඳ මොර යිරා අඹද මීඅඹ උය නේ
වරෙන් නැමී අඹතුරෙන් සැදී ඉඳි පලොල් දිවුල් මී සල් අර නේ
සඳුන් සමන් බෝදිලිඳ පියුම් සපු නෙළුම් එ මානෙල් මල්එව නේ
උතුන් සමන්දෙවි නමින් පැවතඑන සමන් හිමාලේ ඇති වරු ණේ

9. සුරන්ගනෝ සත්දෙනෝ එදා ගොස් දිවසළු දිවමල් ගෙණ පිදු වේ
වරන් ලබාගෙණ දෙවියෝ සැණෙකින් පරසතුමල් දෝතින් පිදු වේ
එරන් නාගබවනේ කඩුපුල් දිව්‍යනාගයන් ගෙණ පිදු වේ
න්ලන්තරේ මේ ලොවේ සියලු අය එදාසිටන් සමනල පිදු වේ

1. May all the gods permit us to enter the field after worshipping the sun god:
The gods' consent obtained, O goyi lord, give us sickles.
May the clouds keep us cool, shading the sun's rays,
And the gods deliver from all evil, granting peace these 30 *péyas.*

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* These stanzas probably form part of the *Tala-mala-varnnanáva.*

2. The god of the sun's rays shining on the hill has now shaded this our gang :
With fortune-bringing sickles in right-hands invoke we merits on the Mother.
Should the goyi-lord on the highland hear me, I shall receive reward :
May all this company, great and low, recite songs without bickering.

3. Sakdevi, descending from his abode, begs alms in his ascetic garb of yore :
The corn sown on the mudded golden rock bends down ripened ears :
With boiling water dressing food by supernatural power the alms were given.
May goddess Pattini grant me permission to compose and recite these verses.

4. In Rayigam Kóralé renowned there grew the far-famed palm tree,
Fair beyond words of poet, with manifold beauty crowned ;
From hamlet unto hamlet known, like lotus petals, expanding on the tree,
Rarely this palm-flower bloomed glorious in colour.

5. Half the day has passed since morning, nor failed of god's protection,
From head to foot thro' every limb god has blessed and preserved us ;
The songs in rhyming measure we loudly sang to-day have made the welkin ring.
Will leave be blithely granted to forego work the rest of the day ?

6. God, grant me to tell in verse the flower's fame,
Of the lovely tank lily's golden hue, its petals spread in ten directions,
As o'er the water's surface the *Ma-nil's* scent is scattered :
Its petals spread in ten directions, golden-hued as the lovely tank lily.

7. The seed was sown and sprouted, and like a grove rose the tree ;
Like boughs of bamboo shoots entwined, the palm-flower's pageant seemed :
Lur'd by sight of the flower-petals the wayfarer his journey forgets.
Lo ! from Gosna lake descending the evil to avert, in safety keep us God (of mercy).

8. Orchard of golden *tembili*,* lime, orange, *beli*,† *mora*,‡ *girá*,§ and *mí* mango;
Adjoining grove of *indi*,‖ *palol*,¶ *diwul*,** *mí*,†† and *sal*;‡‡
And garden of sandal, *bódili*,§§ with flowers of jasmine, lotus, lily, and fragrant *champak*:—‖‖
Such the famed splendour of Saman forest named of noble Saman-devi.

9. That day seven goddesses offered celestial vestures and flowers;
The god empowered, with both hands offered flowers of Indra's tree;
Golden *kadupul* lotus of the Nága world divine Nágas offered:
Thenceforth continuously all people of the world worship Samanala.

III.—*At close of Work.*

1. දවස පුරා කවි කියණ්ඩ සිතාගනයි ආ   වේ
ආයෙ මගෙන් කවි අහණ්ඩ කවරකලද එන්   නේ
අපට නෑයො අද ඇත්නම් දුකට පිහිට වෙන්   නේ
එන මෙත්තේ බුදු මගුලට අපිත් සමග එන්   නේ

2. සදා සදා සොඳ සෙල්ලම් වඳනාවෙ යන්   නේ
ඉස්සර ගිය සෙනගයි ඔය සාදුකාරදෙන්   නේ
බින්බරකින් සෙනග ඇවිත් යසකරපිය මාලිගා   වි
සැම රටේම තිලකයි ඔය සපරගමුවේ මාලිගා   ව

3. සබර පේලිය යනකොට—මූදරැලදෙන අඳැ   මේ
නිල් වලාවෙන් බදින කොණ්ඩෙට-තාරුකා පොඩු අඳැමේ
සතර වීදියෙ ඇවුළු පන්දන් – මැණික්බැබළුම බලන අඳැමේ
ඇතාපිටිනුත් දෙවිඳු වැඩසිට—මගුල් පෙරහැර අඳැ   මේ

1. I came intent on singing to while the livelong day—
Say when again, my comrades, ye'll listen to my lay.
If kinsfolk now stand by us, all trouble will seem light,
And in Maitri Buddha's feast with one accord unite.

2. With sport and jest full varied our pilgrim path we cheer,
Hark! the band before us shouts *sádus* echoing clear:
The palace-shrine who beautify, to crowds the land gives birth,
Saffragam's fair temple, the frontal-mark of earth!

3. As surge the waves of ocean, the thronging lines go by,
Their hair-knots bound in circles dark, like stars in midnight sky;
Like jewels gleam the torches, adown the four-spread lane,
The patron god in howdah rides, as in a wedding train.

---

* The king-cocoanut.
† Ægle marmelos.
‡ Asclepias acida.
§ Mangifera indica.
‖ The wild date-palm.
¶ The trumpet flower (Bignonia suave olens.)
** Feronia elephantum.
†† Bassia latifolia.
‡‡ Shorea robusta.
§§ A kind of cocoanut.
‖‖ Michelia champaca.

(3.)

Tabu.

This tabu resembles the custom of "Pomali" practised by the Dyaks of Borneo, the Alfuros of Celebes and Timor, and the Mentamei Islanders.

"The only outward indication that *Pomali* is being resorted to is a bundle of maize leaves stuck into the ground, or bushels of rice suspended from a bamboo post, either in a rice field or under the house of a person who is ill. All strangers are forbidden to cross the threshold of a house where the signal is placed.

"Mr. Hugh Low, in his 'Sarawak,' also mentions three kinds of *Pomali*, or, as he calls it, *Pamali*.

"The *Pamali omar*, or tabu on the farms, occurs immediately after the whole of the seed is sown. It lasts four days, and during that period no person of the tribe enters any of the plantations on any account; a pig and feast are according to their practice also necessary."—Carl Bock, "Head Hunters of Borneo," p. 230.

The Oraons and Mundáris (hill tribes of India) observe similar precautions to propitiate Desáuli and Jáhir Bárhi for a blessing on the crops in their "Hero-Bouga" and "Bah-Towli-Bouga" sacrifices, to which the "Karam" of the Kol villagers is nearly allied. "Each cultivator sacrifices a fowl, and after some mysterious rites a wing is stripped off and inserted in a cleft of bamboo and stuck up in the rice field. If this is omitted, it is supposed that the rice will not come to maturity."

(4.)

Kem, or Charms.

(I.) Against *Gẹtapanuvó* (Grubs).

(*a*)

පසේ බුදු රජානන්වහන්සේ රත්ඇල්රුසියා ළඟට වැඩියා; එතනදී දැන යක් දෙණ්ඩ දෙයක්නෑ; මහා බ්‍රහ්ම රජයා ළඟට ගොහින් ඉල්ලුවා; ඉල්ලාපු තැනදී රත්ඇල් දුන්නා; ඒ වී වැපුරුවා; එතනදී පළමුවෙනි කොළේට ගැටපනුවෝ වැහුවා; සත් වර්ගයක් වැහුවා; බුදු රජානන්වහන්සේගේ ආනුභාවෙන් ඒ පනුවෝ අහක්වෙණ්ඩ ඉල්ලුවා; එවිට ඒ පනුවෝ අහක් උනා; සත්වෙනි පෙත්තේදී රන්වන් කරලක් වැටුනා; ඒ කරලට සත් වර්ගයක් මැස්සෝ වැහුවා; එවිටත් බුදු රජානන්වහන්සේගේ ආනුභාවෙණ්ඩ ඉල්ලුවා; එවිට අහක්උනා; ඉතින් ඒ විය කොටලා, බත් පිස, දවල් දානය කොට දුන්නා; ඒ බුදු රජානන්වහන්සේගේ ආනුභාවෙන් අදත් අහක් වෙණ්ඩ ඕනෑ.

"Pasé Buddha went to Ratẹl Rusiya, who had nothing to offer as alms. He went and begged of Maha Braḥma, who gave him *rat-ẹl* (hill-paddy). He sowed it. The first leaf was covered by *gẹṭapanuvó* of seven kinds. Then he prayed that through the power of Buddha the grubs might leave : the grubs left. When the plant grew to its seventh node, it bore an ear of golden hue. This ear was covered by seven kinds of flies. Then also he entreated Buddha's supernatural power, and the flies disappeared. That paddy was then pounded, the rice boiled and offered for that day's noon-meal of the said Buddha.

"By the influence of the same Buddha let the worms quit the plants to-day also."

Walking round the field repeating the above is supposed to destroy *gẹṭapanuvó.*

(*b*)

Seven of these grubs are collected from a plant, and the following *pirit* repeated over them :—

ශ්‍රීනාරද මුනීශාදි මුඛ පංකජ වාසිනී,
සාරදෘ ඛිල වාග්දේවී පාතුවඃ සර්ව මංගලා.

"May the all-auspicious goddess of speech (Saraswati), the bestower of the essence (of wisdom and eloquence), who dwells in the lotus-like mouths of the illustrious and eminent sage Nárada, &c., preserve you (from all evil)."

Three are then burnt with *pas-pẹṇgeri* (five bitter kinds of wood), and the remaining four enclosed in four pieces of reed and buried at the four corners of the field. During the performance of this ceremony the *Kaṭṭádiyá* should be naked, and at its conclusion remain dumb for seven *pẹyas* in an unfrequented place.

(II.) Against *Kokkanávó* (Grubs).

After dark a man steals three *ilapata* (ekel-brooms) from three different houses. These he ties together with *kẹhipittan-vẹla* (creeper) and hangs it to his waist-string behind. Proceeding to the field, he walks three times round it, buries the bundle in the main *vakkaḍa* (opening through the dam) and returns home unobserved. The whole time, and if possible till next morning, he remains mute.

(III.) Against *Mẹssó* (Flies).

(*a*)

The *Yakdessá* should spend the previous night in a lonely spot, after having put on clean clothes *(piruwaṭa)* and eaten "milk-rice" *(kiri-bat)*. The following morning, without communicating with any one, he should go to the field. Having caught a fly, he must

hold it for a while in rosin smoke, over which he has muttered the following charm 108 times, and afterwards release it in the field :—

ඕනනමෝ! අපගේ බුදු රජානන්වහන්සේ විසාලා මහ නුවර ජනපත රෝගය දුරුකරණ්ඩ වැඩිය ආනුභාවෙන්, අදත් මේ කෙතේ, මල් මැස්සෝ, කළු මැස්සො, හොටදික් මැස්සෝ, ගොඩවිලි පණුවෝ, නොසිට ඕඩු ඕඩු ඒස්වාඃ

නමෝ! ගජකුම්භනන් දලරාක්ෂදේවතාවාගේ කටින් උපන් බුන් මැස්සෝය, දුන් බන් මැස්සෝය, අඹු මැස්සෝය, අළු මැස්සෝය මේ කෙතේ නොසිට ඕං ත්‍රිං බරණේස්වා.

O'nnamó! By the power of Lord Buddha who came to dispel the pestilence of the great city *Wisála*, this very day all ye flower-flies, black flies, proboscis-armed flies, and earth grubs of this field, away, away *(óḍu, óḍu)*; stay not. Let it be so! *(E'sváḥ)*.

Namó! Ye flower-flies, proboscis-armed flies, tiny flies, ash flies, born from the mouth of *Gaja-kumba-dala-ráksha-déwatáwá*, go, stay not in this field. In the name of the Triad *(O'ṇ Triṇ)* and Kataragama Deviyó *(Baranét)*. Be it so!*

(*b*)

The following well-known *gátháwa* is recited 108 times over some sand, which is strewn in the field at dusk, while four lamps (the oil used having been prepared without being tasted) are kept burning at its four corners :—

සබ්බපාපස්ස අකරණං
කුසලස්ස උපසම්පදා
සචිත්තපරියොදපනං
එතං බුද්ධානුසාසනං

Abstain from all sin;
Acquire merit;
Purify the heart:
This the Buddha's commandment.

"Evil swells the debts to pay,
Good delivers and acquits.
Shun evil, follow good; hold sway
Over thyself. This is the way."
(Light of Asia.)

Throughout the performance of this *kema*, and until next morning, the person so occupied must not converse with anybody.

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* Almost every charm begins with the words *O'ṇ Triṇ*, which in Sanskrit are an invocation to the Hindú Trinity." The Kaṭṭádiyás not being worshippers of that Trinity, and not understanding the purport of the words, but attributing to them some mysterious magical properties, frequently add them to Siṇhalese charms, in which the virtues and omnipotence of Buddha are described, in very grandiloquent style, to the exclusion of those of the Hindú

(*c*)

With red sandalwood, ground to powder, this stanza is written on a *rabána*, or the drum of a tom-tom :—

සහාවස්සදස්සන සම්පදාය තයස්සුධම්මා ජහිතා භවන්ති
සක්කායදිට්ඨී විචිකිච්ඡිතංච සීලබ්බතංවා පියදත්ථිකිඤ්චි
චතූහපායෙහි ච විප්ප මුත්තො ඡචාභි ඨානානි අභබ්බොකාතුං
ඉදම්පිසංඝෙ රතනංපනීතං එතෙන සච්චෙන සුවත්ථිහොතු.

By the receiving of perceptive power (in religious studies) these three (false) pursuits, viz., worldly desires, doubts, and unorthodox observances, are dispelled : he escapes from the sufferings of the four hells : he is incapable of committing the six great sins. In the *Saṅgha* this gem-like state is noble. By this truth may all (sentient) beings benefit.

A lamp fed by *mítel* (oil of the Bassia latifolia), which has been hallowed by the recital of the *gátháwa* over it, is placed in the field inside a *mal-pęlak* (temporary altar decked with leaves and flowers). At dusk a man should walk round the field repeating the same stanza and beating the said tom-tom with a piece of *kayila-vęla* (creeper). This done, he must retire by the entrance he came in at, closing it, and sleep that night in an untenanted house.

(5.)

The Kamata, or Threshing-Floor.

"When they are to tread their corn," writes Knox (p. 11), "they choose a convenient adjoining place. Here they lay out a round piece of ground, some twenty or five-and-twenty foot over, from which they cut away the upper turf. Then certain ceremonies are used. First they adorn this place with ashes made into flowers and branches and round circles. Then they take divers strange shells and pieces of iron, and some sorts of wood, and a bunch of betel nuts (which are reserved for such purposes) and lay all these in the very middle of the pit, and a large stone upon them."

See also Mr. Brodie's Paper in C. A. S. Journal, 1849, p. 25, and Davy's Ceylon, p. 275 (where a wood-cut is given).

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triad. Sometimes, however, the names of Brahma, Vishṇu, Síva, and other Hindú deities are found mixed with those of Buddha and other Buddhist divinities in irretrievable confusion in the same charm. Nearly every charm, Sanskrit, Siṇhalese, or Tamiḷ, ends with *E'sváh*—a corruption of the Sanskrit *Sváha*, corresponding to "Amen" in meaning. (C. A. S. Journ. 1865-6, p. 51.)

Much the same ceremonies have been noted in India :—

Idangal panni sutti seytê
Itta pida mitílê
Adanga nirum puje seytu
Arun davangal pannuvir

"Clearing a place, an altar
Ye raise upon the site ;
And heaping ashes on it,
Perform ye many a rite."

("Tamil Popular Poetry," by Dr. Caldwell, in Ind. Ant., Vol. I.)

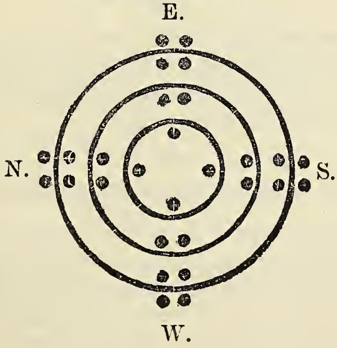
"When Gonds, Kurkus, or Bharias start together in their *tilli* crops, they take with them some ashes and Indian corn seeds, and as they go along they keep making circles with the ashes, and place in their centre the seeds of the corn. This practice is supposed to keep away all the bad will of the *devas*."—(Notes on the Bharias, by C. Scanlan, Assistant Surveyor, in Ind. Ant. Vol. I. p. 159.)

According to Mr. Ievers (C. A. S. Journ. 1880, p. 52, Diagram) the figure described on the threshing-floor by the cultivators of the Kẹgalla District consists of no less than seven concentric circles with four cross lines.

This is a noteworthy departure from the diagram usually seen elsewhere. Throughout the low-country not more than three concentric circles with two diameters between the cardinal points would seem to be drawn.

Precise directions regarding the preparation of a threshing-floor are laid down in the *Muhúrtta-chintámani* (stanzas 257–261) :—

කලවිඩිකැපීම.



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ඇද කව තුනක් එහි දෙහිරක් සිව් දිග ට
යොදම්නි නැකැත් ඉරිදෙසලෙ සිව් අත ට
මුදුනට නැගෙණහිරගෙණ හිරු නැකත සි ට
දකුනට ගණිනු කලවිඩි සක පිළිවෙල ට

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පිට කව දෙවෙනි කවසිවි සොලස සිවුකො නා
වැඩනොවන පුරිතුන්වන කව අට සම නා
මැදසිව්ළුතුම් පෙරයමවරුණ සව්මෙ නා
ගැණගණ්‍යුකෙමෙන් නිමවණලෙස පෙරදීයි නා

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පෙර ඉසිවරු පැවසු සොලසක් බිම් නා
පෙරදිග උතුරනතුබිම්ගෙණ බලාග ණා
සුර ගුරු තුන තුරුද සුබහෝරාව ගෙ ණා
කර කලවිටි වැඩ සුබදේය මනමෙ ණා

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සුබ බඹපාද මැදකපමින් අරක්ව ල
තබ නතුදිගට බේරා වතුර යන ඇ ල
සුබ ලකුනැති බිලිදෙකු අතිනි කරලො ල
නබතුරු පතිසේ ගෙන්වා තබ අරක්ග ල

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සුවඳ පැනින් ඉස් නානයකර සතු ට
නොමද දෙමින් නිසිලෙස පුද එහි යකු ට
දපමතුරින් අළු වඩමින් පුරැකිකො ට
නවගුණයෙන් යලි ඇද හුය කමතව ට

To make a Threshing-floor.

257.

Draw three circles and two diameters between the four cardinal points, and place the twenty-eight *nẹkẹt* in the four directions on the sides of the lines. Calculate the threshing-floor circle towards the right from the *nẹkata* on which the sun stands, starting from the East.

258.

The sixteen *nẹkẹt* standing on the outer and second circular space towards the four directions are profitless and bad : likewise the eight on the third space : the middle four are fortunate. Reckon Southwards from East to West finishing again at East.

259.

Of the 16 portions of ground described by ancient sages* select those

* The sixteen portions of land, as given in the *Máyámataya*, are the following:—Siṇhákáraya, Sárákáraya, Braḥmakáraya, Subhrákáraya, Gajákáraya, Gándharvákáraya, Chatrákáraya, Patrákáraya, Karasẹḍiákáraya, Chaturtvákáraya, Rákshamukhákáraya, Trisulákáraya, Gangákáráya, Varahákáraya, Kurmmákáraya, Nandákáraya. Jalatalákáraya. To these are sometimes added Karatalákáraya, A'yatanákáraya. In *páda-bedima*, or dividing into building lots, the subdivisions are:—Braḥma-pádayá, Dewa-pádaya, Manussiya-pádaya, Preta-pádaya, of which the last is never selected as a site, nor those portions of the others called technically *dẹḷi* and *katura*.

lying East and North. Choose a lucky *hórá** in *Tunuturu nẹkẹt* (Uttarapala, Uttarasala, Uttaraputupa) on Guru (Thursday). The threshing-floor thus constructed will ensure success as desired.

260.

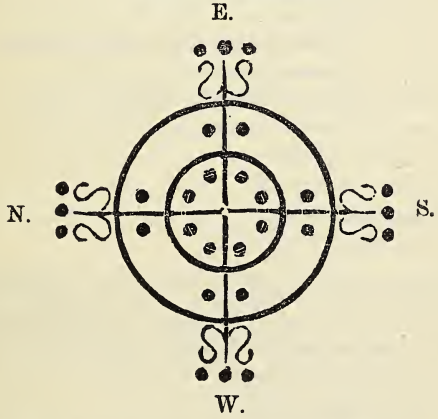
In the midst of fortunate Bamba (Braḥma) portion, dig the *arakvala* (lit. 'protection hole'), clear the boundary drain, and have the *arakgala* ('guardian-stone') brought and placed by the hands of a male child with perfect features like *Turupati* (moon.)

261.

Joyfully bathe the body with perfumed water: there sacrifice duly to the demons, offer ashes charmed by *mantras*, and encircle the threshing-floor with a thread hallowed by the *Navaguṇa-gáthúva.*

The MS. from Pasdun Kóralé gives a somewhat different diagram.

කලවිටි චක්‍රයයි.



කොන්මඟ දෙළොස්ලඟ අට අසුබ පලව නු
සලි මැද අටනැකැත් සුබ පල වෙතෙසිද නු
රිවිමුදුනේලා දකුනට සමකර නු
ගැණ කලවිටි සක මෙලෙසින් දැන කිය නු

Threshing-floor Diagram.

The eight *nẹkẹt* next the twelve at the cardinal points are unlucky. Know that the middle eight *nẹkẹt* will bring luck. Place *Rivi* (sun) at the top (starting point) and calculate Southwards. Thus counting, resolve the threshing-floor diagram.

* "Astrologers suppose that the same seven gods to whom the supervision of the days of the week are appropriated, preside over each successive seven *hórás*, beginning from that one to whom the day belongs, but in the following order, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars."—C. A. S. Journ. 1856-8, p. 182.)

(6.)

(I.)—The Aṇḍukeri'ma Ceremony.

The form of the *A'ndukerima* ceremony (though not known under that name) as practised in the Siyanẹ Kóralé differs to some extent.

After the corn is threshed and before removing the straw from the *kamata*, five cultivators, each taking a *dẹti*, repeat the following words thrice :—

ඉරිදා මානැකතෙන් සමනලගලබොඩින් එලමීගොන් සත් බානක් ගෙනනාවා එක්සි දෙසී තුන්සීයෙන් ශලිමඩ පෝරුගාවා ඇලවල්ඇර බිජුවඩා එක්පෙති දෙපෙති තුන්පෙති පස්පෙති සපෙති සත්පෙතිදී බණ්ඩිඇල්වා පිදී කිරිවැද පැසී කලවිටක් සස්සවා ගොයන් කපා කලවිටට දමා

දෑති දෑති කුමන දෑති
රන් දෑති රිදී දෑති
කටුපිල නික දෙමට කොබ්බෑ කොසොන් දෑති
මෙනන් දෑති පසක් ගෙනා
පස්දෙනෙක්සිට කොලසලා ඇලටි
දෙනෙනක් ගොන් දක්කති
දෙවියෝ වැඩසිටිති
ගොවියෝ වැඩකරති
මෙදාමෙ රජකමතට
ඉතා යහපති පොලි

Iridá má nẹkatin Samanalagalabodin ela migon sat bának gennavá eksi desi tunsiyen ṣali maḍa póru gává ẹlaval ẹra biju vaḍá ekpeti depeti tunpeti paspeti sapeti satpetidí banḍialvá pidi kirivẹda pẹsi kalaviṭak sassavá goyan kapá kalaviṭaṭa damá.

Dẹti dẹti kumana dẹti
Ran dẹti ridi dẹti
Kaṭupila nika demaṭa kobbẹ koson dẹti
Menan dẹti pasak gená
Pas denek siṭa kola salá ẹlaṭi
Dennẹk gon dakkati
Deviyó vẹḍa siṭiti
Goviyó vẹḍa karati
Medá mé raja kamataṭa
Itá yahapati poli.

Seven yokes of white buffaloes having been brought from Adam's Peak at *Mánẹkata* on Sunday, when the first, second, and third ploughings have been performed, and the mud levelled, with *póru*, channels opened, seed sown, the paddy (plants) risen to their first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh nodes, and become pregnant with ears, the ears appeared and the grain matured. After the threshing-floor has been

prepared and the crop reaped and placed on the threshing-floor, five persons separate the straw (from the paddy) with five *ḍeti*—

> *Ḍeti, ḍeti,* what *ḍeti?*
> Gold *ḍeti,* silver *ḍeti,*
> *Kaṭupila, nika, demaṭa, kobbę́, koson ḍeti.*
> Taking five of these *ḍeti,*
> Five (men) stand and toss the corn:
> Two (men) drive the bullocks:
> The god looks on:
> Cultivators work.
> May manifold return attend this royal *kamata* this (harvest) time!

Compare the Harvest song *(Huttari)* of the Coorg ryots (Gover's Folk-songs of Southern India, p. 121):—

> "First they pray that God's rich grace
> Still should rest upon their race.
> Waiting till the gun has roared
> Milk they sprinkle, shouting gay,
> *Polè! Polè! Devarè!*
> Multiply thy mercies, Lord!

(II.)—The Amákeṭé Ceremony.

It is interesting to find an analogous custom, *mutatis mutandis*, existing to this day in many rural districts of England, and markedly Devonshire and Cornwall.

The custom of "crying the neck"—a relic of old heathen worship, whether of Teutonic or Celtic origin, to the goddess who presided over the earth's fruits—is thus described in Mrs. Bray's "Traditions of Devonshire":—

"When the reaping is finished, towards evening the labourers select some of the best ears of corn from the sheaves. These they tie together, and it is called the *nack*. The reapers then proceed to a high place. The man who bears the offering stands in the midst, and elevates it, while all the other labourers form themselves into a circle about him. Each holds aloft his hook, and in a moment they all shout these words: *Arnack* (or *ah nack*), *arnack, arnack; wehaven* (pronounced *wee-hav-en*), *wehaven, wehaven.* This is repeated three several times."

Arnack, meaning "a bunch of ears of corn," when thus coupled with *wehaven* expresses either a wish for a prosperous (Norse, *velhavende*) harvest, or the joy that its labours are ended *(we-have-it)*. See Notes and Queries, 5th Series, Vols. VI., IX.

(7.)

COMPARATIVE LIST of Siṇhalese Conventional Terms used at the Threshing-floor.*

English.	Siṇhalese (ordinary.)	Kégalla District,† Western Province.	Rayigam Kóralé, Western Province.	Siyanẹ Kóralé, Western Province.	Galle District.
Arrack ...	arakku ...	—	pẹdiya ...	*id.* ...	kaḷu-watura
Arekanut ...	puvak ...	kahaṭavá ...	kahaṭavá ...	puvak ...	kahaṭa-paḷu
Ashes ...	aḷu ..	—	davvá ...	aḷuhan ...	{ aḷu-bóya { yakunṭa-bóya
Bag ...	malla ...	puranné ...	kaṭupana ...	puravannáva ...	{ kaṭupana { pẹlẹlla
Betel ...	bulat ...	—	pẹṇgirivá ...	ból-kola ...	pẹṇgiri-kola
Betel (quid) ...	bulat-viḍa ...	—	—	ból-viḍa ...	pẹṇgiri-kola-viḍa
Buffaloe ...	mí-haraká ...	ambaruvá ...	*id.* ...	*id.* ...	*id.*
Cakes ...	kẹvum ...	diya-piṭa-píná ...	diya-piṭa-pinana ...	pupá ...	{ rat-kabala { pu
Chaff ...	bol ...	—	káṭu ...	paligattó ...	{ káṭu; ẹgiṭi; { paligattá; mẹliya
Chunam ...	hunu ...	kaṭuvan ...	suduvá ...	hunu ...	suduvá
Cloth ...	redda ...	—	ahura ...	redda ...	{ vaṭa-badanná { vastraya
Cocoanut (young) ...	kurumbá ...	uhan ...	uhanná ...	kurumbá ...	{ usan-gẹḍi-bóya { usan-gẹḍi
Cock ...	kukulá ...	bin-pahurá ...	*id.* ...	kukulá ...	{ pahuru-gánná { aṅdalanná

Cock (paddy)	ví-goḍa	—	beṭa-varuva	ví-varuva	beṭa-varuva
Dung (cattle)	goma	gon-pas	*id.*	*id.*	*id.*
Elephant	aliyá	maha-bólá	—	patubariyá	ẹt-ẹmbayá maha-ẹmbayá maha-bólá
Fire	gindara	rattá	*id.*	*id.*	ratta-bóya
Fish	málu	—	kaṭu-goyiyan	vẹ́njana	konahannan konussanno
Flail	—	—	dẹṭi-goyiya	*id.*	dẹṭi-póruva
Grain (fine)	amu	kaḷu-baruvan	hínva	—	amu-bóya
Grain	kurakkan	hín-baruvan	hínva	—	kurakkan-bóya
Goad	keviṭa	—	gon-kóṭuva	gon-polla	kẹviṭi-bóya
Handful	atalossa	at-baruva	*id.*	atalossa	beṭa-ahura
Hare	hává	kaṇ-gotuvá	—	hává	há-ẹmbayá
House	gedara	—	kúduva	gedara	nivahna-bóya
Jaggery	hakuru	rahatiya	hakuru	*id.*	rasa-bóya
Little	tikak	—	boyak	bóvak	bóyak
Mat	pẹdura	aturanné	aturannáva	*id.*	sivrupána (*i.e.* má-gala)
Measure	láha	goyiyáva	yála	yála-goyiya	*id.*
Money	kási	—	vaṭa-vannan	vaṭa-van	vaṭ-vanná vaṭa-vanuvan vaṭṭan tani-paturu

* This list is by no means complete. The language of the threshing-floor would form subject for a distinct paper.

† Mr. Ievers in C. A. S. Journ. 1880, p. 52.

COMPARATIVE LIST of Siṇhalese Conventional Terms used at the Threshing-floor—*continued.*

English.	Siṇhalese (ordinary.)	Kégalla District, Western Province.	Rayigam Kóralé, Western Province.	Siyanę Kóralé, Western Province.	Galle District.
Monkey (brown) ...	rilavá ...	kẹs-gahaná ...	—	rilavá ...	rilá-ẹmbayá
Monkey (grey) ..	vandurá ...	kaḷu-geḍiya ...	—	vandurá ...	gas-góná
Mouse deer ...	valmíya, míminná ...	rabboḍayá ...	—	valimuva ...	{ vẹlimuva { míminna
No ...	nẹ́ ...	—	bóyi ...	*id.* ...	*id*
Oil ...	tel ...	vaḍu-diyavara ...	—	tel ...	—
Paddy ...	ví ...	bẹta ...	*id.* ...	*id.* ...	*id.*
Pig ...	úrá ...	hatarayá ..	hoṭabariyá ...	urá ...	{ kaḷugeḍiya { kaḷugeḍi-ẹmbayá
Plantain ...	kesel-kẹn ...	kahaṭa-mal ...	vála-palam ...	kesel-kan ...	rambakan-bóya
Potatoe (sweet) ...	batala ...	bin-tamburu ...	batala ...	*id.* ...	kiri-geḍi
Rice (raw) ...	hál ...	pẹ́hiyan ...	*id.* ...	*id.* ...	—
Rice (cooked) ...	bat ...	pubbaruvan ...	*id.* ...	pubbórun ...	pubbaru
Rice (pounded) ...	habalapeti ...	—	váḍi-hál ...	habalapeti ...	javáḍi-hál
Rope (yoke) ...	bána ...	—	vẹl-bóya ...	bána ...	lanu-bóya
Salt ...	lunu ...	miriyá ...	—	lunu ...	mihiriya
Sickle ...	dẹ́kẹtta ...	—	liyannavá ...	dẹ́kẹtta ..	liyannáva
Smoothing board ...	póruva ...	—	goyiya ...	poru-goyiya ...	—
Straw ...	piduru ...	—	mẹḍuvan ...	*id.* ...	*id.*
Sunshine ...	avva ...	dẹḍiyáva ...	deḍiyá ...	*id.* ...	*id.*

Tobacco	dun-kola	—	roḍu-kola	dun-kola	mat-karaṇṇá / titta-kola
Toddy	rá	—	bora-diya	bora-gaṅgula	sudu-watura
Threshing-floor	kamata	—	—	kalawiṭa	pávara
Water	watura	—	gaṅgula	*id.*	*id.*
Winnow	kulla	yatura	*id.*	*id.*	*id.*
Verbs.					
Drink	bonavá	—	puravanavá	bonavá	jaya-karaṇavá
Eat	kanavá	—	udavu-karaṇavá	koṭá-bánava	veḍa-vindinavá / jaya-karaṇavá
Hasten	ikman-karaṇavá	—	sédaru-karaṇavá	ikman-karaṇavá	seḍéru-karaṇavá
Light	pattu-karaṇavá	—	—	rat-karaṇavá	udavu-karaṇavá
Measure	maninavá	—	—	yallanavá	goyikam-karaṇavá
Reap	kapanavá	—	liya-bânava	kapanavá	liya-bánava
Stack	goḍa-gahanavá	—	—	ráhi-karaṇavá	kandu-karavaṇavá
Thresh	páganavá	—	maḍavanavá	*id.*	maḍinavá
Winnows	pahinavá	—	hulaṇ-karaṇavá	pahinavá	molhambanavá
Place	damanavá	—	puravanavá	damanavá	sédaruva-goyikam-karaṇava

(8.)

Bali, or Dues.

Strictly speaking, orthodox Buddhists are enjoined to set apart from their "worldly goods" five dues (*bali*) :—

1. *Rája-baliya,* the tithe due to the king.
2. *Deva-baliya,* the portion offered to the gods.
3. *Ñáti-baliya,* the share given to kinsfolk.
4. *Atithi-baliya,* the guests' or wayfarers' portions.
5. *Pubba-Préta-baliya,* the portion allotted to the shades of the departed.

Of these *bali,* the first three are specially required of cultivators : the other two should be discharged by all persons.

The *Rája-baliya* ought to be paid over in the field itself ; the rest at home.

In former times grants of land were apportioned by the Kings to different *Deválés* and *Koyils,* where distinct gods were not infrequently worshipped.

Thus, to this day, the adjoining hamlets of Kalutara, on the north and south of the Kaḷuganga, retain the names *Désapura* or *Désastara,* and *Vélápura.* The former is said to derive its name from *Dévasástra,* a synonym of Vibhísana, brother of Rávaṇa, the mythical ruler of Laṅka and abductor of Síta ; the latter from the war on the seaboard (*Vélá*) in which Kanda Kumára also rendered substantial aid to the bereaved Ráma against Rávaṇa. On this account it is asserted that Kataragama Deviyó is especially honoured south of the Kaḷuganga.*

(9.)

Incantations used in Deviyanné Dánaya.

(I.)—කතරගමදෙවියන්ගේ දානේ දෙන වෙලාවට කියන යාතිකාවක්.

නමො තස්ස භගවතො අරහතො සම්මාසම්බුද්ධස්ස.

අවසර !

1. කප්පනත්‍රියක් බුදුවන්ඩ:
චිරහත්කාලයකට බුදුවන්ඩ:
ඉරසඳ පවතිනාතෙක් බුදුවන්ඩ :
මුළුකල්ප දහසකට අතුරුකල්ප:
දහසකට සමවඩීපතාන කල්ප :
දහසකට ආයුවඩීපතාන කල්පදහයකට බුදුවන්ඩ !

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* The above ingenious but fanciful derivations are given for what they are worth.

2. තවද මේ දසදහසක් සක්වල එකහිල්ලෙන් වැඩහිටින සහම්පතී නම් මහාබ්‍රහ්මරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස!

පින්ගන්නවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි :

3. තවද වයිකුන්ඨකනම් පර්වතේ වාසස්ථානයකරණ ශ්‍රීවිෂ්ණුදිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස තමුන්නාන්සේට කියනකනනලවුව ගෙණ වදාරණවයි,

පින්ගනනවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි :
පින්ගනනවයි :

4. තවද දෙදෙවුලොවට අධිපති ශක්‍රදිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන් වහන්ස

පින්ගන්නවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි ;
පින්ගනනවයි :

5. තවද ඊශ්වර විංශති අධිග්‍රව වැඩසිටින ඊශ්වර දිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස,

පින්ගනනවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි :
පින්ගන්නවයි :

6. තවද මෙම ශ්‍රීලංකාත්තුංග අමෘතමහා නිවන්සම්පත් සාදාදෙන පිණිස අපතිලෝගුරු සම්‍යක්සම්බුද්ධ සර්වඥයානන්වහන්සේගේ පන්දාස් පන්සියයක් පවතිනා බුද්ධශාසනය සැක්‍රදිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන් වහන්සේගෙන් භාරව මේ ලංකාව තුන්පියවර කාලේකට මැණ අරගණ ප්‍රවර වික්‍රමවේසධාරී නීලෝප්පලක්ෂිය සංවඩ ගරුඩවාහනාරූඪව වැඩහිටිනමහා විෂ්ණුදිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන් වහන්ස,

පින්ගන්නවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි :

7. කිසිරැලිඋපුල්වන් සමන්බොක්සල්ලා විභීසන ශ්‍රීනාරායන කතරගම කන්දස්වාමී හාමුදුරුවන් වහන්ස දෙවුන්දර දේවාලයට මහාකතරගම් දේවාලයට කුඩා කතරගම් දේවාලයට පූනනස්සරම් දේවාලයට සෙල්ලන්දුවට රන්කන්දට රිදීකන්දට මැනික් ගංගාවට ත්‍රිනිගංගාවට වලවේගංගාවට තැඹිලිවිමානයට කිරිවෙහෙරට බැල්මකරවදාරණ කතරගම කන්දස්වාමීන්වහන්ස තමුන්නාන්සේට කියන කනනලව්ව දිවස්කරුණාවටගෙණ වදාරණවයි,

පින්ගන්නවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි :
පින්ගන්නවයි :

8. තවද මත්තු අනාගතකාලයෙහි පස්වෙනි කපට බුදුවෙන්ඩ බුදුබව ප්‍රාර්ථනාකර වැඩහිටින නාථදිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස,

පින්ගන්නවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි :
පින්ගන්නවයි :

9. තවද සමන්තකූට පර්වතයට, දිවාගුහාවට, සමනල ශ්‍රීපාදපත්මයට, සබරගමු දේවාලයට බැල්මකර වධාරණ සමන්දිව්‍යරාජෝත්තමයානන්වහන්ස,

පින්ගන්නවයි :
සියවරද ක්ෂමාවී වදාරණවයි.

Namó Tassa Bhagavató Arahato Sammá Sam Buddhassa.

Permission!

1. Be thou Buddha to the end of a *kalpa:*
   Be thou Buddha for immeasurable time:
   Be thou Buddha whilst sun and moon exist:
   Be thou Buddha for a thousand full *kalpas:*
   for a thousand intermediate *kalpas:*
   for a thousand *samavarshaptana kalpas:*
   for a thousand *áyu-varshaptana kalpas!*

2. O Sahampati, mighty lord Bráhma, who with one finger supportest these 10,000 universes (*sakwala*),

accept our merits:
pardon our offences:
hear us!

3. O illustrious Vishṇu, great heavenly king, who residest on Vayikuṇḍika Mount, listen to the prayers addressed to thee,

accept our merits:
&c., &c.

4. O Sakra, mighty king of heaven, lord of two god-worlds,

accept our merits:
&c., &c.

5. O great heavenly king I'svara, the presiding deity of the I'svara cycle of twenty years,

accept our merits:
&c., &c.

6. O great Vishṇu, heavenly king, who art seatedst on the back of a full-grown *garuda*, of blue colour, of eminent valour, who measuredst out this Laṅka in three footsteps, when entrusted to thee by the heavenly king Sakra, during the existence of Buddhism, of our omniscient, true, and perfect Lord Buddha, Teacher of the Three Worlds (*Buddha-sésanaya*) that will last 5,500 years, to show to the inhabitants of this glorious Laṅka the path to the bliss of the great "death-ceasing" Nirvána,

accept our merits:
&c., &c.

7. O Kataragama Kandaswámi, of the race of the four gods, Upulvan (Vishṇu), Saman-boksalla, Vibhísana, and illustrious Naráyana Katragama Kandaswámi, who presidest over Devundara Déválé, Maha Kataragam Déválé, Kuḍá Kataragam Dévále, Punnaswaram Déválé, Sellandáwa, Rankanda, Ridikanda, Meṇikgaṇgáva, Triniganggáva, Walavégaṇgága, Teṃbilivimánaya, Kiri Vehera, listen with divine graciousness to the prayers addressed to thee,

accept our merits:
&c., &c.

8. O heavenly king Náta, who hopest to become a Buddha when five *kalpas* have expired,

accept our merits :
&c., &c.

9. O heavenly king Saman, presiding over Samantakuṭa Parvata (Adam's Peak), Diváguháva, sacred lotus-like Samanala Srípáda, Sabaragamuwa Dévâlé,

accept our merits :
&c., &c.

(II.)—කිරිඉතුරවීමට කියන යාදින්න.*

සසිරිබර මෙසිරිලක
සිරිලකට පැවතඑන
සෝවනැතම් නුවර
තවුස්මුනි පුර නුවර
හිමවනෙත් අජාපල්
දූසැමනෙන් රකින සිල්
දෙවගනන් කල කුසල්
උපන්දෙව් ලද එකල්
යෝගිවේ සයෙන්හා
කඳුරුපතළඬවැටුනු
දෙමටමලදෑගොසින්
නාගලෝව ගොස්වැටුනි
සැටකෙලක්නයින්නේ
පෙනගොබයදෑගොසින්
මේකවුද දිවස්ලති
දිරිකලපයට එන
දෙවිකෙනෙක් සිතාලා
නාගරජ පෙන මැදින්
පැපුඅවතාරයෙන්
වැටුනු නාලියපසන්
අඳුන්දිවි කුලමුඳුන්
සක්රජට දිවිපුදන්
එසක්රජ දුන් එරන්
වැඳද පෙර පින්බලෙන්
අඹඋයන මැදගොසින්
මීඅඹය කොලතුරෙන්
පිලිසිඳැනොවලසින්
උයන්ගොවු දූකනෙතින්
රජුට සැලකලගොසින්
ගෙණගසන පොඑරගේ
අසලකට නොලසේ

එසක්දෙව් කී අඬේ
සැක්‍රවීදඑගොසින්
එකාපඬිනොවලසින්
ගොසින් මම තොන්ඩුවෙන්
වරක්කාලිවෙමින්
සොලොස්ඇවිරිදිවෙමින්
සරනමංගල්‍යයෙන්
පොරනමාදේවිගේ
පඝස රස ගුණඇගේ
ගුණනොදනු වේසිගේ
ඇගේසිවි කොපයෙන්
ගෙවාගොස් නමයොදුන්
මිනිහලඹ ගෙණදෙමින්
තරහඑද දූකඇසින්
සලඹගෙණ සතොසවා
ගතිමි මිල ගිවිසවා
නරාදියගෙන්නවා
සමැයිකී වීදියට
දිවීගොසින් රජුලඟට
කියාබොරු විවින් විට
දූතයා ගෙනනමින්
හොර මොහුන් ගෙණේවා
පිටිතලා බන්දවා
ගෙණහලඹ උදුරමින්
පන්චවදකරමින්
කොසඹමුල මරවමින්
මදුරුවෙස් ගෙණ ලසින්
ආසිකිරිබිසවගේ
තමන්විදිනාදුකින්
ඉදිනපත්තිනි දුකින්
ජලපොතිදඑක්වෙමින්

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* This *yádinna*—a very disjointed and hardly intelligible account of Pattini's birth—is used during the "*Kiri itaravima*" ceremonial.

නවයොදුන් මග ගෙවා
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මැරූ තොරතුරුඅසා
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(III.)—කිරිඋතුරණ වෙලාවට කියන කවි.*

1. හිමිසඳුගෙන් වෙන්ව ගි යෝ
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අඬති මෙලෙස පත්තිනි යෝ

2. මගෙහිමි ගිය වෙලදාම ට
මදුරාපුරවර නුවර ට
ඇද්ද කොනෙක් ගවු විවර ට
කියව කලිය සෝදිය ව ට

3. සාසේ මැද සඳසහයු රූ
වාසේකළ සිතක සොඳු රූ
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නාවේ කිම අදවෙනතු රූ

4. සලඹට මිල නොකියද් දෝ
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මහිමි පමාවනු කින් දෝ

5. පුගනෙතමුල සිටි පිසස දෑ
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ඉඳිති දිරුනු අටුකනුව දෑ

6. නෙදෙනී හරක් කිරීදෙවින ට
අඬති ලමා වයසෝ සි ට
දුවති ගාල් බිඳ පිටත ට
දුවති ගෙදර දස එකවී ට

7. හැසපිය බිම නිතිලෙස එලිකර ලා
යස සොඳ සුදුවැලි ගෙණ බිම ඉස ලා
සසගුන පත්තිනිසඳ වැඩි මගු ලා
බැස මෙපුරයට දෙස දුරුකර ලා

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* A mere fragment in verse of the story of Pattini, recited subsequent to the *yádinna* given above. For a fuller account of the goddess see the *Pattini-hella.*

8. එර්දි සලඹගෙන ගුවනින් වැඩී යේ
එර්දි එසක්මන් ගමනින් වැඩි යේ
එර්දි සලඹෙ ගිනිකෙලි කෙලි යේ
සෙත්දි රැකදෙන් පත්තිනි දෙවි යේ

9. ඉරිදෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් නේ
අපිකල වරදක් දුට ඉවසන් නේ
මෙආතුරහට සැපත දෙවන් නේ
ඉරිදෙවි මෙකිරි පාවාගන් නේ

10. සදෙවියනි කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
11. විස්නුදෙවියො කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
12. කඳකුමරු කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
13. නාතදෙවිඳු කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
14. සමන්දෙවිඳු කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
15. විභිසනදෙවි කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
16. ගණදෙවියෝ කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
17. පත්තිනිදෙවි කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
18. වාසලදෙවි කිරි පාවාගන් නේ ආදියයි.
19. දෙවොල් දෙවිඳු කිරි පාවාගන් නේ
20. මංගලදෙවිඳු කිරි පාවාගන් නේ

1. "Parted from my spouse, I am left alone :
Left to stifle my heart's love :
Left with the grief born on that day—"
Thus mourneth Pattini.

2. "My spouse has gone to trade
To the great city Madura.
How many gows is it distant?
Say, Kali ; comfort me.

3. "Like the hare in moon midst,
So lived we in fond love.
My spouse is a good helpmate ;
Why comes he not to this day ?

4. "Offered they not for the bracelets?
Has change come o'er his mind ?
Or mayhap some other sorrow
Has delayed my lord."

5. Wiping tears that well in her eyes,
Cheeks, body, back, all,
E'en to her foot's sole,
Lifeless as a log remain.

6. To milk the cow she forbiddeth,
Though the calves stand lowing ;
Breaking the pinfolds they burst forth,
By tens they scamper home.

7. The ground is hoed and neatly trimmed,
Pure white sand brought and strewn ;
For the advent feast of holy Pattini.
Descend to this city dispelling evil!

8. By *irdi* with the bracelets she came ;
By *irdi* came she on foot ;
By *irdi* the bracelets shone like fire.
Guard and bless us, Pattini!

9. O sun god! accept our milk offering :
Pardon the faults thou knowest :
Bestow happiness on these patients :
O Sun god! accept our milk offering.

10. O Moon god! &c.
11. O Vishṇu! &c.
12. O Kanda Kumara! &c.
13. O Náta! &c.
14. O Saman! &c.
15. O Vibhísana! &c.
16. O Gaṇadevi! &c.
17. O Pattini! &c.
18. O Vásala Devi! &c.
19. O Devol Devindu! &c.
20. O Maŋgala Devindu! &c.

(10.)

Story of Rálahámi.

Long ago in Kosgama, a village of the Western Province, there lived a man of respectable birth, called Kuḍá Rálahámi, who was suffering from the worst form of that loathsome disease, *paraŋgi*. This man, as an outcast, was forced to live alone, apart from haunts of men, in a *pela*, or small hut, for fear lest others might be cursed with the same complaint. His meals were every day brought and placed on a stone or other elevation not far from the *pela*, by his relations, who shunned his very sight, under the belief that his mere glance falling on them would suffice to communicate the fell disease.

One cold rainy evening an *áṇḍiyá*, or fakír, took shelter under his roof, and to keep them both warm kindled a fire near the hurdle-shelf *(messa)* on which Rálahámi slept, laying himself down close by. During the night the *pela* took fire, and the fakír perished in the flames, the leper barely escaping with his life naked.

The next morning the man who brought his meal as usual found the *pẹla* burnt to the ground and the charred remains of a human body. This he naturally concluded to be Rálahámi, and returned home with the news to the relations, who were secretly glad to be rid of the burden.

Meanwhile the unfortunate man, who had been the whole day in the jungle without food or clothing, made his way at night to his own home, and knocked at the door. To his surprise the door was shut again as soon as opened, and a voice said : "Hush ! Rálahámi, who was burnt to death, has come back to revenge himself on us as a *Mala-Yaká*." Understanding by this that it would be impossible to get the people to believe that he was still alive, especially in his enforced nakedness, he resorted to a plan for securing a regular supply of food and of milk, of which he was in special need, as from its coolness it would give him at least temporary relief.

The following night stealthily entering a cattle enclosure, he managed to drive out unobserved some young calves, and to tether them in the jungle. The next morning the owners missing the calves, made every search for them, but in vain. A day or two after the leper cautiously approached at dead of night the houses of the persons whom he had robbed, and knocking at the doors, said in solemn tones—"Spare Kuḍá Rálahámi milk and food daily, and your calves will be found !" Thus saying, he hid himself before they could open their doors, and see who knocked. As they could not discover anyone near about, with innate superstitiousness the cattle-owners imagined that some deity or demon had filched the calves and thus notified his wants. The following day, therefore, they took care to provide milk and rice for Rálahámi, who on his part allowed the calves to stray back to the pinfold.

The practice was continued so long as he lived, and it is said that on his death he was metamorphosed into *Kuḍá-Yaká*, more commonly known under the names *Kuḍá-Rálahámi* or *Kosgama Deviyó*, to whom offerings of milk are greatly acceptable.

We have not improbably here (with just such divergence as would follow from the nature of the respective religious beliefs) the counterpart of "Robin Goodfellow," for whom not many centuries past our "grandame's maids were wont to set a bowl of milk,"* and whose frolics, as "Hobgoblin" or "Puck," Shakespeare has made familiar in the "Midsummer Night's Dream."

* "Tells how the drudging goblin sweat
To earn his cream bowl duly set."—*L'Allegro.*

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1884.

VOL. VIII.—PART I.

No. 27.

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

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COLOMBO:
GEORGE J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.

1885.

C. A. S. JOURNAL,

Vol. VIII., No. 27, 1884.

By an oversight, the pagination was not run on from "Journal Vol. VIII., No. 26, 1883."

It is not possible to correct the paging neatly, except in manuscript. Members are requested to do this for themselves.

The pages should run from 95—192, and "Part I." on the cover should be struck out.

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REPORT

ON

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES

AT

TISSAMAHÁRÁMA,

IN THE

SOUTHERN PROVINCE OF CEYLON.

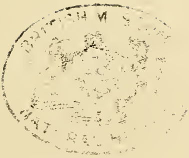
BY

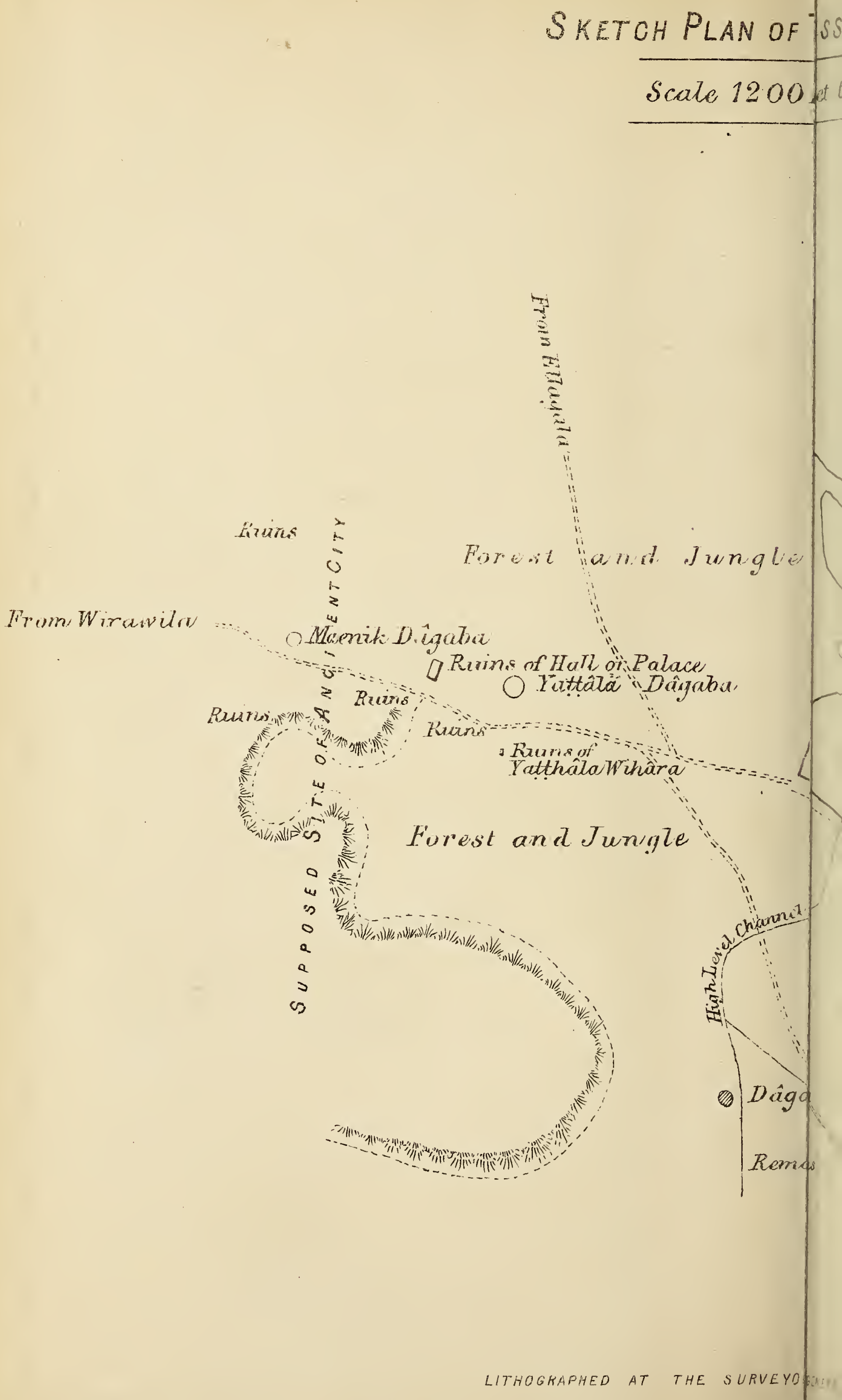
HENRY PARKER,

F.G.S., F.Z.S., F. R. HIST. SOC., &C.,

Irrigation Officer, Public Works Department.

[*Presented to the Society by His Excellency the Hon. A. H. Gordon, G.C.M.G.*]




SKETCH PLAN OF
Scale 1200
From Ellagala
Ruins
Forest and Jungle
From Wirawila
Maenik Dâgaba
Ruins of Hall or Palace
Yaṭṭâlâ Dâgaba
Ruins
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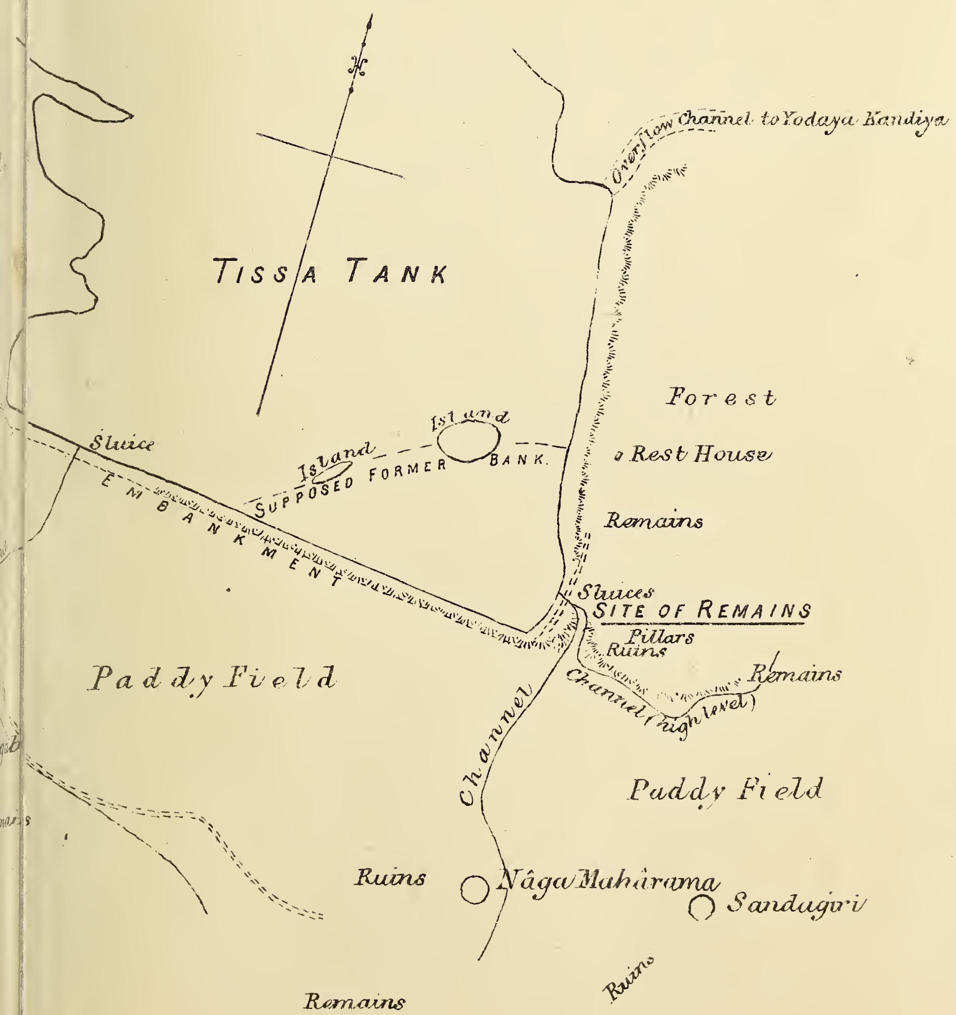
Ruins
Ruins of
Yaṭṭhâla Wihâra
SUPPOSED SITE OF ANCIENT CITY
Forest and Jungle
High Level Channel
Dâg
Rem
LITHOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEYO

OF TISSA MAHÂRÂMA.

00 Feet to an Inch



ENERAL'S OFFICE, COLOMBO.

Fr

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CEYLON BRANCH.

REPORT ON ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AT TISSAMAHA'RA'MA.

By Henry Parker, F.G.S., F.Z.S., F.R. Hist. Soc., &c.,
Irrigation Officer.

INTRODUCTION.

Tissamahárámа is well known to be in the south-east of the Island—twenty miles by road to the north-east of Hambantoṭa, and about six and a-half from the mouth of the Mágama or Kirinde-ganga. It is also known as the site of the large dágabas built by Mahánága, the third son of king Muṭasíwa, and his successors—the chief one being the Mahaáráma—and of the Tissa tank, or Tissawæwa (commonly called Tiháwa), presumably constructed by the same son of Muṭasíwa, which has been restored during recent years. Five miles from Tissawæwa and three from the village of Kirinde is the village of Mágama, said to be at the site of the ancient southern capital, Mágama, on the bank of the Mágama-ganga. A mile to the eastward of Tissawæwa is a larger shallow reservoir, long since abandoned, the bund of which now goes by the name of Yódayákaṇḍiya. This tank is probably the Dúra and Dúratissa tank of the Mahávaṁsa. The waste water of Tissawæwa flowed into this reservoir by a wide excavated channel, and there can be no doubt that the object of this larger tank was the irrigation of a considerable part of the land lying between Tissawæwa and the sea; Tissawæwa itself being of small capacity, and evidently originally intended to provide water chiefly for the use of the large

monastic establishment of the Tissa Wiháras, and for the numerous residents in its immediate neighbourhood.

As the early monarchs of Anurádhapura devoted their energies (after the introduction of Buddhism by Mahinda) to the construction of edifices in the sacred grounds attached to the Mahá Wihára, so in the south the kings of Mágama have left, on a smaller scale, an interesting series of remains at Tissawæwa, to testify their devotion to the religion of the "Enlightened." What the Mahá Wihára with its numerous priests was to Anurádhapura, the Tissa Wiháras were to the Mágama of the period. At both capitals the lay buildings have almost disappeared.

As in the northern capital, the dágabas constitute the most imposing ruins at Tissawæwa.

There are four principal dágabas lying in an irregular east and west line, and also the ruins of two other minor ones, the names of which are not known. Beginning at the east, the names of the larger ones are, Sandagiri, Maháráma, Yaṭṭhála, and Mæṇik dágabas; and all four are locally attributed to Mahánága, or the next kings, including Duṭṭhagámini. It is only certain, however, that the Maháráma dates from the reign of Mahánága, but it is most probable that the Sandagiri dágaba is also one of his constructions, and that the others were also built while Mágama remained the capital of a semi-independent Southern Kingdom, and were due to either the same ruler or his immediate successors. The Yaṭṭhála and Mæṇik dágabas are comparatively small. Through the energy of two priests, the Mahárâma has lately been restored, and little but the spire now remains to be added; this will bring the whole height to about 130 feet,—low in comparison with the immense structures of Anurádhapura, yet enough to make the dágaba a prominent and imposing object in the flat field below the Tissa tank. It would be out of place to give in this report a detailed description of these dágabas. Although varying in the number of basal platforms, all appear to be otherwise built of solid brickwork laid horizontally, either dry or in mud, and to be after the usual ancient type as regards relative proportions. The unrepaired ones are in a very ruinous state, but the priests in charge of them intend to gradually place all the larger ones in order, and the work of restoration

has this year been begun at two of them. The two first-mentioned dágabas are situated to the south-east of the Tissa tank, a short distance below its enbankment, in what is now the paddy field; the other two large ones lie to the west of the tank, nearer the river (the Mágama-ganga), which flows past at a distance of two miles from the tank. I may note here that Dr. Müller has inadvertently fallen into an error in stating that this river flows through the tank. (*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, p. 40, footnote.) The water is brought from the river to the tank by means of a deep excavated channel, several miles long. In former times the tank was supplied with water in a similiar manner, but by a channel following a different course from that now adopted.

Surrounding these dágabas are numerous remains of buildings which were doubtless, for the most part, wiháras built either by Mahánága and his successors, or, in some cases, by rulers of a somewhat later period. The statement in the Mahávaṁsa (ed. Turnour, p. 217), to some extent confirmed by the inscription in the Mahuráma (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 4), that King Ilanága "enlarged the Nága Mahá Wihára to the extent of a hundred lengths of his unstrung bow"—that is, some 600 feet in length—will give an idea of the area once covered by these structures; but now all that is to be seen above-ground usually consists of the upper part of a few squared, upright pillars, which formed part of the walls, or assisted in supporting the roof.

On the western side of the Tissa tank, near the Mæṇik and Yaṭṭhála dágabas, and not far from the river, there are (besides the buildings which were occupied by the priests) several other remains of edifices which appear to have belonged to influential members of the laity, as well as the ruins of what is said by some to have been the royal palace,* a large hall about 140 feet long by 70 feet wide,

* I should note, however, that the opinion of Jinaratana Terunnánsé, the priest who has charge of this place and the adjoining dágabas, is that this was not a palace at any time, but a building belonging to the Bhikkhu Congregation, and either a dining-hall (*danasála*), or more probably a hall for prayers (*banasála*); and that in this case the elephant tied to the Ætábænduwa may have been a temple elephant. This opinion appears to be well founded.

of which the plain, rough, monolithic pillars, mostly upright, standing at present from 12 to 15 feet above the ground-level, are all that is now visible. These pillars, measuring in cross section from 1 to 1½ feet by 2 feet, and about 10 feet apart, may possibly have supported an upper room, and all have sockets cut in their top for the reception of beams.

Near this building is a very substantial, upright, octagonal monolith, the "Ætábænduwa," mentioned by Dr. Müller as bearing an inscription of the 6th or 7th century A.D. (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 109), which is deeply worn by both the neck and feet chains by which the tusk-elephant was attached to it; and also has recesses cut in it near the top for the reception of the beams on which the roof of the elephant-shed rested. The more important private dwellings in this quarter were surrounded by a boundary wall of rectangular plan, which in some cases enclosed an extensive area, in the middle of which stood the house. The largest of these buildings was probably the palace.

On the opposite, or eastern, side of the tank were few buildings of magnitude; but two large, prostrate, octagonal pillars have been met with, bearing short inscriptions of a much older date than that on the Ætábænduwa, and apparently of the first or second century A.D. (*See Appendix*, Note 2). I have also seen pieces of tile and pottery extending for fully half a mile into the jungle, from the tank; and there appears to have been a large population on this side also.

The accounts of early Siṁhalese rule neglect everything which was not intimately connected with the rulers residing in the northern capitals, and contain only occasional curt notices of the capitals of the subsidiary kingdoms or provinces which at one time existed in Ceylon. Even in this fragmentary state of the history of the southern metropolis, Mágama, it is surprising to find no special reference to the construction of the important dágabas at Tissawæwa, more especially when it is considered that the chief one, the Mahárâma, was by far the largest dágaba of its time in Ceylon, and that it continued to be so for 80 years at least.

It can hardly be assumed that the northern historians

were ignorant of the building of this structure. When, however, the merely casual references to the Mahiyangana and Kælaniya dágabas—both of them, in ancient times, more sacred edifices in the eyes of a devout Buddhist—are taken into consideration, it is clear that the silence regarding these southern works is nothing unusual, and does not afford any evidence against their presumed early construction. There is no reason to doubt that the Maháráma was built by Mahánága, the younger brother of King Dewánampiya Tissa, and the inscription in it, copied by Dr. Goldschmidt, leaves no uncertainty as to its bearing its constructor's name in the early part of the 1st century A.D. It is explicitly stated also (*Mah.*, *p.* 130) that Mahánága constructed the wihára bearing his name, which must certainly have been close to the dágaba.* This necessarily implies the residence of a considerable monastic fraternity at the spot, for whom a water-supply nearer than the river was plainly indispensable. There could be no water at the site, except during and immediately after the rainy seasons; and I am aware of only one ancient well in the neighbourhood, at the presumed royal palace. In order to construct the dágaba also, as well as to prepare the clay obtained on the spot for moulding the bricks of which it is built, a water-supply must undoubtedly have been provided.

The only regular water-supply which has ever existed has been furnished by the Tissa tank, and the conclusion is inevitable that the tank is at least as old as the dágaba and wihára. Possibly it may have been in existence, as a small tank, from a considerably earlier date, as there is some reason for believing; but, in any case, it cannot be assigned to a later one.

This Tissa tank was extended "in like manner" (i.e. made of larger area, just as the dágaba and wihára were increased in size) by King Ilanága, 38–44 A.D. (*Mah.* 217)—a fact which will be shown to afford some proof of the age of the remains now reported on.

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* The term "wihára" is now held to refer to and include all the buildings at a Buddhist monastery; but in former times it seems often to have been reserved for the houses only.

The tank and dágaba were again repaired by King Kaniṭṭha Tissa, 155-173 A.D., according to the Situlpahuwa inscription. (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 16).

As the date of the construction of these works is intimately connected with the subject of this report, it is important to endeavour to fix the actual time with some approximation to greater accuracy than the ancient histories can lay claim to. Mahánága settled at Mágama soon after Dewánampiya Tissa succeeded to the throne, which, according to the Mahávaṁsa, took place in 307 B.C. This event, however, occurred considerably later,—apparently about 62 years afterwards. In dealing with this part of the subject, I have taken the opportunity of investigating the chronology of the previous rulers of Ceylon, and of drawing up a corrected chronological table for them. If this has been previously done, of which I am not aware, such a table is, at any rate, not usually accessible to students in Ceylon.

If we consider King Muṭasíwa to have been 45 years old when his youngest son was born—(his ten sons—if not his two daughters—are explicitly stated to have been the children of one mother; *Mah.*, p. 128)—the following will be the probable ages and lengths of reign of the earlier Kings of Ceylon, according to the Mahávaṁsa:—

King.	Accession. B.C.	Length of Reign. Years.	Age.
Wijaya ...	543 ...	38 ...	65
Paṇḍuwása Dewa ...	504 ...	30 ...	55
Abhaya ...	474 ...	26 ...	70
Paṇḍukabhaya ...	437 ...	70 ...	107
Muṭasíwa ...	367 ...	60 ...	146
Dewánampiya Tissa.	307 ...	40 ...	156
Uṭṭiya ...	267 ...	10 ...	158
Mahásíwa ...	257 ...	10 ...	166
Suratissa ...	247 ...	10 ...	174
Sena and Guttika ...	237 ...	22 ...	—
Asela ...	215 ...	10 ...	204
Elára ...	205 ...	44 ...	70
Kákawaṇṇatissa ...	— ...	— ...	64
Duṭṭhagámini ...	161 ...	24 ...	68
Saddhátissa ...	137 ...	18 ...	84

Of course such ages would be utterly preposterous, in

whatever climate, and it is quite plain that this chronology has been deliberately falsified; probably, as Turnour pointed out, to make the period of Wijaya's landing in the Island coincide with the date adopted as the beginning of the Buddhist era. Except that Saddhátissa seems to have lived to a suspiciously great age, and Elára to have been too old to engage in single combat, even on an elephant, with Duṭṭhagámini, there are no data by which to prove that any inaccuracy exists subsequent to the reign of Asela.

Taking, therefore, the date of Elára's accession as the foundation on which to build up a less impossible chronological table, and accepting the periods of the Mahávaṁsa only when in accordance with probabilities, we have first the fact that Asela died a violent death about 205 B.C. (*Mah.*, p. 128.) He was the ninth son of Muṭasíwa, Kira being the youngest son. As, apparently, all his brothers, except Suratissa, had previously died natural deaths, Asela appears to have reached an advanced age when Elára seized the throne. If he was 75 years old when he was killed (an age attained by few monarchs),—he was born in 280 B.C. Thus, his youngest brother, Kira, cannot have been born earlier than 279 B.C. Considering that, as above stated, all Muṭasíwa's children were the issue of one mother, it is most improbable that this king was more than 45 years old when his youngest son, Kira, was born. This will bring the date of Muṭasíwa's birth to 324 B.C. It might occur later, but it can hardly be assigned to an earlier date.

Paṇḍuwása Dewa died at the time of Paṇḍukabhaya's birth (*Mah.*, p. 58), and his son Abhaya reigned 20 years before Paṇḍukabhaya, having made Suwaṇṇapálí his queen, took the field with his troops in the 17 years' fighting, which was ended by his acquiring the sovereignty. There are some discrepancies in the account of this desultory war given in the Mahávaṁsa (pp. 60–64), but as it is distinctly stated, both in that history (p. 67), and in the Dípavaṁsa (ed. Oldenberg, p. 164), that the campaigns lasted 17 years, that Paṇḍukbahaya was 16 when he came under the guardianship of Paṇḍala, under whom he remained while his education was being perfected (*Mah.*, p. 60), and that he

was 37 when he became king, we must conclude that the statement as to his being married at 20 is correct. In this case the birth of his son Muṭasiwa may have occurred when he was 21. Paṇḍukabhaya was therefore born about 345 B.C., and ascended the throne in 308 B.C. It is evident (*Mah.*, pp. 65–67) that he reigned many years. Practically, he built the city of Anurádhapura, which doubtless previously resembled a large irregular village, or a cluster of hamlets, rather than a town fit to be the capital of a kingdom. This was after he had "tranquillized" the country, and fixed the village boundaries throughout the Island, which alone occupied 10 or 12 years of his reign. Altogether, the length of his whole reign cannot have been much less than 30 years from 308 to 278 B.C., and possibly it might be a few more.

Abhaya succeeded to the throne at the birth of Paṇḍukabhaya, that is, in 345 B.C.

Paṇḍuwasa Dewa is said to have reigned 30 years (*Mah.*, p. 58), that is, from 375 to 345 B.C.; and as there are no data for correcting this period, it must be accepted as accurate. He was unmarried when he assumed the sovereignty (*Mah.*, pp. 54–55), so that we may presume his eldest son, Abhaya, to have been born about 373 B.C.

Upatissa held the sovereignty, as provisional ruler, for one year previous to Paṇḍuwasa Dewa's arrival—from 376 to 375 B.C.

Wijaya is stated to have reigned 38 years; this will bring the date of his landing in Ceylon to 414 B.C. (*Mah.*, p. 53). While this event cannot be considered to have occurred before 420 B.C., it may very possibly have happened some years later—between 400 and 420 B.C. In view of the Siṁhalese tradition that Wijaya landed in Ceylon at the time of the Buddha's death, I would invite special attention to Professor Rhys Davids' reasoning by which the date 412 B.C. is arrived at for the commencement of the Buddhist era. (*Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 65.)

Regarding the time of the accession of Dewánampiya Tissa, we have the statement in the Dípavaṁsa (XI., 14) that 'when seventeen years of that king (that is, Asoka) and six months of the next year had elapsed, in the second month

of the winter season, under the most auspicious Nakkhatta of Asáḷhá, Dewánampiya Tissa was installed in the kingdom of Tambapaṇṇi.' Asoka appears to have ascended the throne in 263 B.C. (Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, Vol. IV., p. 525, f.n.), and this will bring the date of Dewánampiya Tissa's accession to 245 B.C. According to this chronology, Muṭasíwa died at the age of 79, which is quite in accordance with the statement that he attained a great age (*Mah.*, p. 76). This nearly agrees, also, with the chronology in the Dípavaṁsa that places Muṭasíwa's death at 74 years after Chandragupta's accession, which Professor Duncker fixes at 315 B.C., by means of Greek chronology (*loc. cit*, pp. 442–443.)

Assuming Muṭasíwa to have been 45 years old, as above, when his youngest son was born, it is not likely that he would be less than 28 at the birth of his third son, Mahánága; that is, Mahánága was born somewhere about 296 B.C. This prince was thus about 51 years old when Dewánampiya Tissa became king in 245 B.C. Very shortly after this he came to Mágama, say in 243 B.C.; and if so, we must assign the construction of the Tissa tank and great dágaba to about 230 or 240 B.C.

It will be found that this leaves very little time for the princes of the Southern Kingdom between Mahánága and Duṭṭhagámini, and that if the above dates are to be depended on as being even an approximation to the truth, it is quite incorrect to state (as Turnour has done, on the authority of the *Tíká*, I presume), that Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa was born during the flight of his parents to Mágama. Most probably both he and his son, Goṭhábhaya, were born before their father finally left Anurádhapura, and there is nothing to show that this is not the meaning of the words of Mahinda's prophecy to Dewánampiya Tissa (*Mah.*, p. 97). It is much more likely that Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa built the dágaba which bears his name, than that he was born at the spot. If his birth occurred there while his parents were coming to Mágama, the date cannot possibly have been much earlier than 243 B.C., yet his grandson, Kákawaṇṇatissa, lived 64 years, and died in 161 B.C. In other words, according to this statement, Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa was born only 18 years before his own grandson.

The revised chronological table now arrived at for the early Siṁhalese Kings is, thus, as follows :—

Name of King.	Accession. B.C.	Length of Reign. Years.	Probable age Years.
Wijaya ...	414 ...	38 ...	65
Upatissa ...	376 ...	1 ...	—
Paṇḍuwása Dewa ...	375 ...	30 ...	55
Abhaya ...	345 ...	26 ...	70
Interregnum (Tissa)	319 ...	11 ...	—
Paṇḍukabhaya ...	308 ...	30(?) ...	67
Muṭasíwa ...	278 ...	33(?) ...	79
Dewánampiya Tissa	245		
Uṭṭiya to Asela, six reigns ...	—	... 73 ...	—
Elára ...	205 ...	44 ...	70
Duṭṭhagámini ...	161 ...	24 ...	68
Saddhátissa ...	137 ...	18 ...	84

This gives a mean of 19·1 years for each reign, or almost the same as the average reigns of the English sovereigns from the establishment of the Heptarchy. From Wijaya to the accession of Elára, the date from which the table is calculated, the average reign is exactly 15 years, which is the same as the average for Indian Kings. (*Report on Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. IX., p. 180.)

I now venture to refer to a collateral subject, more intimately allied to my report, regarding which there have been many conflicting opinions, and on which much writing has been expended without any satisfactory result, viz., the site of the first capital of Ceylon—the city of Tambapaṇṇi, founded by Wijaya. For many years it has been locally held that the place called Tammanna Nuwara, a few miles from Puttalam, was this city ; the only apparent reason for the belief being the similarity of the names. Dr. E. Müller has already stated that this place does not appear to have been Wijaya's city, and having visited the site with Mr. P. Templer, when he was Assistant Government Agent of Puttalam, I can quite endorse his opinion. The Mí-oya, which flows past at the distance of fully a mile, is usually dry in the summer months ; there are no wells to be seen at the site, nor was there any better water-supply for the

inhabitants than was contained in three very small shallow tanks. This would undoubtedly not suffice for the wants of any large population.

When the extreme likelihood that there were no artificial tanks—or, at any rate, none but tanks of the smallest size—in the Island before the advent of Wijaya is considered, the absolute necessity of a previously existing and unfailing *natural* water-supply at the site of the city, such as could only be found in one of the rivers, is apparent. In their need of fresh water the invaders must, without any doubt, have landed at the mouth of one of the rivers. On this, if the water-supply were sufficiently good, and to be depended on, and other things were favourable, their first settlement would probably be founded. Tambapaṇṇi must therefore be looked for near the mouth of a river which always contains a good supply of potable water near its mouth, yet which is not liable to have its banks overflowed in the wet seasons. This considerably reduces the list of possible sites. For one or the other of these reasons the north-western rivers—the Malwatta-oya (or Aṛuvi-áṛu), the Módaragam-oya, the Kalá-oya, and the Mí-oya—must all be abandoned, as well as many other sites which have been suggested as likely ones. Dr. Müller has expressed an opinion (*Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 23) that the settlers may have merely come across from South India, in which case, as he states, traces of the capital should certainly be in existence near either the Aṛuvi-áṛu (or Malwatta-oya) or the Módaragam-oya. But from my acquaintance with the lower portions of these rivers, I am able to state that no such ruins are to be found near their mouths.

In this uncertainty we have valuable evidence in the old historical works, particularly in the Dípavaṁsa, which Dr. Oldenberg has shown to be an earlier work than the Mahávaṁsa, and most probably to contain, in some measure, literal extracts from the original Aṭṭhakathá. I venture to annex an extract from it regarding Wijaya's landing, the italics being mine :

"That crowd of men having gone on board their ship, sailing on the sea, *were driven away by the violence of the wind*, and lost their bearings. They came to Laṁkadípa, where they disembarked and went on shore............The red-coloured dust of

the ground covered their arms and hands; hence the name of the place was called Tambapaṇṇi (copper-palmed). Tambapaṇṇi was the first town in the most excellent Laṁkadípa; there Vijaya resided and governed his kingdom............Many people, crowds of men and women, came together, (hence each) prince founded a town in the different parts. The town of Tambapaṇṇi surrounded by suburbs, was built by Vijaya *in the south on the most lovely bank of the river*............The king called Vijaya by name was the first ruler who reigned in Tambapaṇṇi over the delightful island of Laṁka. When seven years (of his reign) had passed the land was crowded with people." (*Dîp.*, p. 162.)

The remark in this extract that Wijaya and his followers were "driven away by the violence of the wind" can only indicate a belief, at the time when the Aṭṭhakathá was composed, that they came to Ceylon during the north-east monsoon. Sailing from the east coast of India—whether in the south or as far as north as the Ganges—no other wind could drive them to Ceylon. If this were the case, it is improbable that they would attempt to land on the east coast of Ceylon in such rough weather, exposed to the heavy seas from the Bay of Bengal. Rounding the south-east corner of the Island, the neighbourhood of Kirinde would be one of the first places where they would have an opportunity of coming safely on shore. The sentence above quoted may thus be taken as a proof that at least 74 years before Christ Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara, of the exact site of which the compilers of the Aṭṭhakathá must have been aware, was known to be near the southern or south-eastern coast, as in fact is explicitly stated later on in the same extract, if we adopt Dr. Oldenberg's reading.

The next piece of evidence is contained in the Rájawalliya (Upham's ed., p. 168), which describes Wijaya's arrival as follows:—

"............ And when the said ship was sailing towards the country, Rúna-Raṭa, in the midst of the sea, they perceived the large rock called Samanakúṭa Parwata or Adam's Peak, in Ceylon, and there they concluded amongst themselves that it was a good country for them to reside in; and so they landed at the place called Tammannatoṭa in Ceylon."

Tammannatoṭa means the landing-place, or ferry, or port of (or for) Tammanna. From the neighbourhood of Kirinde the top of Adam's Peak is visible, and of course the extract plainly indicates that the port for Tammanna was believed by the compiler to be in the Southern Province. There was thus a decided consensus of opinion in former times that Wijaya both landed and founded his capital in the south of Ceylon.

Practically, this is the whole of the evidence which is available regarding the arrival of Wijaya himself. But there is very valuable information respecting the landing of Wijaya's successor, Paṇḍuwása Dewa, who came from the same place, and presumably took the same route to Ceylon, less than 40 years afterwards. If it were shown that Paṇḍuwâsa Dewa landed in the north or west of Ceylon, that would be no proof that Wijaya landed in that part of the Island. But if it can be shown that Paṇḍuwása Dewa landed in the south or south-east of Ceylon, we shall have strong presumptive evidence that he took the same circuitous route as his predecessor. It is most unlikely that he would travel several hundred miles more than were known to be absolutely necessary; if he came to the south, therefore, he took the usual route of vessels from the Ganges. Vessels from the Ganges must at first have all come during the north-east monsoon, just as ships from the Far West were compelled to regulate their voyages by the prevailing winds. The Rájawalliya even says explicitly that Paṇḍuwása Dewa arrived at "the haven of Tammanna Nuwara," the same spot as Wijaya's landing-place, after coming by ship from Siṁhala Nuwara (p. 168).

There is not the least reason for doubting the statement in the Mahávaṁsa that Paṇḍuwása Dewa landed at the port of Gonagáma at the mouth of the great Kandara river; and also that the Princess Bhaddhákacchánâ afterwards landed at the same site. According to these authorities, Gonagáma is therefore the same spot as the port for Tammanna Nuwara. As to this place, where Paṇḍuwása Dewa disembarked, no uncertainty need exist. I am now able to suggest with confidence that this great Kandara river is no other than the Mágama

or Kirinde-ganga;* and, in proof of the identification, I have discovered that Gonagáma is yet the name of a natural tank, locally termed a *wila*† (still bearing its original appellation, the penultimate syllable being of course shortened), near the mouth of the river, about 2½ miles from the sea. The village has, however, disappeared.

A confirmation of this identification is to be found in Dr. Müller's words (*Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 57) regarding the grant by the A'pá Mahinda—recorded in the Mayilagas-toṭa inscription (No. 120)—to the Mahá Wihára and the "Uḍa Tisa piriwena." Dr. Müller identifies the site as follows:—"By the Mahá Wihára, most probably, we have to understand the Nágamaháwihára at Tissamahá-ráma, and the Uḍatisa piriwena is perhaps the Uddhakan-dara Wihára mentioned at *Mah.*, p. 130." As is well known at Tissamaháráma, Uḍa Tiháwa is the present name of the upper part of the Tissa tank. It once formed a separate tank, the bund of which is now to be seen inside the present Tissa tank. If, then, the two names, Uḍatisa and Uddhakandara, are applied to this one place, the latter can only be taken from the adjacent river, the Kandara, between which and the tank the *piriwena* probably stood. The villagers inform me that there are now a few pillars, which formed the remains of some such building, in the jungle to the west of the upper part of the Tissa tank. At any rate, it is certain that Uddhakandara was in Rohana.

Reference is also made to a Kappukandara village in Rohana (*Mah.*, p. 141), and at p. 146 there is mentioned the Jawamáli ferry on the Kappukandara river, which was certainly in Rohana. The context also clearly shows that this ferry must have been not very far from Mágama—possibly in the upper part of the valley. Duṭṭhagámini

* Formerly Karinda. Kandara = karanda by metathesis; compare Paṇḍuka and Pakuṇḍa (*Dip.* X. 9; XI. 1).

† Goḷagamawila is mentioned on Ilanága's inscription at Tissamahá-ráma. (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 4.) There is no other *wila* of this name in the district. A *wila*, (identified by Dr. E. Müller as Skt. *vila*, a cave), and Tamil *villu*, is in every case a pool the bed of which is below the level of the adjoining ground. Thus, without any embank-ment it is capable of holding up a supply of water.

marched from Mágama against his brother Tissa, who was stationed at Díghawápi in the Batticaloa District. After being defeated in a great battle, the king and his prime minister took to flight, and were followed up by Tissa. On their way towards Mágama the fugitives arrived at this Kappukandara river. That their journey was towards the upper part of the river, is shown by their escape from the pursuit of Tissa at some mountain on the route, on reaching which Tissa turned back. There are no hills very near the coast. If the Kappukandara river is not the upper part of the Mágama-ganga, it is certainly a river of the same neighbourhood, a fact which will explain the application of the distinctive adjective *maha* to the lower part of the larger one.

At *Mah.*, p. 201, it is also stated that Thullatthanaka built a Kandara wihára while his father Saddhátissa resided at Díghawápi. Whether Thullatthanaka or his brother Lajjitissa resided at Mágama, it is certain that this wihára was in Rohana.

Lajjitissa also built a Kandarahínaka wihára, which may have been on one of the hills in the valley above Mágama (*Mah.*, p. 202).

As it may be suggested that some northern river perhaps had a port called Gonagáma, which may yet be discovered, and as Dr. Müller has already identified the Aṛuvi-áṛu (or Malwatta-oya) as the Kandara river (*Ancient Inscriptions*, p. 22), I adduce the further evidence in favour of my opinion contained at *Mah.*, p. 55, where we find that Paṇḍuwása sent his ministers to meet the Princess Bhaddhákaccháná, and escort her to his capital, Upatissa Nuwara (not Anurádhapura, *Mah.*, pp. 55, 57). The place where the two parties met is given by Turnour (I presume on the authority of the *Tíká*) as Wijitapura. From this spot the party proceeded to Upatissa Nuwara. Now, Wijitapura near Kaláwæwa was on one of the two great northern roads from Mágama to Anurádhapura and Upatissa Nuwara—(the other passed through Buttala, formerly Guttahála, and Mahiyangana)—and it cannot be conceived that any travellers from Mahátiṭṭha or its neighbourhood—(where the port for Tammanna would be situated if Tammanna Nuwara were on the Aṛuvi-áṛu)—to Upatissa Nuwara,

could, by any possibility, wander so widely out of their way; or that the king's officers of State were so completely insane as to proceed 50 or 60 miles *southwards* to meet people coming from a point nearly due west of the capital, and not more than 40 miles distant, along what must undoubtedly have been a much-frequented and well-known road. It is plain that the ministers proceeded southwards to meet the royal traveller coming from the *south*, and this agrees with all the former evidence which has been given. Leaving out conjecture, every particle of evidence which is to be met with shows that the site of Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara was in the south of Ceylon.

Having pointed out what appears to me to be the only possible site of Wijaya's landing-place, it is necessary to confirm the identification by discovering the site of Tambapaṇṇi or Tammanna Nuwara. In the south of Ceylon we know of only two very early cities, Kácharagáma or Kataragama, and Mágama or Rohana-Mágama; and I identify the latter as Wijaya's capital. There is one peculiarity with regard to Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara which does not appear to have received sufficient notice: that after the reign of Wijaya the name utterly disappears, and is not again mentioned in any of the ancient histories. This is from no lack of references to the southern Province of Rohana. It would be quite unwarrantable to assume that, after being the capital of the Island for more than 30 years, and evidently a flourishing and important place—(or it would not have been specially mentioned as being surrounded by suburbs, &c.)—the city was abandoned. If this was not the case, the only other likely assumption is that the name was changed. The first reference to Mágama is contained in the Rájawalliya (p. 178), in which it is said that one of the brothers of Paṇḍuwása's queen was called Sudhodana Sakya Kumára, "and the place appointed for his residence was called Mágam Nuwara". This statement, though very likely to be correct, is not found in this form in either the Dípavaṁsa or Mahávaṁsa. In the latter it is simply said that one of the six princes settled at (or in) Rohana, and took its name—i.e. he would be called—"Rohana Kumára," the Rohana Prince. This city termed Rohana in the Mahávaṁsa is therefore evidently the same as Mágama;

and in the Rájawalliya it is often called Rúna-Mágama (pp. 188, 195, 196, &c.). In the *Mah.* Mágama is not mentioned until Mahánága made it his capital. When this prince first established himself in the south we cannot but assume that he resided at some existing large town—in all probability the chief one of the Province. As Wijaya's capital was in the south, this must have been Tambapaṇṇi. There is no apparent cause for his building a new capital when Tambapaṇṇi already existed, nor any reason why he, as king, with unlimited powers in his own Province, should not select the most important and commodious one. On this account I conclude that Mágama was, as its name indicates, already the chief city of the Province before Mahánága settled at it; and in that case it would be no other than Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara.

Tambapaṇṇi was the name of the division or district in which the capital was situated (*Mah.*, pp. 47, 51); Rohana was the name afterwards given to the whole of south Ceylon. We can easily conceive how the same city might thus acquire two names. Before Rohana became a separate Province the capital was the chief village or city of the Tambapaṇṇi *district*—i.e. Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara; after south Ceylon was termed Rohana it would also be called the great village or city of the Rohana *Province*. The latter more important title would then supplant the original one. At first all the towns founded in Wijaya's time were usually termed "villages," and it is in every way probable that the capital became familiarly known—perhaps even in Wijaya's time—by its later appellation, the "Great Village," Mahágáma, a name which in time would take the place of its original title. There is a somewhat analogous instance in the North-Central Province, where the villagers usually speak of Anurádhapura as "Maha Wihára;" and a still better example in the modern Siṁhalese name of Kandy, Maha Nuwara, the Great City, which has so completely taken the place of the original name that probably only a small proportion of those who employ it now know that the mountain capital once was termed Ṣriwardhanapura. My conclusion is that, until another suitable river in the south of Ceylon shall be found, having a place called Gonagáma at its mouth, and the remains of an ancient city on its

bank within a few miles of the sea, Mágama must be admitted to be the equivalent of Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara, and the Kirinde or Mágama-ganga to be the Kandara river.

I may mention, also, that from four to five miles distant from the Tissa dágabas there is a tank called the Tammanna-wæwa, through which there runs a stream termed the Tammanna-áṛu—(a Drávidian name in the south-east of of Ceylon!) This stream joins the Kirinde-ganga four miles from the Tissa ruins. The name Tammanna is so commonly applied to tanks and rivers in Ceylon that this fact cannot be considered to throw any light on the ancient name of the city. Tambapaṇṇi being originally a South Indian name, it is quite possible that this appellation was bestowed on the district long previous to Wijaya's landing.

The site of this ancient Mágama still remains to be discussed. The village of Mágama still bears the original name, but very few ruins, and those quite insignificant, are to be found at it. A city that, whether it was Wijaya's seat or not, is known to have been the capital of South Ceylon for more than 80 years, at a time when structures were being erected, which, from their design, size, and permanence, still excite surprise and respect, and that is known to have remained an important city for some 15 centuries, must be presumed to have left some more tangible traces than a few rude stone pillars. The extensive ruins at Tissawæwa, only four miles from the present village, may therefore successfully lay claim to the honour of being once the southern metropolis, "Mágampura Nuwara," as the Siṁhalese villagers delight to term it. These ruins extend (chiefly below the ground-level), throughout the jungle between the Tissa tank and the Mágama river; a building large enough to be a king's palace is among them, as well as residences built in enclosures which even now would be thought of good size. Boundary walls, with foundations of large stone slabs, run in all directions; and the whole ground is full of fragments of brick, tile, and pottery, and scattered stone pillars which mark the site of the more important houses and wiháras now buried. Below the tank, in the higher land which has recently been cleared for conversion into the paddy field, remains are almost everywhere met with from a foot to six feet underground; while on the opposite side of the tank,

near the eastern end of the bund, many buildings stood, and the discoveries made in our excavations show that, in addition, a large village of artificers was established on the spot. All the ground here, too, far away from the tank, is full of fragments of brick, and tile, and pottery, below the surface. This, therefore, was undoubtedly once a large city; yet, if not Mágama, it was a city without a name! Probably after the final breaching of the Tissa tank the people who remained removed to a suburb a few miles lower down the river, where it was possible to cultivate paddy without the assistance of the tank, as is done to the present day. Unless we adopt this hypothesis, we are driven to the conclusion that two separate cities existed, with their centres only four or five miles apart; and that the one with the most extensive ruins in the south of the Island must yield the title of "capital" to the other with its half a dozen scattered pillars. The whole neighbourhood may have once been termed Mahágáma, though the name has since become restricted to the present village.

The available evidence shows that from the time of the compilation of the Aṭṭhakathá to the time of the compilation of the Rájawalliya, it was believed that during the formation of the first Aryan settlements in the Island, while travellers from the south of India usually landed at Mahátiṭṭha (or Mantoṭa), all those from the Ganges came southward with the north-east monsoon winds, and landed at Mágama. As stated in the Dípawaṁsa, thousands of immigrants must certainly have arrived during the lifetime of Wijaya; or his followers would never have ventured to settle down, among a possibly hostile race,* at points so far distant as the first towns from each other; and the route must have been almost as well known, even in those early times, as the short passage from Rámécvaram to Mahátiṭṭha was to the traders who came for chanks and pearls and the other commodities carried away ages before to Arabia and Palestine. That trading vessels from India came to Mágama at a later date (205 B.C.) is clear from *Mah.*, p. 135, where it is stated that ships arrived with "golden utensils

* Even succeeding sovereigns found it advisable to conciliate the "fierce Yakkhas" by granting their chiefs special privileges.

and other goods; and the "harbour" is again mentioned (204 B.C.) at p. 134. Compare also *Mah.*, p. 49, where trading vessels from North India or Burma are certainly alluded to so early as 400 B.C.

The two great ports of Ceylon in the pre-Christian era were Gonagáma, the port of Mágama in the south-east, and Mahátiṭṭha (or Mantoṭa) and its neighbourhood in the north-west. While Mahátiṭṭha was the emporium of the trade carried on with southern and western India and the Far West, Mágama was the seat of the trade with eastern India and the Far East, and also, to some extent, with the Far West. It was here that the Eastern and Western traders met; and thus it is that our excavations have disclosed, in what is now this obscure corner of the Island, the productions of the opposite sides of the globe, — the coins of Greece lying beside a piece of rhinoceros horn from Northern India and an article of volcanic origin perhaps brought from beyond the Bay of Bengal.

So little is known of the history of any of the early cities in Ceylon, excepting a few special ones, such as Anurádhapura, Pulastipura, &c., that I am induced to string together, as a contribution to a skeleton account of Mágama, the few references to it with which I have met, or other facts which tend to prove the length of time during which the city was occupied and the tank was in working order. Of course this is not by any means a full list, especially in the time after the 5th century.

Circa 414 B.C.	...	Wijaya lands at Gonágama and founds the city of Tambapaṇṇi (= Rohana-Mahágáma, the 'great village of the Province of Rohana').
375 ,,	...	Arrival of Paṇḍuwása Dewa at Gonagáma, "the port for Tambapaṇṇi."
374 ,,	...	Arrival of Princess Bhaddhákaccháná at Gonagáma.
Circa 370 ,,	...	Settlement of Prince Sudhodana Sakya at Mágama (=Rohana) *Mah.*, p. 57; *Rája.*, p. 178.
243 ,,	...	Settlement of Mahánága at Mágama.
240—230 ,,	...	Construction of Nága Maháráma.
Circa 226 ,,	...	Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa, King of Rohana.
225 ,,	...	Kákawaṇṇatissa born.

Circa 220 B.C.	Yaṭṭhála dágaba probably built.
Circa 207 ,,	Kákawaṇṇatissa, King of Rohana.
205 ,,	Birth of Duṭṭhagámini at Mágama.
161 ,,	Duṭṭhagámini becomes King ; Saddhátissa, Viceroy at Díghawápi.
137 ,,	Thullatthanaka leaves Mágama.
Circa 40 A.D.	Ilanága enlarges the Mahágáma and Tissa tanks (*Mah.*, p. 217).
1st Cent.	Short inscriptions on two pillars at east side of tank commemorating the suppression of the heresy. (See *Appendix*, Note 2.)
165 A.D.	Kaniṭṭhatissa repairs the Maháráma and Tissa tanks (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 16).
Circa 220 ,,	Wohároka Tissa "caused improvements to be made with paid labour" at the Mahágáma and Mahánága wiháras and dágabas (*Mah.*, p. 226).
2nd or 3rd Cent.	Inscription on slab for flower offerings, *Mal-póruwa*, at Nága Maháráma. (See *Appendix*, Note 2.)
3rd ,,	Inscription of "Rohiṇika Gámiṇi Abhaya," who probably repaired the Tissa tank (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 23).
4th ,,	The sons of Jeṭṭhatissa left inscription at the Maháráma (not the Mæṇik dágaba) containing a record of gifts to the chief Thera of the "King of Mágama's Maháwihára." (*Ancient Inscription*, No. 67.)
4th or 5th ,,	Inscription round the Yaṭṭhála dágaba.
434 A.D.	On Tamil invasion by Páṇḍu, Rohana became the Siṁhalese kingdom, with Mágama as capital, probably.
5th or 6th Cent.	Inscription on flat slab at Yaṭṭhála dágaba.
6th or 7th ,,	Inscription on the Æ tábændagala (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 109).
Circa 690 A.D.	Dapula II., King at Mágama, "caused the dágaba of Rúna to be rebuilt" (*Rája.*, p. 247).

Circa 860—900 ...	"Damaha" Rája rebuilt the "Rúpa wihára" of Rúna Mágama. *(Rája.,* p. 250.)
" 990 A.D. ...	The Æ'pá Mahinda, afterwards Mahinda III., A.D. 997–1013, repaired the Maháwihára, and refers to the "Uḍa Tisa monastery." The upper part of the Tissa tank is still called Uḍa Tiháwa. (*Ancient Inscriptions,* No. 120).
10th or 11th Cent. ...	Inscription on a prostrate pillar at Nága Maháráma.
1060—1070 A.D. ...	Rohana becomes the seat of Government of the Siṁhalese kingdom.
1113—1150 " ...	Rohana (or Mágama) is capital of Ceylon under Mánábarana and Siriwallaba.
1153—1186 " ...	Parákrama Báhu I. repaired the Dúra and Tissa tanks and the buildings.
Circa 1190 " ...	Niṣṣaṅka Malla refers to "Tissa" along with Mineri, Kantalai, and Padawiya tanks, as a place where he "gave security to all living things, and commanded that they should not be killed." If the Mágama tank is the Tissa referred to, this proves that the tank was still in order in 1187–1196 A.D. *(Ancient Inscriptions,* No. 150.) Compare also No. 145, in which the king states that he gave "security to fishes in 12 great tanks."
12th Cent. ...	Short inscription on flat slab at Nága Mahárâma. (*Appendix,* Note 2.)
1214—1235 A.D. ...	In the time of the Tamil King, Mágha, Tamils were settled at Mágama. (*Rája.,* p. 257.)
1266—1301 " ...	Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu united the three Provinces under one sovereignty. The tank probably fell into disrepair not long after this, and the place would then be abandoned, and be gradually overgrown with jungle and forest.

REPORT.

Mode of Discovery.

In digging out the site of a new sluice beyond the eastern end of the embankment of the Tissa tank, and in cutting a low-level channel from it to the paddy field, a thick layer of broken pottery and tiles was passed through at a depth, in its lowest part, of 18 feet below the surface of the ground. As these were all in fragments, commonly very small, and there was apparently nothing which could afford a clue to their age, but little attention was paid to them, until it was noticed that the shape of several fragments was such that they could not have belonged to the pottery usually made in Ceylon at the present day. The outcome of a more careful examination of many of these fragments was the discovery of one piece on which was scratched the letter *ti*, in an angular character similar to those of the earliest inscriptions in Ceylon, such as that at Tonigala (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 1). After this, a vigorous search was made among the débris removed from the lowest layers, and a watch was kept on everything excavated, both in the low-level channel, and also in a channel subsequently cut at a higher level. The results have been far more important and extensive than could be anticipated, and have brought to light much of interest respecting the social condition and life of the labouring classes, and, to some extent, regarding the commerce and state of education during a very early period of the history of Ceylon. Ample proof has also been obtained that there was once a potter's establishment at the site of the excavations.

Probable Age of the Remains.

It is obviously of great importance to ascertain the age of these remains with the utmost attainable accuracy. The date may be arrived at by two independent methods, which give results that agree as closely as can be expected at this distance of time.

In the first place, there is a series of letters scratched or engraved on several pieces of pottery. A considerable part

of the alphabet, with the attached vowels, has been met with, cut by several persons who had quite different styles of writing. Much of this writing evidently forms part of sentences inscribed round the outsides of 'chatties' or on the rims of plates; but owing to the fragmentary state of the pottery no complete sentence has been obtained. Some letters, which are large and angular, are plainly the work of men who had not very much practice in such writing; others are small and of very good shape, and are evidently such as might be written on ordinary leaves with a style. No one seeing the different kinds of writing or engraving could attribute all to one person; yet we find that, without exception, in instances met with at varying heights in the lowest stratum of remains, the shape of the characters is exactly that of the Asoka alphabet, as found in the oldest rock inscriptions in the Island. This agreement includes the letter *sa*, which in all cases has the angular form resembling the modern Roman F, or rather the Greek digamma, and the letter *ma*, which is always rounded. No letter of a later shape has been met with, nor a single instance of the rounded form of vowels, or lengthened *k* or *r*, which indicates the beginning of the transition period of Simhalese palæography. If, then, the oldest inscriptions yet discovered in the Island, which contain no letter older in shape than these, go back to the time of Waṭṭagámini, there is not room for great error in assuming the most recent of these letters to have been made not later than 50 B.C. But the stratum in which this engraved pottery is embedded is quite four feet thick; and if the upper part of this dates from 50 B.C., the bottom layer (the tiles and pieces of earthenware are in more or less distinct layers in it, separated by thin layers of soil, and sand, and fine gravel) must be admitted to be of considerably older date. It cannot, I think, be assumed that the whole ground-level at the site (although it is in a hollow) has been raised four feet in much less than 150 years; and, if not, the earliest remains appear to date from a period not much later than the construction of the dágabas and tank. Only by the assumption that the artificers, the carpenters, and stone-cutters settled at this spot were engaged in the erection of houses in the city on the opposite side of the tank, or in

works at the wiháras, can the presence of the large number of work-people who lived here be accounted for.

In the second place, a check on the date above adopted is arrived at by a consideration of the position of the remains. The soil in the piece of ground between the lowest of the remains and the Tissa tank is of a very porous nature, and water leaks through it from the tank into the cutting. When the tank contains only five feet of water, the leakage covers all the lowest stratum in its most depressed part, where it is from 14 to 18 feet below the present ground-level. In this part of the stratum there are numerous remains of fires, which were certainly made *in sitû*, there being in many of them the undisturbed ashes and bits of charcoal, and in one instance pieces of burnt Sambar deer's bones from which the marrow had evidently been extracted, the bones being broken across for this purpose. It hardly needs be said that this lowest stratum must have been deposited before the water of the tank could leak into it and flood it; that is, the tank cannot have been in its present position at the time. Now, it can clearly be seen that about 200 yards up the bed of the tank from the present embankment there runs a ridge higher than the adjoining ground-level, which, without any doubt, was a former bund, cutting off the whole of this corner of the tank, and meeting the present bank, which is quite straight, at about half-way from the end. (*See attached plan.*) This, then, was the original line of the embankment at the time when the remains were in course of deposition. The potters, in fact, settled below the tank, where they were not subjected to floods, and yet where they could obtain their clay, and the water required for its manipulation, with the greatest ease. Their clay-pit has now become part of the bed of the tank; but at that time it lay just below the embankment. All the potters' villages which I have seen in Ceylon have been similarly situated, and it is only what one would naturally expect. When the embankment was made in its present line, and their clay-pit was enclosed in the tank and flooded, the potters must necessarily have removed to some other site, if they had not done so previously.

When we consider the character of the letters cut on the pottery, and the existence of this former embankment inside

what is now the tank, there is only one conclusion which can be arrived at—that the present line of the embankment represents part of the enlargement of the Tissa tank carried out by King Ilanága. If this conclusion is a correct one—and I fail to see that any other can account for the observed facts—the date of the most recent deposits in the pottery stratum cannot, in any case, be later than (say) 40 A.D. The enlargement of the tank must manifestly have caused the abandonment of the manufactory at the site. While 40 A.D. is thus the latest possible date for the upper part of the pottery stratum, the shape of the letters proves (as far as this can be considered a proof) that the remains are of an earlier date, and, as abovementioned, probably from nearly 200 to 50 B.C. This is confirmed by the fact that a coin of one of the early Roman Emperors, which can hardly be put down to a later date than some time in the 1st century A.D., has been discovered at a height of about three feet above the upper part of the pottery stratum.

Position and Character of the Remains.

The most ancient of the remains were deposited on 'gravel' (decomposed gneiss), a thick stratum of which overlies the gneiss of the district. Broken 'chatties' and plates and plate-covers form by far the greatest part of them. Even in excavating these two channels alone, it will be no exaggeration to say that thousands of pieces of these articles have been met with; and, of course, the ground between and around the cuttings must be similarly full of them. This alone would prove the existence of a potters' establishment — both manufactory and village* — at the place; but further proof has been obtained by finding both a piece of moulded and dried (but unburnt) clay in the form of some animal (a child's toy), and a small round granite stone of a shape still in use by potters when moulding chatties, &c. Many pieces of burnt clay, which apparently formed part of the wall of the kiln, have also been procured.

* "Because they burn their wares in places or halls close to their dwelling-houses they are called Bada Sellayo." (Upham's *Buddhist Tracts*, p. 345.)

This layer follows the slope of the gravel, and with it varies in depth from 6 to 18 feet below the present surface of the ground. At its lowest part it is some four feet in thickness, and at this spot it consists, in one place, of three strata separated by thin layers of soil and sand, and covered in each case by one thickness of broken tiles as though the roof of a shed had fallen in. As, however, no tiles are unbroken, notwithstanding the undisturbed state of the remains, and the pieces composing them are few in number, and are not found together, it is to be presumed that these tiles have only been defective ones which were thrown away. The pottery stratum generally ends abruptly, and is succeeded by earth, vegetable mould, and occasional very thin layers of fine sand, evidently brought down by rains. In this soil are found small scattered bits of chatties and plates, such as the rains might transport from the higher ground, and a good many bones of Sambar deer ("elk") and other animals. This stratum extends to within two or three feet of the present surface, where we again find a layer of pottery without inscriptions, and in such small pieces as to be quite worthless. Only from a few inches to a foot of vegetable soil overlie this layer. In the high-level cutting there is an intermediate stratum of bits of pottery, &c., at a height of three or four feet above the lower stratum, but it is a very thin one.

Clear evidence has been obtained that at least one, but more probably several, smiths' forges were at work close to the potters' village.* Many large pieces of scoriæ from the forges have been encountered in different parts of the high-level channel excavation, as well as a "cold chisel" of iron or steel. At least one article used by a goldsmith has also been procured. Possibly the smiths practised both occupations.†

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* It is stated in Upham's Mahawansa, p. 130, that Nirmala, the second of Duṭṭhagámini's heroes, appeared at Mágama "before King Káwantissa, when he was at the blacksmith's shop, where he had employed a number of backsmiths to make arms." This story is interesting in view of the discoveries.

† "Because they work in copper, brass, and silver, they are called Kammakárayo ....and because they work in gold, they are called Suwannakárayo ....because they work in iron they are called Ayokárayo." (Upham, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 340.)

Besides these, a good number of the tools used by carpenters and stone-cutters have been found, and it is thus plain that, in addition to the potters, a large establishment of other artificers was settled at this place. There is nothing to show that any other persons lived at it. So far as is known, therefore, the whole of the articles found at this site must have belonged solely to people of the labouring classes, and of inferior castes. It is very important to bear this in mind, in view of the evidences of their state of education, and the degree of social comfort attained by them, which are given below.

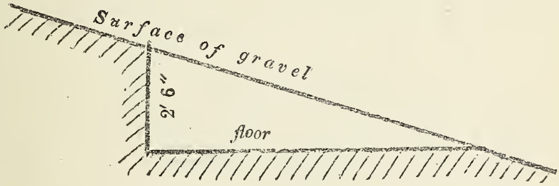
The general state of most of the articles discovered is wonderfully good. It is difficult to believe that the articles of steel or iron, as well as bones and pieces of charcoal, have been lying buried in the soil during so many centuries. Some pieces of horn and ivory are apparently not as much damaged as they would be by lying for a few months on the ground exposed to the weather; and a few appear to be still as sound as when they were first buried. It is clear from this that most of the things were very quickly covered up; but even when this is granted, it is still surprising that decomposition has proceeded no further. The articles can only have been preserved owing to the efficient drainage through the sub-stratum of 'gravel'; yet some bones, which were in very good condition, seemed to be too high to be affected sufficiently by the drainage.

I must not omit to note that everything included in this report, except the bricks (but including a series of inscribed bricks), will be found among the articles transmitted to the Colombo Museum.

Houses, &c.

The dwellings of these work-people were of a rude sort. About half a dozen of them have been cut through in the high-level channel. They were all partly excavated in the side of the gravel slope, which rose at the back of the potters' working-place. In one or two instances they closely adjoined each other, and in these cases a perpendicular built wall of clay or earth and gravel, about a foot thick, separated the rooms. So far as could be ascertained, the

chambers (probably one to each house) were from 8 to 10 feet across. One was almost in the shape of a horse-shoe. They were about 2 feet 6 inches deep in excavation at the upper side, as shown in the following sketch :—



Probably walls of sticks or mud surrounded them, on which a light roof, with a covering of grass, would rest. At the back of one of these rooms, in a small chamber or recess dug out of the gravel, and filled up with ashes, was found a heterogenous collection of articles which appear to have been placed in it for concealment. These consisted chiefly of a number of pieces of iron, which seem to have once formed part of the ironwork attached to a wooden construction—possibly a chariot, together with rivetted iron nails of various sizes. Pieces of decomposed wood still adhere to some of these articles. There were also a kris, a carpenter's chisel (which may perhaps be taken to indicate the trade of the occupant), bones of cattle, and pieces of chatties and plates, on two of which was engraved a mark, the *Swásti* monogram, that resembles part of the royal seal, regarding which see below ("*Money*"). One of the chatties had an inscription round its outside, and the small piece of it, which is preserved, sufficiently proves the antiquity of the remains, although the room, while in the gravel, was not more than six feet below the present surface of the ground. The floors of all the houses were quite level, any small hollows in them being filled up with fine white ashes, with which the whole floor was very thinly covered. Although fires were occasionally made in them, and have left their traces, these rooms were probably used chiefly as dormitories. No seats have been met with. Cooking seems to have been carried on outside, and the sites of many fires

have been observed, the ashes and charcoal being in nearly all cases undisturbed. The charred remains of bones which have been roasted were contained in a few; all the larger ones have been broken, apparently in order to extract the marrow.

Though not belonging to these houses, a good many pieces of tile have been found in this cutting, of a shape long since obsolete, yet a very effective one. Four parallel grooves, which seem to have been made with the fingers, run along one side of the upper surface, the outer one being deeper and wider than the others. At the opposite side, on the under surface, a similar deep groove ran close to the edge of the tile, so that, each tile overlapped and fitted into the groove of the adjoining one on its left side.

This arrangement must certainly have prevented any leakage, while at the same time it was so simple as almost to be worth adoption at the present day, were it not for the thickness of tile which it requires. In the upper part of each tile a hole was made to receive a wooden peg for holding the tile in position. The tiles were of large size, being probably 12 inches long, 7¼ inches wide, and from three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick. They all appear to be well burnt. As none of these houses of the workmen, or other dwellings of the poorer classes which have been cut through in another channel, were covered with tiles, although there was a manufactory on the spot, it must be presumed that tiles were employed for roofing only wihâras and the dwellings of the wealthier classes.

No bricks were used in building these houses of the work-people; but in a series of better-class structures cut through in a high-level channel from the western sluice, all the floors were laid with them. The remains of a dágaba have been found near this site; so that these may have been wiháras, or other buildings connected with them. As they are part of the subject of this report, I have measured the bricks at the different dágabas and those found at various ruins in the city of Mágama. The following table gives their mean dimensions; in each case, except where otherwise specified, this is the mean of from 15 to 20 bricks. The

list is arranged according to the probable age of the structures.

Building.	Long Bricks.				Dome Bricks.			
	Length.	Breadth.	Thick.	Contents.	Face.	Depth.	Thick.	Contents.
	in.	in.	in.	cub. in.	in.	in.	in.	cub. in.
Maháráma	17·35*a*	8·84	2·83	434	10·77	11·08*b*	2 95	352*c*
Sandagiri ...	17·14*d*	8·67	2·81	418	(10·10	11·00	3·00)*a*	333*c*
Dágaba near high-level channel...	17·16	9·11	2·85	445	None	—	—	—
Yaṭṭhála ...	17·85	8·64	2·90	447	9·00	12·46	2·72	305
Mænik ...	16·57	8·86	2·80	411	11·17	11·56	3·17	399*c*
Mágama city	14·12	7·88	2·34	260	None	—	—	—
Dágaba near river ...	12·92*b*	7·73	2·34	234	None	—	—	—

a One only. *b* Three only. *c* Radiated bricks. *d* Five only.

The long bricks are termed *riyan gaḍol*, "cubit bricks :" they vary much in their character, but those of the Maháráma and Yaṭṭhála dágaba seem to be of the best quality.* All, except those at the dágaba near the river, have been made on boards, and shaped in wooden moulds. Those at the above dágaba have been moulded on the ground. It is interesting to note that the long bricks used in the private dwellings in the city were smaller than those at the other dágabas—an indication of their nearer approach to dimensions afterwards adopted, and thus of their more modern construction. Those which I have termed "dome bricks" were used in the superstructure of the dágaba, but not exclusively, the long bricks being intermingled with them, probably to improve the bond. It will be noticed that the sizes and

* Unlike the Assyrian and Egyptian bricks, the proportions of which are usually such that the breadth equals half the length, while the thickness is one-third of the length, the long bricks at Mágama have a breadth very nearly equal to half their length, but the thickness is only one-sixth of the length. Thus, the mean length for the four oldest dágabas is 17·37 inches, the breadth 8·81 inches, and the thickness 2·85 inches; while the above proportions require a breadth of 8·68 inches, and a thickness of 2·89 inches. (See *Appendix*, Note 3.)

The mean length of side of the "dome bricks" is approximately two-thirds of the length of the "cubit brick," a proportion found also in Assyria and Babylonia in the case of square bricks. (Compare *History of Ancient Pottery* by Dr. Birch, 1873, pp. 11, 77, and 93.) I have met with no dimensions of Indian bricks which are the same as these.

shapes of these bricks varied much more than the others in the different dágabas. The dágaba near the river, which will be observed to have bricks of a much smaller size than any of the other dágabas, is evidently a much more recent structure. This ruin is only 16 feet in outside diameter, having a hearting of ordinary soil or clay, enclosed by brick-work laid in mud, and 2 feet 6 inches thick. These bricks have a peculiar finger mark on one side, also found on some of those in the city, and they are probably of the same age as the latter. The dágaba is half a mile south of the point where the road to Wírawila crosses the Mágama river.

In an extension of one of the western high-level channels, at a height which proves it to be of much later date than most of the articles included in this report, part of the earthenware lining intended for a well was discovered. It consists of two sections of tubing, 10 inches and 10·5 inches deep and 1 inch thick, having a diameter of 2 feet 6½ inches inside. Similar ones are now used in the south and east of the Island, I believe; but the ancient ones differ from them, I am told, in having a projecting lip or flange at the top, on which the upper section could rest. There was no well at the place where these were found. A stone, on which two or three letters of about the 4th or 5th century were cut, was met with at an inferior level, so that this earthenware must be of somewhat later date than that.

Household Utensils, &c.

Owing to the presence of an earthenware manufactory on the site where the most extensive cuttings have been made, the collection of household utensils forms a complete series, though unfortunately nearly all the specimens are in small fragments. As a rule, they do not follow the type of articles now made in Ceylon, except in the case of the 'chatties', which are, in most respects, the same as those of modern manufacture. The thickness and quality of all the earthenware utensils vary much; but those required for other than rough usage are generally thin and excellently made. As a piece of only one priest's begging-bowl, *pátraya*, has been discovered, it is evident that this pottery was almost all intended for the use of members of the laity. The curry-stones which have come to light were all found near the potters' working place. Nothing of this kind has been met

with among the houses, and in all probability these were broken ones which have been thrown away.

The following is a list of the articles which have been met with in this class:—

1. Part of a priest's begging-bowl, 9·5 inches in inside diameter at the rim; thick and heavy, and of inferior quality, but otherwise similar to those now made.

2. Several common bowls of strong, rough, unvarnished, red earthenware. Four specimens measured had mouths averaging 10·8 inches wide, and seem to have been from 3 to 8 inches deep. Similar, but much larger bowls are now used for storing salt-fish at Hambantoṭa, I am told.

3. Many of the common, large, small-mouthed, lipped 'chatties' for holding water. These are of varying shapes, and closely resemble modern ones. A few, however, had much thicker, solid lips, and were clumsy and heavy.

4. Covers for the above (No. 3). These are of many sizes and shapes, but are usually deep, almost cup-shaped, flat-bottomed or nearly so, with a wide horizontal lip which fitted over the lip of the chatty, the body of the cup going inside the mouth of it; some have rounded bottoms. Although I believe that these covers are not now made in Ceylon, I am informed that they are common in some parts of South India.

5. Shallow, small, wide-mouthed, lipped chatties, such as are now in use for cooking purposes, &c. A few letters were cut on the outside of some of these. Nearly all are blackened and polished inside.

6. Hundreds, if not thousands, of broken circular plates, off which rice was to be eaten; mostly of superior workmanship. The bottom of these has a slight upward curve; round the edge stood a thin, usually upright rim like the body of the plate, varying from 1·1 to 1·75 inches, with a mean of 1·5 inch high. This rim is, in many specimens, curved over considerably towards the interior of the plate. Many of the letters to which reference has been made were scratched or engraved on the outside of this rim. These plates varied considerably in size, the inner diameter of several specimens being from 7·2 to 13·2 inches, with a mean of 10·5 inches. Their thickness is about ·14 inch. The majority of them have the inside coated with an admirable

black paint or varnish, which is burnt into the earthenware, and still has a beautiful polish. They are often covered outside with an excellent red varnish, also burnt in.

7. One plate, or circular dish, of a different type, probably intended for use by several people when eating, has a broad upright rim 1·3 inches high, with a nearly flat top. This plate measured 19·2 inches across the inside. It consists of thick, but excellently made, earthenware, with a bright red varnish on both sides. It is about ·42 inch thick at the side, and the bottom has a slight upward curve towards the edges.

8. A series of large, nearly flat, plates or circular dishes, intermediate in character and shape between the two last, with broad-topped rims sloping slightly outwards, and averaging ·97 inch in height. They are of rougher make than the others, and consist of very strong, well-burnt, red, unvarnished earthenware. Several specimens average 14·78 inches in internal diameter, varying from 13·7 to 16·7 inches, and are about ·2 inch thick.

9. Numerous plate-covers, which had rims or flanges projecting downwards, from ·54 to 1·15 with a mean of ·82 inch deep, to fit outside the rims of the plates. These were nearly flat on the top, being slightly elevated towards the middle in a gradual curve. They vary in size like the plates, the inside diameters of several measured being from 6·5 to 13·2 inches, with a mean of 9·23 inches. These covers are plain and unvarnished on both sides, but are made of good material.

10. Numerous circular trays or dishes of rather thick and not very fine earthenware. The fragments are very small, and it is difficult to ascertain the depths of the trays, but they appear to have varied from half an inch to 3½ inches. Their external diameter was from 7 to 14·75 inches, with a mean, among those measured, of 12·2. The average thickness is ·25 inch.

11. Fragments of a few very large, nearly flat, trays of a thick coarse earthenware. Two measured 28·8 inches and 32·6 inches in total diameter, and were ·36 inch and ·50 inch thick respectively. These were from the excavation near the low-level sluice, but similar fragments have been found in the high-level channel cutting, among the houses.

12. Part of an earthenware kettle, and several spouts broken off others. It does not appear to be quite certain whether water was boiled in these, or whether they held drinking water, which, by means of the spout, could be poured down the throat, according to the practice yet in vogue among the lower classes. Similar articles are still made in some parts of the Island. The spouts or nozzles were straight, and in the form of a truncated cone, pierced with a small cylindrical hole. They stood out at a right-angle from the body of the kettle, at about half its height from the bottom—a position which must have rendered the kettle of little use, one would think.*

13. A few very thin, flat-bottomed, nearly hemispherical, unglazed, earthenware basins or drinking-cups. They were from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches deep, and from 4·6 to 7·7 inches in diameter at the mouth, with a thickness of ·16 inch. Most of them have the inside coated with the black varnish, but one or two of a much rougher make are without it.

14. A small flat-bottomed earthenware saucer, 4·80 inches wide, and one inch deep inside, which was met with 6 feet 5 inches below the surface of the ground in cutting a distributing channel in the paddy field, is perhaps of nearly the same age as the other articles found in the potters' working-place. I am informed that articles of this shape are still in use in some parts of India for holding curry, &c.

15. The top of an unglazed, nearly black, imperfectly-burnt water-goglet, which apparently was much like the better class of goglets now in use.

16. A small earthenware funnel, 3·5 inches across the top. The shape is peculiar, the upper part of the funnel being only 1·5 inch high, and probably 2 inches wide at the bottom. Moulded inside this is another smaller tube to act as the funnel neck. This doubtless projected considerably below the tube of the upper part of the funnel, but it has been broken off.

17. Several very wide tall jars in fragments, very roughly but strongly made, with a very thick solid lip.

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* We read in the Rája Ratnákari, of Kálinga Wijaya Báhu III. (1235-1266)—"He also caused to be made for each of the said eighty priests a bathing-tub of copper, a kettle for boiling water, and a vessel for drinking water." (Upham's *Sacred Books*, Vol. II., p. 104.)

These were probably intended for holding paddy or other grains. I am unable to give their full sizes or capacity; but one piece, which exhibits no sign of being very near the top or bottom of the jar, measures two feet in length. This jar must have been at least three feet high; its inside diameter at the mouth is 11·8 inches, and in the widest part of the body it is 22¾ inches across.

18. Portions of two plain earthenware flower-pots, which are tall and unglazed. One is about 5½ inches wide at the mouth. Both have deep horizontal corrugations in their lower half. They may have been 7 or 8 inches high.

19. A deep, coarse, red, unglazed drinking-cup with a slight lip was (together with the next two articles) found in cutting a distributing channel in the paddy field. The cutting evidently passed through one of the poorest quarters of the town, and there was hardly any trace of the houses, except the thick layers of ashes from their fires and fragments of broken pottery—few in number and coarse in make. I am informed that cups similar in shape to this one are still used by the poorer classes of Southern India for drinking water and other household purposes. This cup measures four inches in width at the mouth and 2·9 inches in outside depth. It is quite inferior in quality to the things found near the low-level sluice, and is undoubtedly of much more recent manufacture. (See my remarks respecting the well lining—which was found near the same site—"Houses," &c.)

20. I can find no name for this article, nor meet with any one who has seen a similiar one, or knows its use. It resembles a rough primitive bottle as much as anything; but the bottom is rounded off, and there is a hole through it. The top, too, has a broad horizontal lip of great thickness. There is no neck, but the cylindrical body of the bottle is compressed at the place, and is thus of less diameter than it is lower down. The total height, as the article is at present, is 3·5 inches, and the outside diameter is 2·2 inches. It is a coarse, rough piece of work, quite in keeping with the foregoing. (See *Appendix*, Note 8.)

21. A kind of chatty, apparently of a very different shape from any others described, was represented by a fragment found near the last two articles. A somewhat similar

one was also met with near the sluice. These chatties seem to have been like an ordinary one with both lip and neck taken off; but both fragments are from the upper part of the body, and it is not certain what was the actual shape. The earthenware is rough and unglazed, but not thick, and the smallest fragment is particularly thin.

22. Although of a much later age than anything else reported on, I include a small, unglazed earthenware saucer-shaped lamp, with a chevron pattern in high relief on the upper surface of the rim, in which is a recess to receive the wick. This was found several feet above the older remains at the low-level sluice, and only about 4½ feet below the present ground-level. It was in a large chatty containing calcined bones, regarding which see below. ("Mode of Burial.") This lamp measures 3·9 inches across the inside of the cup, and it is 1·2 inch deep inside.

23. To these may be added a small basin-shaped copper vessel, 5 inches in outside diameter, and 1·6 inches high, probably used as a drinking-cup,* which was found about 6 feet below the surface of the ground, in a garden in the paddy field, when the proprietor was sinking a well. It was covered with a "turtle-stone"—a small stone cut in the shape of a turtle—and it contained a chank shell, in which were a few pearls of very small value, and some inferior amethysts, of which specimens handed to me by the finder are included among the articles transmitted to the Museum. It appears to have been buried to secure the safety of the small treasures in it; but as it was 6 feet below the surface it must nevertheless be of great age, possibly not of much later date than the other oldest remains. The ground-level would be raised at this spot much more slowly than near the sluice, and any such treasures would not be buried at a great depth.

24. Several broken curry-stones, of gneiss or granite. As these are in fragments, their dimensions are somewhat uncertain. All stood on four short thick legs, and are well made articles, quite superior to those now in use. The upper stone was of the same material. All these and

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* "He also supplied them" (the priests) "with another kind of pot for drinking water out of, made of copper." (Upham, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 111.)

the following articles belong to the oldest stratum of remains.

25. A smaller pair of stones, of exactly similar shape to the above, were probably used for preparing medicines. Stones of this kind, but without the legs, are still employed for this purpose.

26. A knife of iron, in fragments, for cutting up vegetables, &c. Articles of this shape are now in use in some villages, I am told, fixed by the thick end in a sloping position in a piece of board. The blade slopes away from the person using it, who holds the board steady with his feet. The knife is about 1·4 inch broad. The blade is straight, and bevelled off straight at the point from the edge to the back.

27. Part of a curved knife, in pieces, may also belong to this class. The cutting edge is the inner one, and the breadth of the blade is 1·1 inch. This knife was also used for cutting vegetables, &c.

28. A small earthenware weight and part of another, used for twisting thread. In shape they are elliptic spindles, with a deep broad groove round their middle at the minor axis. The thread being attached to this groove, the weight is made to revolve rapidly, so as to twist the strands of the thread. Another weight used for the same purpose is made of a slightly different pattern.

Tools.

Excluding hammers, of which none have been seen, a good series of tools and implements has been obtained; and nearly all, with the exception of the carpenters' chisels, closely resemble those now in use. Even carpenters' chisels, like those discovered, are still employed in a few of the less-advanced jungle districts. Some of these tools were found scattered singly in the soil, but others were procured, two or three together, near the houses. I discovered a 'jumper,' or chisel for boring wedge-holes in stone, about 14 feet below the surface of the ground, buried under an overturned plate, where its owner had apparently hidden it. The plate was partly exposed in the side of the cutting, and I first bared it in order to find if it was unbroken, which was not the case, though all the fragments were *in*

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TYPICAL TOOLS

(½ natural size)

'Jumper'

situ. On the following day, it struck me as strange that this plate should be 'upside down,' and I therefore returned to the spot, and, on examining the soil immediately under it, found the jumper lying just as it had been deposited 2,000 years ago. Of course it has long been known that in boring the cylindrical wedge-holes commonly preferred by the ancient Simhalese for splitting building stones, a small jumper—a strong cylindrical chisel with a broad edge—was employed; and it is interesting to see one of the tools which has actually been used for the purpose. The wedge-holes were of two types, cylindrical ones from 1⅛ inch to 1¼ inch in diameter, and from 2 to 3 inches deep, generally bored from 4½ to 6 inches apart, and rectangular ones, having a section of 2 inches by 1½ inch, and also from 2 to 3 inches deep, and, as a rule, the same distance apart as the others. For cutting the latter, the ordinary cylindrical chisels or pointed 'punches' employed in stone-cutting were needed. Two of these have also been discovered. Some of the carpenters' chisels were found at a higher level than the most ancient remains, and are doubtless of more recent date; but as they are of exactly similar shape to the rest, I include them with the others in this report. The tools found are as follows:—

Masons' and Stone-cutters' tools.

1. The jumper above referred to, 5 inches long, made of three-quarter inch iron or steel, with an edge 1·3 inch long. The head is splayed out by much hammering. (See illustration at end.)

2. The heads and points of two stone-cutting chisels, exactly like those now made, apparently composed of ·7-inch iron. Their heads are hammered down by use, and they have points of the ordinary shape. (See illustration.)

3. Part of an iron wedge, with a side somewhat rounded. This was made of 5 or 6 thin plates of iron welded together, and was about 2 inches broad.

4. An article which may possibly be a small broken trowel of iron or steel. The edges of the blade were slightly curved upwards, after the style of a common gardener's trowel, but in a much less degree. The spike or pin which fitted into the wooden handle is rivetted through the blade. I must say, however, that I feel very much doubt as to this

identification. It is not known that any trowels were used in Ceylon (B.C.), and I think that this may have been a piece of iron which was attached to some woodwork.

5. Two pieces of a long bar of round iron, about three-quarters of an inch thick, may have formed part of a chisel used for cutting stone. The bar appears to have been pointed at one end, and if so, there seems to be no other use to which it could be put.

6. A long chisel, probably belongs to this class, in which case it must have been used for large carvings. It was 1·1 inch broad, and 1 inch thick, rectangular in section and straight, with a length of perhaps 10 inches or a foot. The end is broken off. Possibly, however, this tool may have been used by the smiths along with a smaller similar chisel.

Carpenters' Tools.

More of these tools than of any implements have been found. Although all are broken across, it can be seen that they were of great length (except in the case of the smallest ones), and that they had not wooden handles. I have seen very similar tools used by village carpenters in the North-Central Province, but I imagine that they are now becoming uncommon in this country. Considering the great value which must have been attached to such articles of steel or iron in the early years of Siṁhalese history, it may be presumed that many houses were in course of erection at the times when these tools were being lost in such quantity compared with the area explored. They cannot but have belonged to many different men. The chisels are nearly all such strong heavy tools that they could hardly be used for anything but working large pieces of timber, and doubtless their owners were chiefly employed in roofing-work. Most of these certainly belong to the oldest series of remains, but a few are of considerably later date. There is, however, no difference in their general shape, and those found at the greatest height are exact counterparts of those met with immediately over the gravel. All these tools were obtained in the high-level cutting at the sluice near the houses, or, in some instances, in them.

7. The broken iron heads of two axes. One of them is now almost 8½ inches long, and 3 inches broad at its

widest part; the other was 2·6 inches wide. Both were fully three-quarters of an inch thick in the middle. It is easy to be seen that these were made by welding together flat plates of iron of various thicknesses. The larger axe appears to be made of only two plates, the smaller one of about seven very thin plates. These axes had no socket for the handle—(at any rate, there is no sign of one in the pieces which have been found)—and they may perhaps have been fixed to the handle in the same manner as the ancient celts. The edge of the blade of the larger axe is 2·8 inches long. (See illustration.)

8. Three long iron chisels, and part of three others. The largest found measures 7 inches in length, 1½ inch in breadth, and has a cutting edge 1¼ inch long. Another, which now measures 5½ inches in length, may have been nearly as long as the above. Its breadth at its widest part is 1½ inch, at the head less than 1 inch; the edge is also 1½ inch long. At about a quarter of its length from the edge, its thickness is ·7 inch. Another chisel is rather lighter in make. All of these chisels have an upper and under face, the former being straight, the latter bevelled, as is usual at present in the case of broad chisels. (See illustration.)

9. A shorter but otherwise similar chisel of iron, now measuring 4·4 inches long, but formerly probably 5½ inches. It has a length of edge of 1¾ inch, and a maximum thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. It has a distinct upper and under face, like the others.

10. Two small thin chisels, the longer of which is 3·9 inches in length, the shorter probably not measuring more than 2½ inches. They have a length of cutting edge of 1·1 inch and are only ·20 inch and ·15 inch thick in the middle, respectively. Of course both sides are alike. These must have been used for delicate work. (See illustration.)

11. A large number of nails and rivets, and plates of iron, which apparently held together a substantial framework of wood,—perhaps one of the war-chariots of the time. These have already been referred to as being concealed at the back of one of the houses. (See "House," &c.) Some of them have fragments of wood (now converted into a yellowish-red, earthy substance) attached to them still.

12. Three stones of different sorts used by the carpenters for sharpening their tools.

Potters' Tools.

13. Of these, only one has been discovered—the round stone—quite similar to those now in use, which was employed in moulding the interior of chatties and pots. From an examination of the pottery, it is certain, however, that numerous stamps or dies were used for stamping patterns on the ware. A careful search was made for these, but without any success. Presumably, they were made of wood, which has rotted away.

Smiths' Tools.

14. Although it is quite clear that one or more forges were at work at this spot, only one article has been discovered which can be assigned to these artificers, viz., a short, thick, rectangular chisel, which may have been used as a cold chisel for cutting iron. Part of it is broken off at the head, so that it is impossible to be quite sure of the identification, and, as above stated ("Tools," No. 5), this chisel may have been used for stone-cutting. I may note that these rectangular chisels are made in a peculiar way. Round the piece or pieces of iron forming the heart is wrapped thin plate-iron, and the whole is then welded together. The thickest piece of iron found in any of the tools measures ·4 inch. In order to make a chisel more than 1 inch in diameter, it was evidently necessary to increase the thickness in some way which would not permit the component parts to split off under repeated blows ; and this device was hit upon.

Goldsmiths' Tools.

15. Of these, we have found a stone on which the goldsmith was accustomed to sharpen his tools. It has several narrow grooves in its upper surface, which have been worn in it in this way.

16. I include, also, a piece of deer-horn ("elk"), which evidently formed half of a handle for some tool, which apparently was too thin for any but a goldsmith to use.

There still remain two or three fragments of iron for which I am unable to suggest the use.

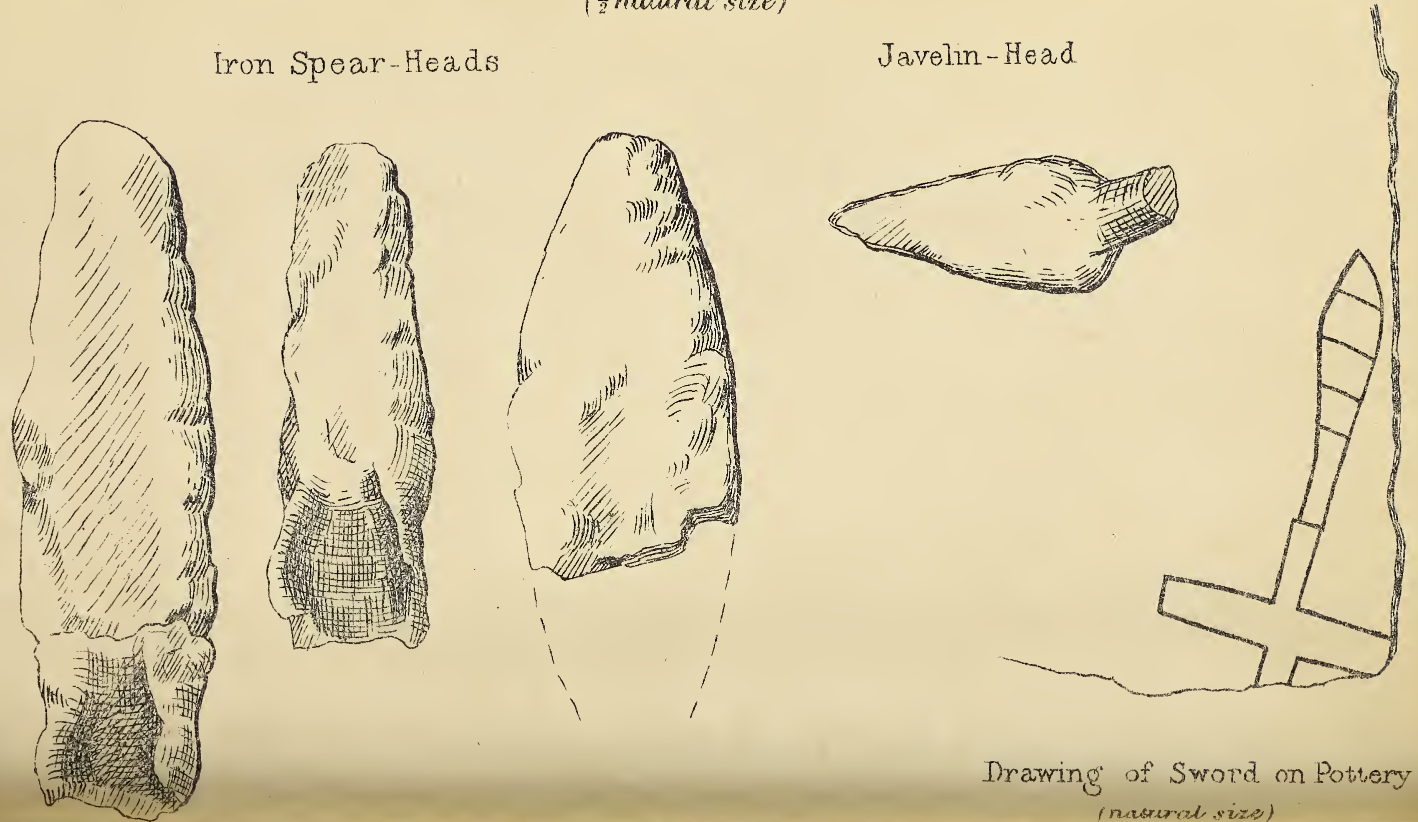
Weapons.

It was not to be anticipated that among the dwellings

BRITISH MUSEUM

WEAPONS

(½ *natural size*)



Iron Spear-Heads

Javelin-Head

Drawing of Sword on Pottery

(*natural size*)

and working-places of artificers and potters any arms would be met with ; yet a small but very interesting series has come to light. These were all found in or near the houses. In one case, a spear-head, of a peculiar shape, was lying close to two carpenters' chisels. Hence I conclude that it belonged to their owner. I have already referred to these chisels as being of a later date than the others obtained, and this spear-head must also be of a similar age. From the number of bones of wild animals, specially deer, scattered throughout the excavations, it may be presumed that these weapons were kept chiefly for use in hunting. They are as follows :—

1. Two narrow, heavy, unbarbed, spear-heads of iron. The most recent of these has a deep socket of a peculiar shape, resembling a deep longitudinal groove at the head. It is broken across at this point, otherwise the flanges of the socket would probably be found to meet further away from the blade, and thus obtain a firmer hold of the handle. The other spear-head is broken off shorter at the head, otherwise it appears to have had a similar socket. Three other iron articles which have been found seem to be parts of spear-heads resembling these two in shape. (See illustration.)

2. A much lighter unbarbed spear-head of iron, broken off at the stem. It is broader in the blade than those above-mentioned, and evidently had two cutting edges. (See illustration.)

3. An iron javelin-head of the conventional type. (See illustration.)

4. I include next, but very doubtfully, two pieces of iron which seem to have been parts of two daggers or dagger-like knives. The fragments are too small and worn to enable me to feel any sort of confidence in this identification, and I merely include these articles here because I cannot see what other use could be made of them.

5. An iron kris, broken across near the handle, has already been mentioned as having been procured with other iron articles in one of the houses. The blade is now 5½ inches long and one inch wide at the top. It has the bends peculiar to this weapon.

6. No sword has been discovered ; but, judging by what is manifestly a careful drawing of one on a piece of pottery, I may mention that the straight cross-hilt stood out at a right-angle from the hilt, and that the blade was somewhat narrow near it, but much broader at about two-thirds of its length from the hilt, tapering again towards the point. The blade has a very slight upward or backward curve, like a scimitar, but the back is bevelled off straight towards the edge at the point. According to the illustration, the weapon appears to have been a heavy one, capable of dealing a severe stroke. The hilt appears to be quite long enough for the sword to be a two-handed one ; but the general proportions rather give the effect of a single-handed sword. In general shape it reminds one forcibly of the short but effective Roman sword. (See illustration.)

Food.

By an examination of the numerous bones distributed through the cuttings, it has been ascertained that the people lived largely upon Sambar deer, or "elk," *Cervus aristotelis ;* and as these bones are usually blackened and burnt, it may be presumed that the meat was often roasted. Other animals eaten were the axis, or spotted deer, *Cervus axis ;* buffaloes, which, from the large size of the teeth, seem to have been wild ones ; more rarely wild pigs ; and the large monkey (wandurá), *Semnopithecus priamus*, Blyth, of which last a skull split in two, as though to extract the brain, has been found. The curry-stones and numerous plates show that rice was a staple article of food, as at present ; but even these artificers were evidently to some extent hunters who subsisted partly on the spoils of the chase. Of domestic animals no bones but those of cattle and dogs have been observed.

Playthings and Toys.

It seems strange that any of these should be forthcoming after a lapse of 2,000 years, and it may prove a surprise to many to learn that the familiar game of "marbles" was not unknown to the early inhabitants of Ceylon. Yet there is indisputable evidence that they were accustomed to amuse themselves with this and with another game described below.

1. Marbles. These were made of both stone and earthenware, and were about the same size as those of the present day. Those made of stone, of which three have been obtained, are well polished and spherical. They have a segment cut off so as to leave a flat base on which they might rest, while others forming complete spheres were projected from the fore-finger to strike them. One which is made of earthenware is quite superior in make to those which children have in England.

2. Many thin earthenware disks, of varying sizes, have been unearthed. These were used in a well-known game, now called *wala-salli*, "hole-money." In this game a straight line about three feet long is drawn on the ground, and opposite the middle of it, and a few inches beyond it, a small cup-shaped hole is made. The players, two or more in number, take their stand at a mark 10 or 12 feet away, and each in turn pitches a disk at the hole. The player whose aim is best now takes in his hand all the disks which have been thrown, and tosses all of them together at the hole. Then, with a larger and heavier disk, he must next, while standing at the mark, hit one of the pieces which the other players select for the purpose among those lying round the hole and beyond the line. Should he do so, he again tosses all the disks together at the hole, and those which fall in it become his property. The next player then proceeds with the play in a similar manner, making use of the disks which have not been won by his predecessor. This is still a very common and well-known gambling game ; it is now usually played with money, as its modern name indicates. In ancient times it must have been immensely popular, for these disks have been found in all our cuttings, and some of them are well worn. They have also been met with in the stratum near the surface of the ground. The disks are usually a little more than an inch in diameter, but some are much larger.

3. A rough representation of some quadruped moulded in clay but not burnt, and considerably mutilated, was evidently intended as a child's toy.

4. An article of earthenware on four very short legs, having a flat top decorated with diagonal and parallel lines, may have been made as a child's toy couch.

5. A small cowry, with a design engraved on its upper surface, may perhaps have been used as a toy, unless it was a medium of exchange.

6. A solid earthen disk or wheel 2·85 inches in diameter, with a cylindrical hole in the centre, has apparently belonged to a small toy cart. The mark of the axle is to be seen on one side of the disk.

Personal Ornaments.

These consist chiefly of beads of various kinds, to which reference is again made below, and parts of necklaces; but one or two other articles have been procured. Nearly all these articles were found among the houses, and, with one exception, they certainly belong to the oldest remains. The exception is a broken glass bangle found with other things in cutting a channel in the paddy field. (See "Household Utensils," No. 19.)

1. Two small copper bells.* Similar ones of silver are now worn by small children.

2. Three plain straight copper hair-pins, 2½ inches long and about ·14 inch in diameter at the middle, nearly cylindrical, but thicker at one end than the other. These were used for passing through the knot at the back of the head.

3. One hair-pin of ivory, 2·9 inches long and ·30 inch thick in the middle. This is notched on opposite sides to prevent it from slipping out.

4. Many circular, bright red, well-polished disks, both whole and in pieces, which formed part of necklaces. They have a circular hole in the centre for stringing them on the necklace, and they average about ·34 inch in diameter, but vary from ·52 inch to ·13 inch. Mr. A. C. Dixon, B.Sc., of Colombo, has been kind enough to examine some of these, and he reports them to consist of silicate of alumina.

5. Beads of several kinds. Of course the majority are

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* In the procession at the dedication of the sacred ground at Anurádhapura, it is stated that "gorgeous flags tinkling with the bells attached to them" were carried. (*Mah.*, p. 99.)

Also, in the description of Duṭṭhagámini's throne in the Lohapásáda, it is said that "at the points of the canopy were suspended a row of silver bells." (*Mah.*, p. 164.)

corals;* but a red carnelian with flat sides, a tourmaline (identified by Mr. Dixon) of clear amber-like colour, and of oval section longitudinally; an admirably cut and polished spherical carnelian, and three small blue glass beads of a cylindrical shape, have been obtained, in addition to a large spherical bead of jade, and a cylindrical bead of the silicate of alumina. All are pierced for stringing.

6. A well-made but thick finger-ring of jade, which unfortunately crumbled away on being taken up, appeared from its size to have been worn by a woman.

7. Several other small pieces of jade have been found, but as they are only in fragments their uses cannot be ascertained. Mr. Dixon has examined some of these, and confirmed the identification.

8. Part of a black glass bangle, flat inside, ·18 inch broad, ·12 inch thick, and having an internal diameter of 1·94 inch, was met with in the distributing channel in the paddy field, to which previous reference has been made. ("Household Utensils," No. 19.) Glass bangles, like this one, are now worn in South India, I am told.

Money.

The discovery of nine different copper coins is among the most interesting facts connected with these researches. Five of them at least are new to collectors; and their value and rarity may be surmised when it is stated that the oldest specimen goes back to a date quite 1,300 years beyond the earliest coins previously identified in the Island, namely, those of Parákrama Báhu I. (1153 to 1186 A.D.) Three, if not four, of the other coins are of not very much later date. There can be no doubt as to the antiquity of the oldest coin met with. I myself was present when it was

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* When Duṭṭhagámini was about to build the Ruwanwæli dágaba, the architect, in order to provide the king with a graphic illustration of the shape in which he intended to build it, is described as causing a bubble to rise in a golden basin of water—"a great globule, in the form of a coral bead." (*Mah.*, p. 175.)

The story is most improbable, the Thúpáráma being already in existence near the site, as a model for the new dágaba, but it is interesting as showing the early use of coral beads in Ceylon.

At *Mah.*, p. 164, there are also mentioned a pair of Duṭṭhagámini's slippers ornamented with beads.

found in the low-level cutting near the sluice in the lowest part of the bottom (or pottery) stratum, fully 18 feet underground. Another coin, No. 2, was afterwards picked up in the high-level cutting from the same stratum, but not from the bottom of it.

The description of the coins is as follows :—

1. An oblong copper coin, 1·14 inch long, ·46 inch broad, and weighing 52½ grains.

Obverse. A full-length standing figure of a man, looking to the front. The left hand rests on something represented by three upright lines. Around and over the head runs a wavy line, which may perhaps indicate the royal umbrella. The right forearm seems to be turned upwards. The legs are slightly apart, and the feet turned outwards. There appears to be a tunic, which extends to the upper part of the thighs. The whole figure is well-proportioned and somewhat graceful.

Reverse. More indistinct than the obverse, but it contains a symbol in relief which appears to resemble that on the other coins found. This consists of two lines in the upper part of the coin, one vertical and the other horizontal, crossing each other at a right-angle. The ends of these lines are bent at a right-angle to the right (beginning from the top, and following the hands of a watch). This first part of the symbol has been found engraved on two pieces of pottery also.* The rest of the symbol is as follows :— The vertical line is produced downwards for a distance equal to about half its length, when it meets another line running horizontally across the lower part of the coin. From this latter line, on each side of the central produced line, spring two upright lines which rise to about one-third of the height of the central line. The whole figure is thus symmetrical. Below the horizontal base line there usually runs one wavy line. The symbol cannot be properly distinguished on this special coin, but part of it can be made out, and as it is found on all the other ancient coins, it was probably similar on this one.

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* This is the "Svástika" ormonogram of the word *Svásti.* (*Report of Archæological Survey of India,* Vol. V., p. 177, illustrated in plate XLII.)

On the left half of the coin there are some indistinct marks or letters in relief, which may be presumed to be the name of the sovereign, but I am unable to decipher them. The lowest letter seems to be the *anusvára* dot or bead.

2. An oblong copper coin, 1·18 inch long, ·46 inch broad, and weighing 44 grains.

Obverse. A standing full-length figure of a man, looking to the front. The figure is in fictitious relief by the background's being sunk, as though stamped; no part of the coin, however, rises above the general level of the edges. Round, and over the head, is a circlet, as in the last coin. The arms hang down on each side, and the legs are slightly apart, with the feet turn outwards. The two triangular spaces at each side of the head—between that and the arms and the side of the coin—are filled with an ornamental winding design. Filling up the space between the feet is a small triangular relief. A horizontal bar runs below the feet. There is something which I am unable to distinguish on each side of the legs. The figure is not quite so graceful as the former, and the arms are less natural in appearance; the shoulders are also narrow, but in other respects the figure is well proportioned.

Reverse. The same symbol as on the last coin. In the spaces to left and right of it, between the horizontal arms and the verticle side-bars, there are four (or perhaps five) letters in relief, which appear to form the name of the king. Two are on each side of the central vertical bar, those on the left being written vertically, and those on the right horizontally. The characters are clearly those of the Asoka inscriptions, and they seem to have been well made, and very distinct; but, owing to the wearing away of the coin, and to its bending near them, it is difficult to decipher them. I doubtfully identified those on the left as *Raja*, and those on the right as *Aba.* If so, the left ones read from the bottom upwards, and the others from left to right. We know that the lettering was very irregular on the most ancient coins. On the inscribed coins found at Eran by General Cunningham, the letters read in one case from right to left, and in two others from left to right.

3. An oblong copper coin, 1·22 inch long, ·50 inch wide, and weighing at present 41 grains. A small flake,

which has been broken off the reverse face, would bring up the total weight to about 43 grains.

Obverse.—A standing full-length figure of a man, facing to the front, but looking towards his right. The usual circlet or raised bar passes round and over the head, and it has four outward equidistant bosses or projections. A horizontal bar passes across over the head, and the upper corners of the coins, at each side of the head, are filled with a raised design. The arms hang down at the sides, and the legs are slightly apart, the feet being turned half-outwards. Two upright bars stand at each side, as high as the middle of the thighs. The figure is moderately well-proportioned.

Reverse.—The same symbol as on the other coins, with two horizontal raised bars below it instead of one. There are no letters on this coin.

This coin was found at a slightly higher level than the preceding one, and above the pottery stratum. Unfortunately it is broken in two.

4. An oblong copper coin, 1·20 inch long, ·55 inch wide, and weighing 35 grains. This coin is much corroded, but is otherwise in fair condition.

Obverse.—The full-length figure of a man looking to the front, with the arms hanging down near the sides, and the feet somewhat apart, the toes being turned half-outwards. The figure is slender, and very narrow-waisted; but as regards longitudinal dimensions, it is not badly proportioned. Round and over the head is the usual circlet—about two-thirds of a circle—springing from the shoulders. Over this is a horizontal bar, separated from the border rim by a sunk channel of similar width. This border runs round three sides of the coin, being absent at the feet, and is flat and rather broad for a coin of this size. The spaces between the figure and the border, and between the legs as high as the calves, are partly filled up with simple winding tracery.

Reverse.—The symbol found on the other coins, but made in a slightly different manner, the bends at the ends of the cross-bars being turned in the opposite direction—that is, the top one turns to the left, and the rest are similarly reversed. Below the horizontal base line of this symbol there are two waving parallel lines, instead of one.

On each side of the vertical bar, and above the short upright side-bars, there appear to be letters; but they are so indistinct that I have been unable to decipher any of them. The first one, the upper letter on the left side, seems to resemble the first letter on coin No. 2.

This coin was met with in widening a high-level channel from the west sluice near the ruins of a small dágaba marked on the plan. I have already mentioned that there were some better-class dwellings along this channel. Their floors were cut through at depths varying from two to five feet below the present ground-level, and it was among the deeper ones that this coin was found. Several fragments of pottery discovered at the site are quite similar to those unearthed at the potters' establishment on the opposite side of the Tissa tank; and, so far as one can judge from the general nature of the remains, their depth below the surface, the character of the pottery, and especially the sizes of the bricks (which are almost exactly the same as those of the Maháráma, and might have been made with the same moulds), these ruins are at least as old as those found in cutting out the site for the new sluice.

5. A roughly circular copper coin, having a mean diameter of about 1·27 inch, and a weight of 220 grains. This coin has, unfortunately, been badly stamped, so that part of the design is omitted on both faces. As a result of this, however, it can clearly be seen that two dies have not been exactly opposite, from which it is probable that the copper disk was laid on a die, and impressed by blows on another die held by the hand. The design on the reverse face seems to have been afterwards cut out more deeply by hand. The designs on both faces are brought into relief by sinking the back-ground.

Obverse.—The design is surrounded by two parallel circular lines, ·10 inch apart, having between them an intermediate line, broken, in one part, by a series of dots, and perhaps similarly broken on the opposite side, which is missing in this specimen. About three-quarters only of the design on this face can be seen, the rest, owing to the irregularity of the stamping, having missed the disk.

In the right-hand lower corner is the side-view of a well-shaped elephant in relief, facing to the left, with extended

tail. Above the elephant, to the left, is what I take to be a representation of the sacred bó branch, growing out of a rectangular frame, or surrounded by a fence which has bars crossing from the middle of each side. On each of the upper corners of this frame is a dot or bead, which may be intended to represent a fruit, with two leaflets springing from it. (The eight minor bó trees each bore two fruits, *Mah.*, p. 120.) The tree consists of a substantial upright stem, from the sides of which diverge two lateral alternate branches (instead of five, as stated at *Mah.*, p. 113). The stem and branches each bear three leaves at their extremities—one being at the end, and opposite ones at each side.*

To the right of this branch, at the top of the design, under the rim, is the symbol which I have already described on coin No. 1. Between this and the branch are three circular dots, while another dot is found at its right lower corner near the rim. Between the "Svástika" symbol and the elephant's back, there are two peculiar symbols—that on the left much like a sextant, an isosceles triangle lying on its side, with a vertical cross-bar at the apex, which is towards the left; that on the right like a double eye-glass more than anything else, resting on a line which cuts off the bottoms of the two circles.

Reverse.—The design is surrounded by a single flat rim. About three-quarters of this design, also, can alone be clearly seen. The design has evidently been improved by cutting out a shallow trench round the outlines. An imaginary horizontal diameter will divide the symbols on this face into two groups—three above it, and one below it.

In the middle of the upper half is a very clear representation of the peculiar "Svástika" symbol found on the other old coins, in broad high relief, at the right upper corner of which are three circular dots. The design at the left is very indistinct, but three similar dots were probably symmetrically arranged there also, under which was a symbol that I have failed to distinguish. To the right of the symbol first described, below the three dots, and

* Compare *Report on Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. X., p. 79, and plate XXIV., where very ancient punch-marked and die-struck coins are described and figured, having a facsimile of this bó tree on them, the seedlings alone being perhaps absent.

extending to the rim, is an outline like a second or third century M, from which, however, it differs slightly, so that it cannot, with certainty, be stated to be that letter. It consists of two inclined straight bars crossing each other a little above their middle, and having their tops and bottoms joined by horizontal lines, which are about half the length of the bars. At the crossing-place is a similar horizontal longer bar, while another short horizontal one, like the earliest form of attached *u*, is found on the right side. As the second or third century *u* is written below the consonant, this symbol is perhaps not intended to represent a letter. It may, however, be the "Aum" monogram of the time.

In the middle of the lower half of this face, below the imaginary diameter, is the same double-eye-glass symbol as on the other face, but much larger, on each side of which are three circular dots in relief.

6. A circular (?) copper coin with a raised rim on both faces, ·65 inch in diameter and weighing 26 grains.

Obverse. The head and shoulders of a man, in profile, looking towards the left. The whole is in high relief. At the back of the head, under the rim, there are several letters in relief, which are either Greek or Roman, but they are too indistinct to be deciphered.

Reverse. An exceedingly graceful, well-proportioned, full-length, small, standing figure of a man, looking to the front, and resting his weight on the right leg. In his right hand, which is extended outwards from the elbow, he holds a wreath, probably. The other arm is partly extended, and the hand apparently rests on a spear. Under the rim, to the left of the figure, are several letters, which I am unable to decipher.

So far as I am aware, the only coins which closely resemble this are the Macedonian coins issued during the reigns of the Emperors Nero (54–68), Vespasian (69–79), and Domitian (81–96). But all those at the British Museum are considerably larger than this one. (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Coins of Macedonia, pp. 27, 28.) The coin was found at the sluice-cutting, about three feet above the pottery stratum, together with the following coin No. 7, and it was nearly at the same level as No. 3, but slightly higher.

7. A circular copper coin without rim, ·50 inch in diameter, and weighing 23 grains.

Obverse. The head and shoulders of a man, in profile, looking towards the right. The whole is in high relief. On his head is a helmet or cap, which does not cover the ear. There is something in relief in front of the face, which may possibly be some letters; but, if so, I am unable to distinguish them.

Reverse. Three full-length standing figures of nymphs in a row, in very low relief The middle one is shorter than the others. All appear to be facing to the front.

The three nymphs are characteristic of the Greek coins of Apollonia. Coins of this type were issued during the first century B.C., and in the time of the Emperor Commodus, the latter ones, however, being twice the size of this coin. (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Coins of Thessaly to Aetolia, pp. 61, 63.)

8 A circular copper coin, ·60 inch in diameter, and weighing 31 grains. This coin is very much defaced, and little can be made out with certainty regarding it. On the obverse, there is the head and bust of a man, half turned to the right, with the face in profile. He wears a tunic which is opened at the throat. There appears to be an undecipherable legend under the rim.

On the reverse there is an indistinct design in relief, and a legend under the rim.

9. A copper coin, intended to be circular, having a mean diameter of about ·53 inch and a weight of 13½ grains. This is a very puzzling coin, and I am unable to suggest even its nationality. It has been badly stamped, so that the designs on the two faces are not opposite each other.

Obverse. The coin has a low flat rim in fictitious relief. The head and shoulders of a man, in profile, facing the right, having a circlet above his forehead confining his hair, which is very long. The execution is very rough, and the distinguishing characteristic of the features is the enormous nose. In front of the face are four nearly equidistant dots arranged parallel to and near the rim.

Reverse. Much defaced. This face is occupied by symbols which appear to be two letters, one of them bearing a close resemblance to a Kanarese attached letter *(bha).*

The other letter has the form of the Asoka *n*; but there are two small circles in relief at the sides of the vertical line of the letter.

From the roughness of the design and execution, and the long hair of the king, as well as from the letters on the reverse, I conclude that this coin is a South-Indian one. As it was found near the last described coin, in the cutting for the new sluice, its date is probably not later than the first or second century A.D. Both of these coins were just over the gravel, but not at the spot where the pottery stratum was cut through.

The coins numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4 evidently represent the same value; but they are of different reigns. It seems to me exceedingly probable that in these we have at last, if not the often-mentioned Siṁhalese copper *kahápana* (*kahawana*, Siṁ.) of the Páli works, at any rate one of its subdivisions. For an exhaustive discussion regarding the kahâpana, reference should be made to Prof. Rhys Davids' work on the *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877 (p. 3 and ff.). Compare also *Report on Archælogical Survey of India*, Vol. X., pp. 79 to 81.

I extract, however, two notes from the former work regarding the kahápana :—

"Its size and shape are uncertain; but this at least can be said, that the sculptor of the bas-reliefs at Bárahát (who cannot have lived more than a century later than the compiler of the Dhammapada), makes them square." (P. 4).

"We have, therefore, no evidence in Buddhist literature that in Mágadha before the time of Asoka, or in Ceylon before the fifth century A.D., there were any coins proper, that is, pieces of inscribed money struck by authority. On the other hand, we have no statements inconsistent with the existence of such coinage, and we have sufficient evidence that pieces of metal of certain weights, and probably marked or stamped by the persons who made them, were used as a medium of exchange, and that some common forms of this money had acquired recognized names." (P. 13.)

Up to the time of Mahánáma, I have met with only two references in the ancient histories to money employed in Ceylon, which was clearly said to be of gold or silver. One, quoted by Prof. Rhys Davids, states that Duṭṭhagámini

deposited 8 lacs of *hiraññas* at each of the four gates of the Lohapásáda (*Mah.* p. 163) ; and the other mentions the gift of 200,000 silver pieces (*rúpiyá*) to the priesthood, by Abhaya, son of Sirinága, 231—239 A.D. (*Dip.*, xxii. 37).

In all other cases previous to Mahánáma's time, in which allusion is made to money in Ceylon, there is not only nothing to show that kahápanas of copper were not referred to, but there is often good reason for thinking that copper alone was intended to be understood. Gold and silver were doubtless used much more freely in India than in Ceylon, both as mediums of exchange and for decorative purposes. This is evident when it is remembered that gold does not now exist in any but small quantities in Ceylon, and that silver is still more rare. We cannot assume that the greater part of these metals has been washed out of the quartz before our time. It seems to be very unlikely, too, that gold was really made use of in the instance above referred to. The money was to be given to the labourers employed in building the Lohapásáda, and it can hardly be supposed that they would be paid in gold.* In this case, *hirañña* may very possibly be an interpolation of Mahánáma's. Excluding this one instance, then, there is nothing whatever to indicate that up to the third century A.D. any but copper money was in large circulation in this country. When it is named, this money is always called kahápana. Seeing, therefore, that two of the oblong coins certainly date from before Christ, and that another (No. 4) most probably does, that no copper coins but kahápanas or parts of kahápanas are known to have existed in Ceylon at that time, and that the Indian kahápana has been represented by a pre-Christian sculptor as a rectangular coin, I conclude that we have at last obtained specimens of one of the subdivisions of the Siṁhalese kahápana.

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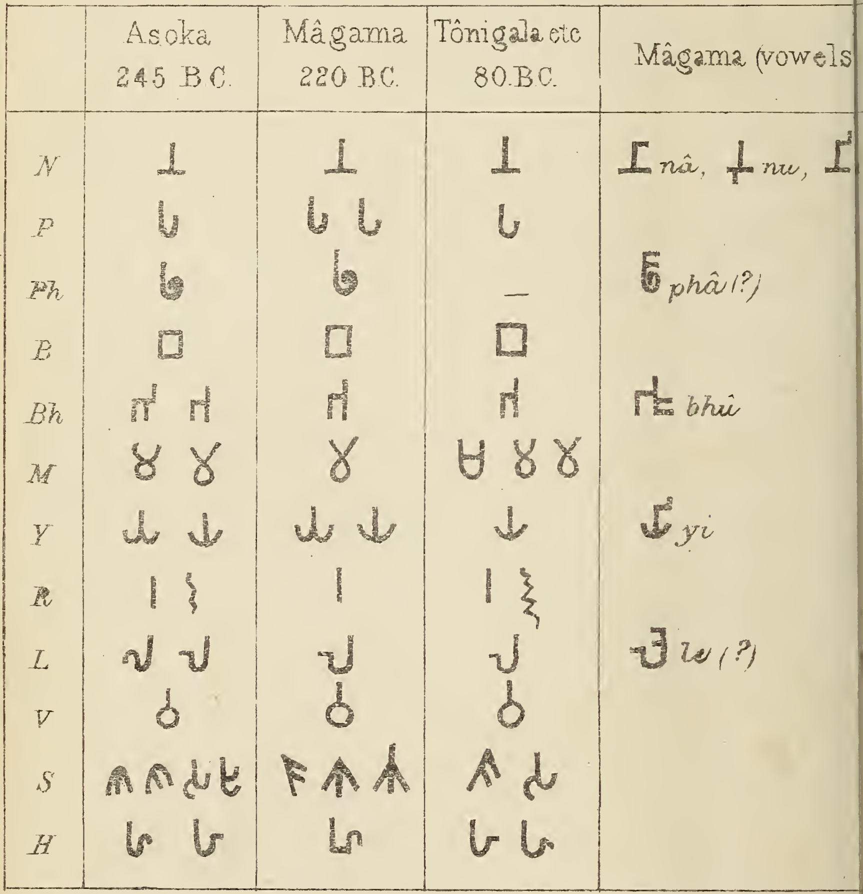
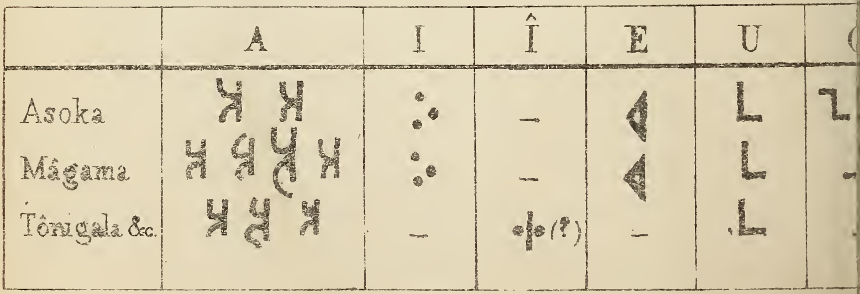
* I should note, however, that in one of the Mihintale inscriptions, which Dr. Müller attributes to Kassapa V. (937 to 954 A.D.) it is ordained that the workmen at the Ambasthala Wihára were to be paid in "kalandas" of gold. This may merely refer to the amount of their pay ; it does not necessarily indicate that gold was actually paid to the men. In any case, it would of course be their yearly wages, and not pay given to them for short periods of service, as would be the case at the Lohapásáda (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 114.) *See Appendix*, Note 4.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Pálaeographical Table

(after Cunningham.)

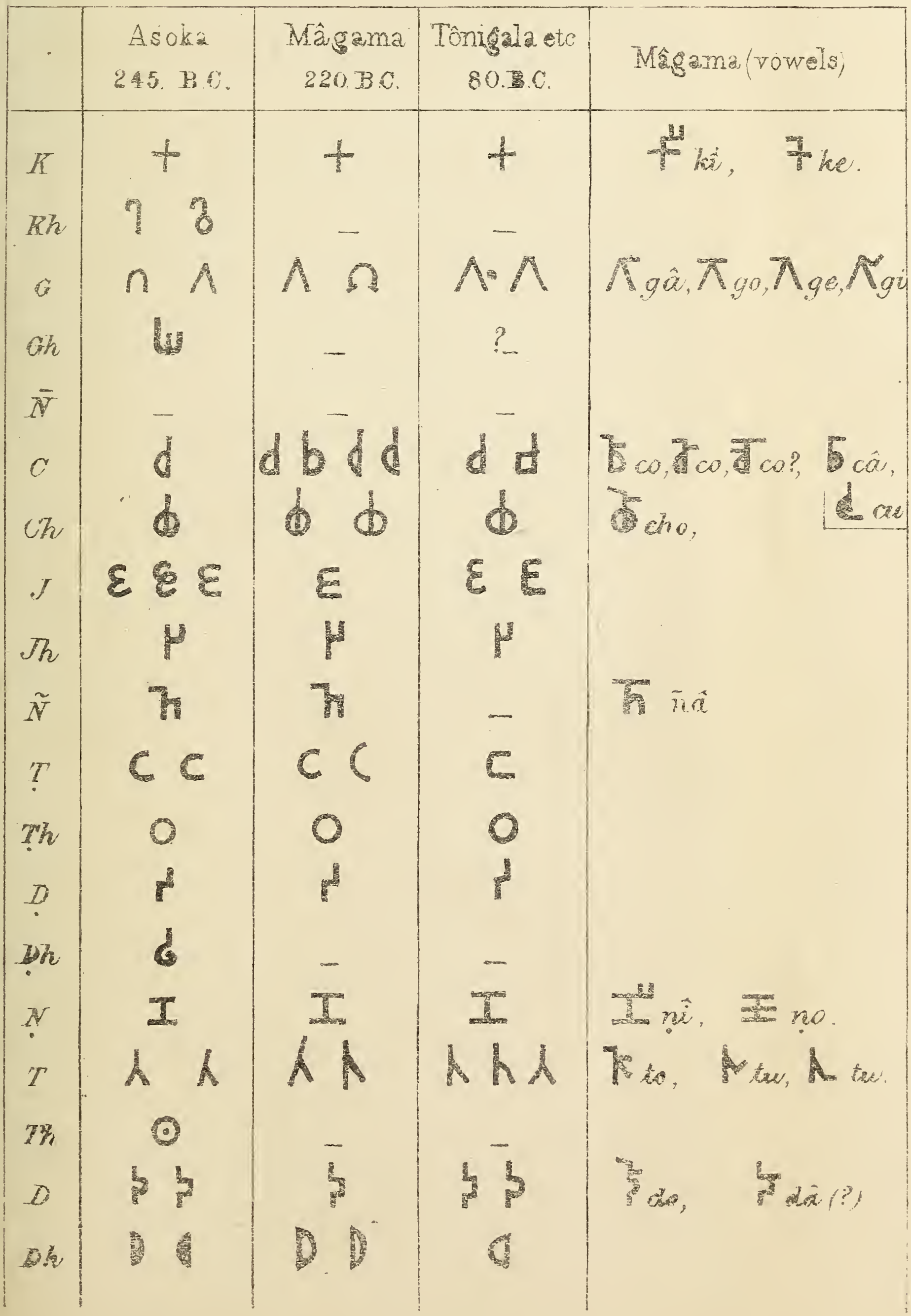




LITHOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE. COLOMBO

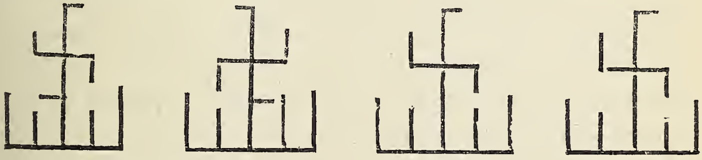
Palaeographical Table

(after Cunningham.)



BRITISH MUSEUM

The three oblong coins first described were found in the potters' working-place, and not at the houses occupied by the other work-people. From this it may be inferred that they belonged to the potters, or, at any rate, that the two oldest of them did. Proof that these potters possessed such money has been obtained by the discovery of two accurate drawings of the symbol on the reverse side of the coins, scratched on two fragments of pottery taken out of the lowest stratum. I think that there cannot be much chance of error in assuming this symbol to be a representation of the royal seal or mark (*lakuna)* of the time ; but what it really meant originally will probably never be known. Is it possible that the central vertical line, with its cross-bar, the *svásti* monogram, can be intended to represent the symbol on the royal standard, while the four lateral verticals symbolise the four descriptions of troops surrounding it—elephants, chariots, cavalry, and foot-soldiers? This seems far-fetched, but I am unable to suggest any better explanation. I may mention here, as an interesting fact in connection with these coins, that two accurate copies of the symbol are to be found on the rocks at Gal-lena Wihára, in the North-Western Province. There are five inscriptions on the rocks, all purporting to be cut by Tissa, son of the Maháràja Gámani Abhaya. The symbol is cut at the end of two of these, together with another unexplained mark. For purposes of comparison I give sketches of all of these seals or diagrams :—



On coins Nos 1, 2, 3, 5. On coin No. 4. On pottery. On rock at Gal-lena.

Dr. Müller has stated that the Gal-lena inscriptions at the end of which the marks are cut, are of considerably later date than another one of the five, which he has transcribed and translated (*Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon*, text, p. 25), and which apparently belongs to Mahácúla Tissa, son of Waṭṭagámini. Without entering into this (although the existence of this mark after them renders it unlikely

that they should be forgeries, and the inscription from which this seal is copied contains the aspirated *bh*), I may point out that even if they belong to the second century A.D., their age will not affect the date of the coins on which the same symbol is found. The design was repeated on these coins for a long period after Christ.

The fact of this symbol's being thus cut on the Gal-lena rocks appears to me to be decisive as to the country to which the coins bearing it belong. A design borrowed from a foreign coin would be quite meaningless at the end of an inscription in Ceylon, purporting to record a royal gift; and it seems probable that the mark or symbol was either copied from a Siṁhalese coin, or was well-known as the royal seal. The great numbers of the kahápanas mentioned in the Mahávaṁsa also prove (if the statements are to be believed), that coining was carried on in the Island. We can hardly assume that coins of Indian origin were in such profusion in Ceylon.

It needs merely a glance at these ancient coins and the later Siṁhalese coins (or the beautiful photographs of them in Professor Rhys Davids' volume), to convince any one of the immense falling off—both in drawing and engraving the design on the money—which had taken place by the middle of the 12th century. While the figure of the monarch on the recent coins is almost more like a quadruped than a biped—not to mention a king—the representation of the sovereign on all these old coins is well-proportioned, and, to a considerable extent, graceful. This difference in the appreciation of the proportions of the human figure, and in the ability to transfer this appreciation to the design on the coins, indicates the lapse of a very long interval of time between the latest specimen of the oblong money (No. 3) and the earliest specimen of more modern money, the 'Laṁkeswara' coin of Parákrama Báhu. The difference in the two coins is too great to be bridged over by a less period than many centuries; and this is confirmed by the relative position in which the ancient coin was discovered.

On a review of the whole available evidence, and especially remembering the position of one coin in the very bottom of the lowest stratum of the remains, it seems to me that, in the present state of our knowledge of Siṁhalese numismatics,

the nearest approach which can be made to the ages of the money will be to consider the oldest oblong coin to date from at any rate not later than the early part of the second century B.C. Possibly it dates from the time of Mahánága himself. The other oblong coins, Nos. 2 and 4, are probably of but slightly later date than No. 1; and they cannot be assumed to be later than the end of the second century B.C.* The last oblong coin, No. 3, may perhaps belong to the early part of the first century A.D., or otherwise to the latter part of the preceding century. Its age cannot be assumed to be less than this, if a Greek coin, No. 6, found above it, was deposited during the first century after Christ.

With regard to the large circular coin, No. 5, it must (until more is known of these ancient coins) be presumed to be Siṁhalese. The presence on it of the Bo-branch and the elephant might not alone justify this belief; but the addition of the symbol found on the other four ancient coins, on the Mágama pottery, and on the Gal-lena rocks, affords what seems to me to be conclusive proof of its accuracy. This coin was met with by my men in cutting a channel at Ellagala, at a point three miles in a direct line from the site of the other remains, so that its relative position affords no clue to its age. The representation of the Bo-branch indicates a time when Buddhism had not begun to languish in Ceylon; and while the presence of the seal appears to show that the coin is not very far removed in age from the oldest money yet found, the marked difference in shape, design, and execution between the oblong and round coins must be taken to prove the lapse of a considerable period between the two styles. In this case, the date of this circular coin may perhaps be the second or third century A.D., but this can only be a matter of conjecture. It is quite possible that this and the latest oblong coin are nearly contemporaneous.

It is interesting to note that the weight of the heaviest of the older coins is very nearly equal to one-fourth of the weight of this one, the former being 52½ grains, while a quarter of the weight of the latter is 55 grains. It can hardly be supposed that this agreement is accidental,

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* In this case the coin No. 2 may possibly belong to Duṭṭhagámini. He is termed simply Abhaya, at *Mah.*, p. 97; *Díp.* 18, 53.

and if not, it is just possible that this round coin is the kahápana; in which case the oblong coins are quarter kahápanas. It seems likely that in earlier times both the kahápana and its subdivisions were all oblong in Ceylon—the shape being perhaps borrowed from the Far East—and that in later years the more convenient round form was adopted for them, copied perhaps, from the Greek money which was already in circulation here, or from Greek money introduced into India.

With so great a difference as 17½ grains between the weights of two specimens out of four of the presumed quarter kahápana—one coin weighing only two-thirds of the other—it may be imagined that the difference was still more striking in other instances. The surprise which the Siṁhalese King expressed to the freedman of Annius Plocamus at the accuracy of the weights of the Roman money can therefore be easily understood. Such an incident is scarcely one that would be invented, and proof is now afforded of the truthfulness of the statement made by the ancient traveller.*

Industries and Commerce.

Pottery. This appears to have been in an advanced state in Ceylon 2,000 years ago, and many of the pieces of earthenware which have been procured are of excellent quality. The black and red varnish, with which most of the plates and many of the smaller chatties were coated, has already been referred to. One small fragment of a deep red colour, taking a beautiful polish, may be specially mentioned. Various kinds of ornamentation on the outsides of the ware are of common occurrence, especially on the chatties, such as parallel and horizontal sunk lines, cross-hatched lines, and diamond and other patterns of different sizes and designs stamped in relief. Other fragments are stamped in more elaborate designs, consisting, in the most decorated pieces, of a complicated tracery in relief, set off by something closely resembling gilding, which is now to

* "Stupuisse scilicet regem pecuniam quæ cum ipso capta fuerat, quòd tametsi signata disparibus foret vultibus, parem tamen haberat modum ponderis." (*Polyhistor*, of Solinus, cap. LVI., *De Taprobane Insulâ*, ed. H. Stephanus, 1577, p. 100.)

be seen only on the ground-work or unelevated portion of the design. It was hoped that some example of painting on pottery might come to light (*Mah.*, p. 99) ; but, with the exception of the common black varnish, all search proved unsuccessful.

Iron.—From the large number of nodules of kidney iron met with throughout the sluice excavations, it is to be presumed that the iron used for making the axes and other tools was smelted on the spot, probably by the smiths themselves. The iron is so nearly pure that this would present no difficulty, and the nodules could be picked out of the underlying decomposed gneiss or gravel, which is extremely ferruginous.

Copper.—Working in copper had arrived at considerable perfection. This is shown by the oblong coins, and also by the small bells and the copper drinking cup already described. It is clear that coining must have been practised for a long period before it could reach such an advanced stage. The earliest coins found are removed by centuries from the rude forms of money which must primarily have been adopted,* and it seems to be likely that some kind of royal mint had long been established in Ceylon. It cannot be supposed that any but skilled workmen could produce such money, or that any one who wished to do so would be permitted to stamp the royal seal on it, even if he were able to engrave the stamps or dies for the two faces of the coin.

Gems, Corals, Glass, &c.—The tourmaline and carnelian beads met with in our excavations, and the amethysts found both there and in the copper-vessel, prove that gemming was regularly practised, and that the art of cutting, drilling, and polishing such stones in the form of beads was far from its infancy, and was as well understood as at present.† (*Mah.* p. 51.) The presence of these beads among the remains shows that there is nothing improbable in the

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* The execution of these coins is far in advance of the early coins found by General Cunningham at Eran. (*Report, Arch. Survey of India*, Vol. X., p. 77.)

† The beautiful form of the carnelian bead can have been obtained only by means of a lathe. It is as perfect a sphere as could be turned out of a modern workshop, and probably it was polished with pumice.

account of Duṭṭhagámini's decorations at the Lohapásáda: —"All these apartments were highly embellished; they had festoons of beads, resplendent gems. The flower ornaments appertaining thereto were also set with gems, and the tinkling festoons were of gold." (*Mah.* p. 163; compare *Díp.* xi., 20; see also *Appendix.*)

Besides these beads, a large, inferior, uncut amethyst, and pieces of chalcedony, carnelian, and rock-crystal in the rough state, have been discovered in the cutting near the sluice. I believe that none of these stones are found in the neighbourhood of Tissawæwa.

It may be of interest, for the sake of camparison, to enumerate the stones now worked in Ceylon; and Mr. Hayward, of Colombo, the representative of Mr. Streeter, the well-known dealer in precious stones, has been kind enough to furnish me with a list of those met with by him, as follows:—

Sapphire	Spinel	Garnet
Ruby	* Tourmaline	Jacinth
* Amethyst	Aquamarine	Jargon
Cat's-eye	* Rock-crystal	* Selenite.
Alexandrite	* Chalcedony (rare)	
* Chrysoberyl	Star-stone	

Of these, six marked (*) have been discovered at Tissamaháráma.

The coral from which the beads are made may have been obtained round the southern coast. Without doubt great numbers of these small beads were overlooked in our excavations; and it is certain that when so many were in the possession of men of the lower castes, the collection of the coral and its cutting and boring must have been an industry of some importance. (*Mah.* p. 168; *Díp.* xx., 13.)

Of the flat disks composed of silicate of alumina, and belonging to necklaces, we have found no less than 70, either whole or broken. That so many were lost by these people is a proof of their abundance, and almost a proof that they were a local production. This manufacture shows, almost more plainly than anything else, the great attention paid in early times to the making of articles for personal adornment.

No pearls were found in the excavations; but part of one of the valves of a pearl-oyster shell has been obtained near the Tissa sluice, and there were several small pearls in the copper vessel already mentioned. One of these pearls was split in two for setting—a practice still in vogue, although its antiquity may not have been previously known. These pearls were perhaps procured not very far from Mágama. I have picked up a complete shell of a young mussel (the valves not separated) at Hambantoṭa.

One small piece of gold-leaf, perhaps from a necklace or ornament* of very delicate workmanship, is the sole representative of this metal.

Glass.—The discovery, among the oldest remains, of three small blue glass beads—perforated longitudinally for stringing on a necklace—as well as a small fragment of broken glass, is another of the interesting experiences of these researches. There is, of course, nothing to show that these were made in the Island; but glass is mentioned as forming part of the decorations in Dewánam-piya Tissa's dedication procession at Anurádhapura (*Mah.* p. 99); and Saddhátissa is reported to have made "a lump of glass." (*Díp.* xx., 5). Considering the beautiful colour of two of these beads, and the good shape of all, I am inclined to believe that they were imported; otherwise it is clear that the manufacture had reached such a state of excellence that more evidences of it ought to be forthcoming, either among these early remains, or, at any rate, in the early histories. It is difficult to understand how an art which had made such decided progress could be lost, more particularly when it is remembered how the knowledge of such arts is transmitted here from father to son, in special families, for centuries. These beads might easily have come from Phœnicia, viâ Assyria. The broken piece of glass is, however, of inferior quality, and full of minute air-bubbles. It is of a dull blue colour. It could scarcely be worth while to transport such a specimen as this from Phœnicia, and possibly it may have been come from India.

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* Since writing this, I have seen two pieces of gold which covered the relics deposited in a receptacle at the Yaṭṭhála dágaba, and I find that the fragment which we have obtained is similar to them, and was probably intended for a similar purpose.

Besides the bangle already described ("Personal Ornaments," No. 8), a larger piece of glass of a good quality, and of as late a date, has been procured in the high-level channel cutting which passed through part of the city. (See "Household Utensils," No. 19.) This must have been made some centuries after the other pieces of glass, bringing the manufacture down to perhaps the 4th or 5th century A.D., if not later.* It is of a rich green colour, and apparently without flaw. The discovery of this latter piece makes it still more likely that all the glass is imported from India.

I now come to three substances which are certainly importations.

Rhinoceros Horn.—Among the houses of the artificers, at the site of the Tissa sluice, a piece of black horn, which appears to form the spiral root end of the horn of a young rhinoceros, probably *R. sondíacus,* the lesser Indian rhinoceros, was met with. This was used medicinally, and it is still numbered among the native nostrums of the present day as an effective antidote for snake-bite. It is taken internally, mixed with human milk, some of the horn being rubbed down or scraped off in a powder for the purpose. It will be observed that the end of this piece of horn has been rubbed down in this manner. It is very highly valued for its medicinal properties, and this piece is said to be locally worth several pounds sterling.

Dr. Jerdon says that *Rhinoceros sondiacus* "is found at present in the Bengal Sunderbuns, and a very few individuals are stated to occur in the forest tract along the Mahanuddy river, and extending northwards towards Midnapore; and also on the edge of the Rajmahal hills near the Ganges. It occurs also more abundantly in Burmah, and thence through the Malayan Peninsula to Java and Borneo." (*Mammals of India,* reprint 1874, p. 234.)

Jade.—The presence of jade among the remains of the oldest date is perhaps, on some accounts, more interesting than the discovery of glass. The pieces, including the bead

* Saṁghatissa I. (242 —246 A.D.) is said to have placed "a glass pinnacle" on the spire of the Ruwanwæli dágaba; but this is not unlikely to have been a crystal. (See *Mah.* p. 229.) There is a crystal, now on Thúpárámа.

and ear-ring, were all found among or near the houses of the artificers.

Pumice.—A small piece of material identified by Mr. A. C. Dixon as pumice was also found in one of the same houses. Possibly this was used medicinally, but more probably it was employed in polishing precious stones.

Foreign Trade.

The two last articles appear to be small things on which to found a big hypothesis; but if I am correct (in the absence of suitable works of reference) in supposing that the jade has come from the east of the Bay of Bengal,* and that the pumice cannot have been procured nearer than Sumatra, we have here proof of a direct ancient trade between North-Eastern India and the Far East, if not directly between Ceylon itself and the East. Nor is there anything in such a theory which is inconsistent with probabilities. It is known that centuries before these remains were covered up many vessels sailed from the Ganges to Ceylon; and, if so, there is every likelihood that others carried their trading operations eastward along the shores of the Bay of Bengal. If Buddhist missionaries were despatched from India to Burma in the reign of Asoka, that country must have been long previously known to the inhabitants of North-Eastern India. † The earliest travellers must have been traders, and they must also have gone by sea, the land journey being impossible. And with a trade route once established between India and Burma and round the coasts of India, some of the desirable produce of the Far East would certainly find its way

* Since this was written Mr. Hayward has informed me that he has been shown jade which was said to be procured and cut in Northern India; but, if so, he remarks that it must be found in very limited quantity, and he considers that China and Japan are the true sources of it. He states, however, that the specimens of jade which have been found at Tissamahárâma are much coarser than Chinese samples, so that I conclude they may perhaps have come from Northern India. The carnelian is also probably imported from India.

† The first Buddhist missionaries, 18 in number, visited China in B.C. 216, but they made the journey overland. As foreigners and 'strange characters,' they were all thrown into prison, but eventually released. Still, it seems probable that a trade with China existed before they ventured to make the journey. (*China*, by Proff. Douglas, p. 318).

to Ceylon, a country in close mercantile and political connection with Mágadha, and capable of offering in return many highly-valued articles not found in the Far East. If this trade be admitted—as the discovery of pumice (if not the jade) in Ceylon almost compels it to be*—the voyage of Wijaya and his companions is no longer a matter for surprise or doubt; they simply took a well-known route in search of "pastures new and fields Arcadian," tempted probably by stories of the gem and pearl-producing capabilities of this Island.

In support of this theory I annex an extract from Prof. Max Duncker's *History of Antiquity* (translated by Abbott, 1879), the italics being mine.

Regarding the Phœnicians it is said:—"The south-west coast of Arabia was no longer a place for producing and exporting frankincense and spices; it became the trading place of the Somali coast, and before the year 1000 B.C. was also the trading place for the products of India, which *ships of the Indians* carried to the shore of the Sabeans and Chatramites..............By the foundation and success of the trade to *Ophir and the most remote places of the East* which they reached, their commerce obtained its widest extent and brought in the richest returns. With incense and balsam there came to Tyre cinnamon and cassia, sandalwood and ivory, gold and pearls, from India, and the *silk tissues of the Distant East.*" (Vol. II., pp. 297—298.)

Dr. Duncker further points out that from his inscriptions it is learnt that "Asoka is not only in connection with Antiyaka—i.e. with is neighbour Antiochus, who sat on the throne from 262 to 247 B.C., and with Turamaya, i.e. with Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285–246 B.C.),—but also with Antigonus Gonnatas of Macedonia (272–258 B.C.), with Alissanda,—i.e. Alexander of Epirus (272-258 B.C.), and even with Magas, King of Cyrene............Not merely were these lands of the Distant West known, Asoka was in connection with them. Ambassadors were sent to their princes, and are said to have received the assurance that no

* Latterly, however, a considerable amount of pumice from the Krakatoa eruption in the Sunda Straits has been washed ashore both on the coast of India and near Jaffna. (See *Ceylon Observer*, April 10th and March 23rd, 1885.)

hindrance would be placed in the way of the preaching of the doctrine of Buddha." (*Loc. cit.*, Vol., IV., p. 529.)

Education.

Although an examination of the inscriptions of the Island has led Dr. Müller to deem that the art of writing was not known in Ceylon as early as in India, which, in any case, would be an *a priori* inference, the evidence afforded by the inscribed fragments of pottery appears to prove the introduction of the art at a period at any rate not very much later than the reign of Asoka. When the small area included in our excavations at the sluice, and the quantity of inscribed pieces still lying undisturbed in the soil, are considered, and when it is remembered that these represent only a part of the defective pottery rejected at the manufactory after being burnt, it is a fair deduction that a far greater number, probably hundreds at least, of inscribed and perfect specimens have been made and sold. Yet this writing, done by ordinary potters, is, as a rule, as well executed as that of the best of the most ancient inscriptions. There are few of the ill-formed uncouth letters, such as illiterate people might be expected to make.* If the form of the letters is any guide (and among several examples, which plainly are not all the work of one writer, it must be), there is only one published inscription in South Ceylon, that of Ilanága, which comes within 100 years of the age of the most recent of these. The letters cannot, therefore, have been engraved by persons who were specially imported for the purpose of cutting inscriptions, and who might, in such a case, have amused themselves by decorating the hardened but unbaked earthenware, and I am forced to conclude that the whole work is due to the potters themselves. When the inferior position of this caste is taken into consideration,† such a fact must be admitted to afford evidence of a state of education in the country which is unexpected. There are not many potters in the Island at the present day who could

* Even in the present day what a small percentage of English labouring men would print a large S or N correctly !

† In two lists in Upham's *Buddhist Tracts* they are placed respectively 5th and 9th of the lower castes, excluding the Wellalas (pp. 331 and 345).

write sentences on their productions. If potters possessed the knowledge of writing, we may be sure that the higher castes, too, would not be ignorant of it. It seems to me that such negative evidence as the absence of rock inscriptions of a very early date proves little. It is one thing to write a few sentences on a leaf, but quite another—and a thousand times more difficult and tedious—to cut them on a rock. But it was easy to scratch the letters on the partly-hardened clay, and these workmen appear to have amused themselves by doing so. Not only can this be deduced, but an examination of these letters leaves no doubt that many, if not all, were engraved with some sharp-pointed instrument similar to the style now in use. Considering this fact, and the indubitable age of the inscriptions, my conclusion is that the art of writing had been introduced into Ceylon at a period long antecedent to the cutting of the first rock inscriptions in the Island; and I not only see nothing unworthy of credit in the earliest references to it contained in the Mahávaṁsa (p. 53, 54, 60, and 131), but every likelihood of their being a strict adherence to fact. The art must necessarily have been in existence in India for centuries before the first Indian rock inscriptions were cut, and it is unlikely that none of the early settlers, especially those from the courts of the Indian Kings, should be acquainted with it. At any rate, it is certain that the art of writing must have been brought to Ceylon long before the knowledge could spread to people of the lower castes.

It is much to be regretted that no full sentence has been discovered on the pottery, and only two or three complete words. In nearly all cases there is only a letter or two. The two longest inscriptions read :—

No. 1. ......*ke Dayapu saha Aba*.......
No. 2. *Gapati sivasa.*

The letters discovered are :—

A, *E*, *ka*, *ga*, *ḍa*, *ta*, *na*, *pa*, *ba*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, *sa*, *ha*, and all the short attached vowels. The *sa* is of the angular form, like the Greek digamma.

Mode of Burial.

Nothing to illustrate the earliest form of burial in Ceylon has come to light, but an interesting example of a much

later date was discovered in excavating the high-level channel from the sluice. Four and a-half feet from the surface, exactly under a medium-sized tree, and about six feet above the lowest stratum of remains, a large wide-mouthed chatty was encountered. This, although broken, was taken carefully out, and was found to contain a number of calcined pieces of bone. Inverted on these was a small earthenware lamp, already described. ("Household Utensils," No. 22.) As the groove for the wick is blackened by fire, the lamp has evidently been in use, and we may assume that it belonged to the buried person. The Buddhist priests at the Mahárâma and Yaṭṭhála dágabas (representing the Siamese and Amarapura sects) are both strongly of opinion that these are not the remains of a priest—a belief which is the more justified from the fact of there being no wihára in the immediate neighbourhood. It is uncertain how long Tissawæwa has been breached and deserted, but it has undoubtedly been so for a long period. Hundreds of years must have elapsed after the embankment gave way, before the bed of the tank and the paddy field could be overgrown with dense jungle and forest, as was the case before the recent restoration. It is almost certain that the tank was in order when Tamils were settled at it in the time of Mágha, in the early part of the 13th century, but I have met with nothing of later date regarding the place. The shape of many bits of pottery found in a layer immediately below the vegetable mould at the surface of the ground resembles that of fragments in the lowest stratum, and is, in many cases, unlike that of earthenware of modern manufacture, some of the articles, such as plates, being no longer made in Ceylon. These must have been deposited before the tank burst, and the form of burial above described may belong to the same period. There is nothing to indicate its exact date, and all that can be said with accuracy is that it is apparently some centuries old, and that it may possibly date from the 14th century.*

In conclusion, I beg to state that, being in a remote

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* Compare the account in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Vol. I., p. 23, of the discovery of four similar cinerary urns at Bairat, the lamp, however, being wanting.

station, and having left many of my books in Colombo, I have been unable to consult an adequate number of works of reference, and this report has therefore been written under special disadvantages.

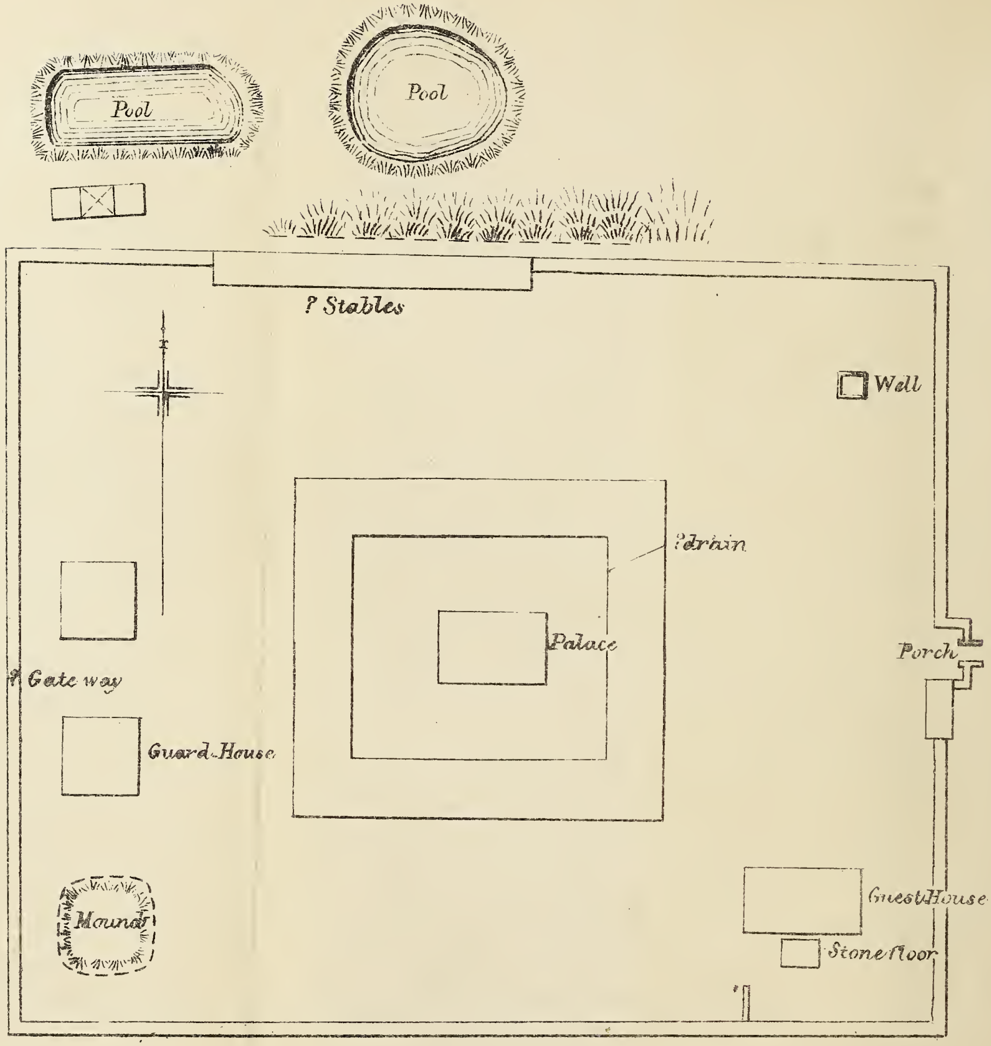
I must not omit to acknowledge, however, the ready assistance which Mr. D. W. Ferguson, of the *Ceylon Observer*, has given me in this matter, by kindly lending to me several valuable works which I did not possess. I am greatly indebted to Mr. A. C. Dixon, B.Sc., for kindly examining and identifying several stones, and for ascertaining the composition of the silicate of alumina ornaments; and to Mr. J. Hayward for valuable information regarding the precious stones reported on.

ADDENDUM.

Since drawing up this report, and recording my conclusions regarding the introduction of the art of writing "at a period at any rate not very much later than the reign of Asoka," I have discovered a large series of inscribed bricks at the Yaṭṭhála dágaba. These bricks formed part of the body of the dágaba, and having fallen down in a *talus* have been removed to make way for the restoration now being carried out. Many of the bricks of the Mahárárma are, I have since been informed by the resident priest and others, similarly inscribed; but the letters (not being known to any one here) were supposed to be merely fanciful meaningless marks drawn on the bricks, and no particular attention was paid to them. This is very unfortunate, as both the late Dr. Goldschmidt and Dr. E. Müller, the Archæological Commissioners, visited the dágaba while the repairs were in progress. As Mahánága, the constructor of this dágaba, was the contemporary of Asoka, we should, had their attention been drawn to these marks, have obtained a Siṁhalese alphabet known to be of the same age as Asoka's, and we should thus have had the best possible local starting point for Siṁhalese palæography. These bricks are now relaid in the dágaba, and the letters are lost to Archæology. I have, however, found one or two letters similar to those at the Yaṭṭhála dágaba on some of the fragments of brick not yet built into the Mahárárma.

BRITISH MUS

PLAN OF THE MÂGAMA PALACE



Scale 60 Feet to an Inch

LITHOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE COLOMBO

At the Yaṭṭhála dágaba the restoration has just been begun, and I have thus been able to preserve a good series of bricks from oblivion. Their palæographical value depends largely on the date of the structure, regarding which the ancient histories are quite silent, the only guide being the statement in the Mahávaṁsa that Mahánága's son Tissa, who succeeded him, was born at the Yaṭṭhála wihára, and, as Turnour has added, "during the flight" of his father. If the Yaṭṭhála wihára, to which reference is made, is the wihára which now goes by the name, at the Yaṭṭhála dágaba in the ancient Mágama, this statement, as I have already mentioned, cannot be correct. It is improbable, on the face of it, and it becomes impossible, when we consider (1) that the palace was most likely not more than a mile distant; (2) that Mahánága was apparently 53 years old at the time; and (3) that in this case Tissa's grandson was born 18 years afterwards. Even if my revised chronology is quite wrong—(although it rests on too secure a foundation to be more than a few years wrong)—it cannot be supposed that the prince was born at a wihára when the palace was in the immediate neighbourhood. Besides, the Mahávaṁsa says, "proceeding thence to Rohana," an expression which would not have been used if the Yaṭṭhála wihára was at Mágama. Mágama had long before been the residence of a prince, at least—even if Wijaya never lived at it; and Mahánága came as the tributary king or viceroy of the southern kingdom, and not merely as a fugitive who would be glad of any shelter for his family. Jinaratana Terunnánse, of the Yaṭṭhála wihára, informs me, also, that it is stated in the Dhátuvaṁsa that Mahánága erected this wihára. If so, this should be decisive evidence against his son's birth at it during the journey of the father to the southern capital. I hope to give the extract relating to it before closing my report. (See *Appendix*, Note 6.) Whether this was the case or not, I conclude, from the other evidence above given, that if Prince Tissa was born at a Yaṭṭhála wihára it must have been some other than this one.* At any rate, he

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* There is a Yaṭahalena wihára on the road from Colombo to Kandy, connected by tradition with Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa. (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 86.)

bore the name of Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa, and succeeded his father in the sovereignty. I have already shown that Maháṅága may have been born about 296 B.C.; and if we suppose him to have died at the age of 70, his son Tissa would succeed to the throne about 226 B.C. This is probably not more than a few years wrong; Maháṅága must have been on the throne at least 14 or 15 years in order to complete the great works which he undertook at Mágama and elsewhere—(the Dhátuvaṁsa says that he erected 100 wiháras); and to allow time for the interpolation of his son and grandson before Kákawaṇṇa Tissa, he cannot be assigned a much longer life. Nothing is more likely or natural than that the son of the constructor of the Maháráma (and perhaps the Sandagiri dágaba also), should emulate his father in the erection of a large dágaba; and when we find one at Mágama named after his birthplace, it can be assigned to him with greater prospect of accuracy than to any other monarch. As he bore his uncle's name, Tissa, it can be understood that he might prefer to call this dágaba after the place where he was born, rather than after a name which might be confounded, in after years, with that of his relative. It may be assumed, then, that the Yaṭṭhála dágaba was built by Yaṭṭhálaka Tissa; and in that case the date of its construction must, until more is known of early Siṁhalese chronology, be put down to the period between 210 B.C. and 226 B.C.—say, about 220 B.C.

So far as probabilities are a guide, therefore, this date, 220 B.C., is the date of the inscriptions found on the bricks at the Yaṭṭhála dágaba; and the forms of the letters themselves afford valuable confirmatory evidence that the writing was done not very long after that of the Asoka inscriptions. I annex drawings of the letters met with, and if this report should be published, I hope that it may be possible to reproduce them accurately by lithography. This will be much better than a lengthy comparison of the letters with those of Asoka, and of the oldest inscriptions in Ceylon, at Tonigala and Gal-lena. (*Ancient Inscriptions*, Nos. 1 and 2.) Attention may however be drawn to the fact that some of these letters are now, I believe, for the first time found in Ceylon in the most ancient character. These are *I, E, O,*

ña, *pha*, and the trifid *sa*; while *jha*, of which many copies have been found, has been rarely met with in rock inscriptions in the Island.

In nearly all cases only one letter is written on a brick, (often with an attached long or short vowel*); but in a few instances two have been discovered, apparently forming the names of men, such as Kaja, Taka, Jhata (or Jhara). Of most of the letters many copies have been procured, and the letters *A*, *ki*, *ga* (with vowels), *ca* (with vowels), and *na* (with vowels), are particularly numerous. I suppose that they are the initials of the brickmakers, written or stamped while the clay was soft and plastic. Mr. Gooneratne, Atapattu Mudaliyar of Galle, has suggested to me that they may indicate the part of the structure in which the bricks were to be placed; but this seems to me to be very improbable. The brickmakers could know nothing about the building work; and as all the bricks are of only two dimensions, which are mixed up indiscriminately in the structure, there could not be any necessity for such a procedure; it would be quite impossible for any one to determine before the bricks were burnt in what part of the dágaba they were to be placed. The only other hypotheses are that the brickmakers wrote the letters to record the number of bricks made, or that they wrote them for amusement, or that they wrote them as their initials or marks. The first hypothesis is negatived by the fact of the great preponderance of certain letters, the rarity of others, and the absence of some few; the second is disproved by the fact that several of the letters are impressed by well-cut dies; and I see no reason to doubt that the last theory is the true explanation of the presence of the letters on the bricks, especially after the evidence afforded by the inscribed pottery of the state of education of other members of this caste at a very early date.

Evidently, almost all the letters have been written with the finger end, but a few have been traced with pointed sticks or twigs, and several others have been deeply and beautifully stamped in intaglio with well-cut dies, apparently

* This is the first time that the long vowels, except *á*, as they are found in Asoka's inscriptions, have been met with in Ceylon.

made of hard wood. On two or three stamped bricks there is the impress of part of the edge of the die, the size of which almost proves that it was made of this material. The written letters vary in length from about three inches to five and a-half inches, but the stamped ones are usually somewhat smaller. The written ones are made in a free, bold manner, which only men who were well accustomed to writing could acquire. One or two letters appear to be purposely wrongly made, the curve in the *ca*, for instance, being on several bricks traced on the wrong side of the vertical line; and I have met with one of this shape impressed by a well-cut stamp. A man with this initial may have adopted this mode of distinguishing his signature from that of another person having the initial. Only four kinds of marks, which are not letters, have been discovered; these consist of one, two, four, and five dots or punctures, the idea being evidently taken from the three dots of the letter *I*. This appears to show that nearly all the brick-makers could write, or more of these marks would have been found.

If the hypothesis that these letters are the initials of the brickmakers is correct, and if it is further allowable to separate stamped from written letters as the initials of different persons, the specimens obtained must be the work of about 80 different men. How many more different initials might be procured, were the whole of the bricks used in the dágaba to be carefully examined, cannot be guessed; but the number might certainly be much increased. The bricks which I have been able to examine were merely a few of the bricks forming the upper half of the dome or cupola.

That any such letters should have been written on the bricks forming the body of the Yaṭṭhála dágaba and the Mahárāma, affords conclusive proof that the art of writing was introduced into Ceylon not later than the time of Asoka; but when we find that nearly all these brickmakers were capable of writing their initials (or any kind of letters) on bricks, it must be also admitted that the knowledge of writing had by that period spread generally throughout the country. As I previously remarked, if men of low caste knew how to write, the higher castes must certainly have been aware of it. When we thus find the people generally,

and particularly when we find the lower castes able to write so early as 240 B.C. (about which time the building of the Mahárâma was probably begun), it may be accepted as almost beyond doubt that the knowledge of writing was brought to Ceylon fully 170 years previously, by the first settlers. If the art had been introduced only at the time of Mahinda's mission, there would have been no time for so many of the builders of the Mahárâma to learn to write; and there is no ground for assuming that these men were specially imported from Mágadha for the purpose of burning bricks. Prof. Max Müller (*Hist. of Sanscrit Literature*, quoted by Duncker *loc. cit.*, Vol. iv., p. 156) has fixed the date of the first written work in India, Pánini's Grammar, at about 350 B.C.; but he considers that the art was known in India before 600 B.C. Dr. Duncker would remove this date to 800 B.C. (*loc. cit.*, p. 157). It would be strange, then, if the first Mágadhese settlers were quite ignorant of it.

Writing must have been long practised, too, before the idea of cutting dies with which to print the letters was originated. This may possibly have been adopted originally in India, from the Babylonians, who, as is well-known, had from a very early period (2,400 B.C.) been accustomed to use dies for stamping their bricks; but if so, it is rather strange that no earlier examples of it have been discovered in India.* It cannot, however, be assumed that these inscriptions at two dágabas in the extreme south-east of Ceylon are the first instances among the Aryans of writing or imprinting letters on plastic clay.

The Mágama Palace.

I take advantage of the delay in publishing this report to furnish some particulars and a plan of the ruins of the presumed palace of the Mágama princes. This ruin is about half a mile north-west of the Mæṇik dágaba. While my men were removing some broken bricks lying at the site, some flat stones were met with, about 2½ or 3 feet underground; and on tracing the line of these, it was found

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* Compare *Report of Arch. Survey of India*, Vol. 1, p. 326, where General Cunningham mentions that he found a stamped brick at Ajudhya, but of a later date than Asoka.

to enclose an almost rectangular space, the sides being 289 and 287 feet long, and 238 and 234 feet wide, measuring from the centre of the walls. It was evident that these flat stones formed the foundations of the boundary-wall of the court-yard. On each side of them there was usually an upright slab set on edge, the whole foundation having a general width of four feet. The stones were from eight to twelve inches thick, and were uncut, being merely split to the shape required by means of wedges.

Inside this enclosure were the foundations of other walls, which, when traced out and examined, were found to have supported the roof of a tiled building carried round an inner court-yard. The total length of this structure was 114 feet, and its breadth was 105 feet. The width of the roofed building was 17 feet, the enclosed court-yard being thus 80 feet long and 69 feet wide. Stone pillars stood in the walls at distances apart varying from eight to fourteen feet; they were merely wedged rough stones about nine inches square. In the middle of this inner court-yard was another rectangular tiled structure, 34 feet long and 22 feet wide, which appears to have been the royal residence. There was a verandah, four feet wide, round the building, which is included in the above measurements, so that it is evident that the apartments were of small dimensions. I should presume that this structure had at least one upper storey.

A few small tiled buildings existed in the outer court-yard, two of them perhaps being guard-houses, 24 feet square, immediately inside the western entrance; and there is also a deep stone-lined well of rectangular cross-section, measuring eight feet by seven feet. Extending for a length of 100 feet on the inside of the north wall, and having its roof resting on it, was a tiled shed or building, six or eight feet wide, which once had a stone floor. This, with probably a verandah, may perhaps have formed the royal stables. A building, which I take to be the guest-house, 36 feet long and 20 feet wide, stood near the south-east corner of the enclosure. In front of it, to the south, and only two feet from its wall, was a platform of stone slabs dressed smooth on the upper surface, about 12 feet long and 8 feet wide, on which the guests washed their feet

before entering the house. A similar arrangement, of more elaborate construction, is found at the entrances to three of the palaces at Anurádhapura, but in those cases the lavatory is built with a raised edging of stone, capable of holding up about six inches of water.

Close to the north side of the enclosure there are two small excavated pools, probably first dug as clay-pits, and afterwards utilized for bathing purposes when they contained water. A doorway through the outer wall appears to have led to one of these, the path passing through a detached porch, on each side of which was a room ten feet square. These may have been either guard-rooms or the royal dressing-rooms, most likely the latter.

The principal entrance to the outer yard may have been on the south side, but I have not been able to trace it. There was an entrance, also, near the middle of the east and west walls; that at the former wall having a peculiar porch built out from the general line of the wall, and a very small guard-room on the inner side.

The superstructure of the walls of the palace is, of course, of a later date than the remains previously described in this report. This is amply proved by the sizes of the few bricks found, which are smaller than those of the dágabas, and by the shape of the roofing-tiles, which are entirely different from those met with in our excavations near the sluice, and resemble those used at the more recent buildings at the dágabas—none of which, however, can be assigned to a later date than the 12th or 13th centuries. But in the absence of any other ruin suitable for a palace, it is probable that the general outlines, and the foundations of the walls, and the rough uncut pillars inserted in the walls, date from a period not very much more recent than the time of the first princes of Mágama. The palace is at the site where we should naturally expect to find it if it were built at a very early date—that is, on the high ridge overlooking the river, from which water for drinking and cooking purposes could easily be brought before the well was dug, and towards which one of the main entrances leads. Again, on referring to the account given in the Mahávaṁsa of "the festival held on the day on which the King (Káḳawaṇṇa) conferred a name on his son" (p. 145), it is quite clear that

the compilers of the Aṭṭhakathá understood the palace to have a spacious court-yard, capable of holding 8,000 priests. One might naturally consider this the exaggeration of an enthusiastic admirer of Duṭṭhagámini ; but it is a fact that, making all deductions for the detached buildings, the court-yard of this palace is quite capable of holding more than that number of persons. The open space in it must have been considerably over 5,000 square yards.

From the story of the engagement of Súranimila, Duṭṭhagámini's second hero, as contained at Mahávaṁsa, p. 130, it is evident that the attendants at the court were accustomed to bathe in the river, and not in the tank, as they would have done were the palace nearer the tank. I have just stated that one of the gateways faces the Kirindeganga.

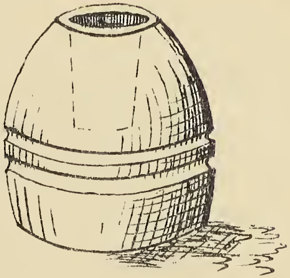
This palace thus agrees so well in these two respects (the only points regarding which there are data for instituting a comparison) with that of King Kákawaṇṇatissa, that I think we must conclude that it occupies nearly the same space as his, and that the more permanent features, already referred to, perhaps date from his reign. Before his time all is conjecture ; we know that the earlier princes must have had a palace at Mágama, and it is allowable to presume that this is the building ; but there is not a line which enables us to confirm the identification. In all probability, however, the palace as it existed at the time of Kákawaṇṇatissa was constructed by King Mahánága. Wijaya must have had his residence somewhere near, if he really lived at Mágama ; but that would be a much less pretentious building, and it would be quite useless to attempt to identify any part of this palace with the edifice in which the first king of Ceylon "lived and governed his kingdom."

A point of interest regarding its construction is the fact that two of the outer walls run—I may say *exactly*—north and south, the other two very nearly forming right-angles with them. As nearly as I have been able to ascertain, the lines of the foundations of the two former vary from the meridian only —15 minutes and +24 minutes respectively. It is quite possible that the superstructure ran more exactly north and south. In the case

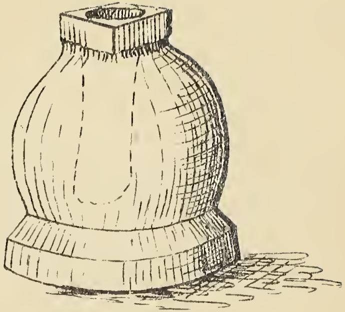
BRITISH MUSEUM

KARANDUWAS FOUND AT THE YAṬṬHÂLA DÂGABA

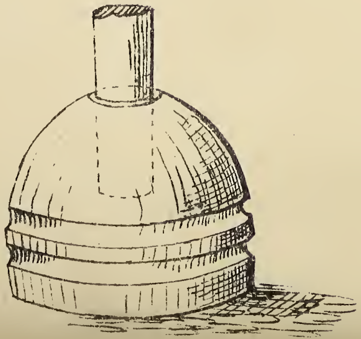
(natural size)



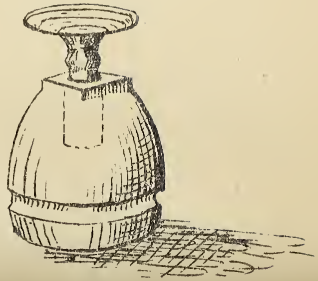
Amethyst Karanduwa



Chrysoberyl Karanduwa



Brown Crystal Karanduwa



Clear Crystal Karanduwa

of the east and west walls, the variation from a right-angle is less than half a degree.

These facts open up a considerable field for a conjecture. The only way in which it seems to me possible for the builders to have fixed the meridian with such accuracy is by means of the Pole-star. I have asked a local "Nækatrála," or astrologer, for his opinion on it, and he says that he should first proceed to set out the east and west lines by observing the point of sunrise at about the vernal or autumnal equinox, and afterwards set off the others perpendicular to them. He has no knowledge of the Pole-star. It seems to me very improbable that the north and south lines could be as accurately determined in this manner as are those at the palace.

APPENDIX.

The excavations recently made at the Yaṭṭhála dágaba have brought to light some very interesting articles, which I take this opportunity of describing. They were all found in removing the *talus* of brick and soil which surrounded the lower portion of the dágaba, and they undoubtedly once formed part of the articles deposited in the relic-chamber at the top of the dágaba, which tradition states to have been rifled by the Tamils—i.e. in the thirteenth century.

Four beautiful relic-receptacles or "karaṇḍuwas" have been found,* one of them containing the original stopper which confined the relics, and the two flakes of gold in which they were wrapped. There can be no doubt that some, if not all, of these date from the time of the construction of the dágaba—that is, from 220 B.C. I have found no record of any restoration of this dágaba, and even if it has been restored or partially rebuilt at any time, it is quite certain that the greatest possible care would be taken of the relics and their cases, and that they would be replaced in the relic-chamber in their original state. But during Siṁhalese supremacy the dágaba would never be allowed to fall into such a state of disrepair as its rebuilding from the level of the relic-chamber would indicate. These articles, then, may be assumed to belong to the

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* *See below,* for illustrations of the karaṇḍuwas.

third century before Christ; and, as the earliest remains yet found in the Island, they have a great archæological interest. The following is a list of the things found:—

(1) A barrel-shaped karaṇḍuwa of amethyst. The diameter of the base is ·94 in., the height 1·06 in., and the diameter of the top ·50 in. The colour of the stone, though very rich, extends over only part of the karaṇḍuwa. Two parallel grooves pass round the amethyst in the lower half just below the minor axis. The relic-cavity is bored to about half the depth of the stone. The stone has considerable polish.

(2) A beautifully-polished, clear, brownish, rock-crystal karaṇḍuwa, of nearly the same shape as the preceding, but broader and flatter. It has a base of 1·22 in., and a height of 1·00 in. The upper half is nearly hemispherical. Just below the minor axis two admirably-cut parallel grooves or flutings pass round the stone; but they are broader and shallower than those on the amethyst. The cylindrical relic-cavity is bored rather less than half the depth of the stone. A stopper of nearly cylindrical form, but really the frustrum of a very tall cone, has been found also; and as it exactly fits the cavity it is supposed to belong to this karaṇḍuwa. It is composed of the same description of stone, but is merely turned, and not polished. This karaṇḍuwa is a highly-finished piece of work.

(3) A dágaba-shaped karaṇḍuwa of chrysoberyl, having a base 1·20 in. in diameter, a height of 1·28 in., and a top ·54 in. square. The top of the basal platform is not horizontal, but slopes considerably downward from its junction with the dágaba. The whole cupola is approximately about three-quarters of a sphere. From the platform it rises outwards, increasing in diameter until half the total height of the stone is reached. The square cap or plinth on the top of the dome is relatively larger than is usual in dágabas. The work is of a rougher type than the others, so that these differences may not imply a corresponding difference in the earliest forms of dágaba. The enlargement of the diameter of the dome above the platform is characteristic of some early Indian dágabas, but not of those found in Ceylon. The relic-cavity is not bored truly down the axis of the stone, but diverges to one side. Its length is about two-thirds of the whole length of the stone.

(4) A pretty little karaṇḍuwa, with its stopper, of clear polished rock-crystal. Its shape is between the barrel and dágaba. It has a base ·68 in. in diameter, a height of ·78 in., and a top ·37 in. square; but when the stopper is inserted the height is 1·10 in. A broad horizontal groove passes round the stone, at about one-quarter of its height from the bottom, forming the lower part

almost into a narrow basal platform. There is also a small square plinth on the top of the dome, into which the cupola gradually runs. The relic-cavity is bored to about half the depth of the stone. The stopper is of a solid umbrella-shape, or, more accurately, mushroom-shape, with the under side of the mushroom convex like the top, instead of concave. It fits easily but firmly into the cavity. Inside the cavity there were two small flakes of thin gold, which presumably enveloped the relics; but no relics were found inside them.

All these karaṇḍuwas must certainly have been turned on a lathe. The grooves which run round them could not be cut truly without its assistance.

(5) Two small flat pieces of silver, which I omitted to measure. One of these is nearly square in plan, and is comparatively thick. It resembles in shape the early Indian money found at Eran, but it has no marks of any kind on it. The other piece has about the same thickness, but it is more irregular in shape, and of slightly larger size. It is possible that these may be an early form of money introduced into the Island from India. Silver is found in Ceylon rocks in very small quantity, and there is nothing to show that it was ever extracted by the ancient Siṁhalese. It is said that similar-shaped punch-marked plaques of copper were found at the Mahuráma, but were replaced in the new relic chamber.

(6) A beautifully-engraved, thin, elliptical disk of red carnelian, ·78 inch broad, apparently forming the stone of a signet-ring. The rapacity of the men who broke into the dágaba seems to have led them to fracture this gem in two, in order to take away the material (gold, doubtless) in which it was set, but the best piece has been saved. Owing to the courtesy and generosity of the committee who superintend the restoration of the Yaṭṭhála and Mæṇik dágabas—and who, I may add, have afforded me every facility for an examination of the articles found by them, and have assisted me in collecting the rarer inscribed bricks—this stone is now in my possession.

It will be seen, from the impression sent to the Museum, that on the face of the stone there is cut, in intaglio, a figure of a king sitting on a chair-like throne. Excepting the left hand and leg, the former of which is too large, and the latter too thin, the whole figure is as well proportioned as most works of the present day. The person is sitting upright on the throne, facing the right, in a remarkably natural, free-and-easy position. His right foot hangs down in the usual manner, but his left is set on the chair, and the knee is sharply bent, in the position taken when a man

squats down in the Oriental way. The right arm hangs loosely at the side ; the left is supported on the bent knee just above the elbow, the fore-arm being turned upward, the hand open and displayed, and the fore-finger and thumb holding a flower, presumably a lotus, before the face. The face is in profile, and the hair is freely thrown back from the forehead, and is treated artistically, hanging just on to the neck in bold profusion, and covering the ears. Round the base of the neck is a necklet, such as small Tamil children wear ; and on each arm, a short distance above the elbow, is a rounded armlet, or single bangle. It is quite evident that the body is nude from the waist upward ; the anatomical details are delicately carved. The artist has experienced small difficulty in depicting the robe, which is transparent. Its upper part can be seen passing round the waist ; the edge hangs down from the left knee, and the folds on the right thigh are very distinct. A cord-like line, held in the right hand near the waist, passes over the right shoulder, and back round the front of the waist, above the edge of the robe. Its ends pass outwards through the open back of the chair, and end in graceful upward curves. This may perhaps represent a gold chain thrown negligently round the figure, or otherwise a Brahmanical cord.

Only one side of the chair or throne is shown. It is of peculiar shape, and rests on several feet, a pair being visible at each corner. The side is deep, extending almost to the ground, and is made of open basket-work, which is admirably engraved. The back rises as high as the man's shoulders, and curves backward in a luxurious fashion. At the upper corner, the upright bar passes through the horizontal bar (there is only one cross bar, which is at the top of the chair), and curls over towards it, ending in a carved knob. From the junction of the two bars there hang two long tassels. The whole upright bar is decorated outside with curled and winding ornamentation.

Through the courtesy of Mr. E. A. W. Budge, of the British Museum, I am able to append the following report on this gem, which is presumed to be of Indian origin :—

"I have shown your gem to Mr. Franks, and also to Dr. Birch. They have also read your account of the finding of the gem. Mr. Franks does not think that the gem is so old as the time of Asoka ; on the other hand, he thinks it much later ; but there are so very few gems of this class, and of those so very little is known, that it is impossible to fix any exact date for them."

Without entering into a detailed discussion, I may add the following rough notes regarding the gem :—

The carnelian has not been met with in Ceylon by Mr. Hayward, and the stone itself is probably Indian. Carnelian is found at the estuary of the Narbada, and is cut and burnt there, according to Mr. Streeter (*Precious Stones and Gems*, 3rd ed., pt. II., p. 45.) A representation of a chair-like throne of a different pattern, without the basket-work side, is not unusual in coins of several countries and ages; and there is every reason to believe that the seat shown on the gem is the king's throne. As regards the basket-work, the last remains of it can still be seen under the sitting figure of the king on most Siṁhalese coins. Compare, especially, No. 3 in the illustrations to Professor Rhys Davids' work. In some later coins, however, this basket-work has degenerated into a single line! In the earliest identified Siṁhalese coins the position of the sitting king is, in fact, exactly that shown on this gem—the right arm hangs loosely down, and the left hand holds up in front of the face a flower (a lotus) as in the gem. It seems clear, therefore, that the man represented on the gem is a king of India or Ceylon on his throne.

As to the age of the gem, no definite conclusion can be reached until something is known of coins of the Island prior to Parákrama Báhu I. The close similarity between the position of the figure on the gem and the sitting king on the coins is indicative of the lapse of no very extended period between the execution of the two engravings—not more, one could suppose, than two or three centuries. Mr. Franks also considers the gem to belong to about the 9th century. But this accords ill with the position in which it was found; that is, in company with karaṇḍuwas from the relic-chamber of the Yaṭṭhála dágaba. This association with articles which, for the present, must be assumed to have been deposited in the chamber when the dágaba was erected in 220 B.C., can hardly be held to be accidental, especially when the great value of such a gem is taken into consideration. I observed no trace of any re-building of the dágaba; the inscribed bricks are distributed through it from top to bottom, and the whole work, inside and outside, is of the same quality and style. The strongest evidence of all is the absence of bricks of later types than those already described. The depth of cutting made through the superstructure, in order to reach the relic-chamber, shows conclusively that this chamber could never be accidentally opened, by even the damage due to continued neglect of the dágaba extending over many centuries. Each side of the cutting or heading stands up vertically, apparently just as it was left when first opened. Up to the time of Mágha, A.D. 1214–1235, none but Siṁhalese are known to have held possession of

Mágama ; and it seems most unlikely that either they or others would venture—(or be permitted, even if they were inclined to venture)—to break into the relic-chamber of a highly venerated dágaba in the middle of the southern capital. If, however, taking advantage of some period of anarchy or revolt (of which there was no lack), some persons did break into it, the subsequent restoration would give some Prince of Rohana an opportunity of placing the gem in the chamber. Although this view is without further support, the evidence in its favour—that afforded by the engraving itself—is so strong that I adopt it provisionally, as being, in the present state of our knowledge, the only rational mode of accounting for the presence of the gem beside the karaṇḍuwas, two of which, at least, appear to be as old as the dágaba.

NOTES.

Note 1.

Whatever credence is to be given to the account in the Mahávaṁsa of the Buddha's three visits to Ceylon, it is generally and reasonably held that the description of the inhabitants of the period rests on a sub-stratum of fact. It will be found (*Mah.*, p. 7, last line) that three distinct classes of beings are mentioned as then living in Ceylon—the so-called Devas, Nágas, and Yakkhas. In Mahiyangana, that is, in Eastern Ceylon, are found the Yakkhas, with the Devas in the adjoining mountains of the Central Province (*Mah.*, p. 7) ; in Nágadípa, that is, in Northern Ceylon, we have only Nágas, whence the name ; in Kalyáni, that is, in Western Ceylon, we have only Nágas ; while at Anurádhapura both Devas and Nágas are mentioned (pp. 7, 96). The Yakkhas, however, greatly predominated ; 'Lanka was filled with Yakkhas.' The Nágas lived on both land and water (p. 6), and, being the nearest race to India, were naturally people who kept up communication with the continent ; the Nága King of Kalyáni is represented as proceeding to the Jetawanáráma, in Northern India, to invite the Buddha to pay his third visit to Ceylon. It is extremely probable, too, that as the Nágas inhabited Northern Ceylon, possessed vessels, and were acquainted with the adjoining continent, they were allied to the southern races of India ; that is, that they were Drávidians. It is reasonable to presume that parts of Northern Ceylon were occupied by settlers from South India. Indian Nágas are, in fact, represented as similar beings, who also possessed the means of passing over the sea. Why should tradition give these people this power

when it is specially denied to the Yakkhas? On the Buddha's first visit, when the latter were being scorched by the flames (p. 3), they merely 'stood on the shores,' unable to escape by sea. The only reason to be assigned is that sub-stratum of fact on which the whole story rests. These 'fierce Yakkhas' were evidently quite another race. As we find them only in Eastern (and probably Southern) Ceylon, it seems likely that they were either the aborigines, allied perhaps to some of the wild mountain tribes of South India, or possibly, as there is more reason to believe, Aryan settlers, long prior to the Mágadhese under Wijaya, who came, like the latter, from the North. It is tolerably certain that they were either people whom the advent of the Drâviḍian Nágas had driven from the Northern and Western coasts, or settlers who, finding the coasts of Northern Ceylon already claimed by a strong race, had been compelled to travel further south in search of unoccupied lands. In this latter case the so-called Devas, who lived in the central forests and mountains, may perhaps have been the aborigines. I think the word cannot be taken in its literal sense; the Devas are spoken of as human beings (p. 7), who behave like the other natives, but are more peaceably disposed—a disposition which would soon lead to their absorption or extinction by their conquerors.

However this may be, Wijaya, according to the narrative, arrived in the country inhabited by the Yakkhas, and not the country of the Nágas. Leaving everything else out of consideration, the abovementioned particulars of the distribution of the races show that this fact alone affords some evidence that he did not land in Northern or Western Ceylon. But when it is added to the explicit statement of the Dípavaṁsa, that his capital (made near his landing-place, to which he returned after capturing the Southern Yakkha settlement of Siriwatthapura) was in the south, and to the equally explicit statement of the Mahávaṁsa, that his successor and his successor's queen landed at Gonagáma (which is certainly at the mouth of the Kirinde-ganga), this being confirmed by the despatch of the King's ministers 50 or 60 miles southward from Upatissa (that is, 30 or 40 miles south from Anurádhapura) to meet the princess,—it seems to me that my argument cannot easily be controverted.

As to the identity of Mágama with Tambapaṇṇi Nuwara, I have found some further evidence. At Mahávaṁsa, p. 50, the names of the principal settlements of Wijaya's followers are mentioned—Anurádhagama, Upatissagama, Uruwelagama, and Wijitagama. The sites of three of these are known, and that of the fourth, Uruwela, is approximately known. Only a few years after the

death of Wijaya, the brothers of his successor's queen came to Ceylon, and settled down at certain enumerated towns, selected by them for the purpose, over which Wijaya and his chiefs had previously ruled. This list of towns, as given at Mahávaṁsa, p. 56, which, it will be observed, runs from north to south, is Rámagona, Uruwela, Anurádha, Wijita, Dígháyu, and Rohana. In all probability one of these is the former capital, Tambapaṇṇi. A town in the former list, Upatissa, is omitted, for the good reason that the King, Paṇḍuwása Déwa, himself lived at it at that time (*Mah.*, pp. 54, 55); and three not in that list are included—Rámagona, Dígháyu, and Rohana. If the ancient capital is included among the six towns, it must evidently be one of these three; and it may further be said that if the capital is not one of these three, then the list is most probably inaccurate.

As the list reads from north to south in the case of five of the six towns, it may be presumed that the sixth one is taken in the same order. Rámagona was therefore further north than Uruwela, which is equivalent to saying that it was in the Northern Province. Wijaya's city being in the *South*, Rámagona is plainly not that town.

Dígháyu is in Eastern Ceylon, in the Batticaloa District; it is not near the coast, and it is, moreover, evidently named after its founder, who must have been another of Wijaya's chiefs.

Rohana (or Mágama), therefore, alone remains to be identified with Tambapaṇṇi. *(See, also,* Note 2.*)*

Note 2.

The inscriptions on the two octagonal pillars near the east end of the embankment at Tissawæwa, are as follows, each in one line:—

I. A'satisaha rájakaya gáme micádiṭi bináke.

At the royal village of A'satissa the heresy was broken up.

II. Siddham. Yage Dhamasabaye náma Saṁga ca Ṭamane náma micadiṭika jana acataye no heki ye.........

Hail! The Assembly named Dhammasabhá and the Community named Ṭamana, having cut off heretical persons, cannot.........

"No hekiye" may possibly be intended for "no pakiye," 'not siding with them.'

These inscriptions are apparently of the same date as the Kirinde inscription (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 57), and commemorate the suppression of the schism also referred to in that.

We can see, now, why the tank is called "Tissawæwa," Tissa, or A'satissa, being the name of the village or town on its eastern and south-eastern side, in which the artificers and other work-people lived, and in which these pillars were set up. One is tempted to identify the title of the "community" with the original name of the city of Mágama, as given in Siṁhalese works, but actual proof of the connection is slight. It is certainly an interesting coincidence that this name should occur in an early inscription (which, on account of its lengthened vowels, appears to belong to the first century A.D.), at the very site of the ancient capital. Alteration in the class of some consonants is not unknown in early inscriptions. Compare ṭabiya (Situlpa, No. 16), and puṭa (Mihintale, No. 20). Taking the two inscriptions together, one would suppose that the above named community lived at the "Royal village of A'satissa," that is, at Mágama. If not, and if they had not been the most important fraternity represented, they would have been included with those who came from a distance to the Convocation, probably gathered in from all the various monasteries of the Province, and would not have been honoured by special mention. The natural presumption is that this community contained all the Mágama and A'satissa priesthood. Such a numerous and influential body might, without impropriety, be separately noted in an inscription cut under its own supervision. I see no other way of accounting for the special mention of this Fraternity. If this hypothesis is correct, Ṭamana is the equivalent of Mágama + Tissa.

III.—Inscription on the "mal-póruwa," the great stone slab for flower-offerings, at the Maháráma dágaba, in one line:—

Siddhaṁ. Nadigama ca sike vuḷisi maha gaba paṭaye dine do kali hadi.

Hail! The Nadigama spire is raised, and the slab for the great chamber is given; two skilful (deeds) accomplished.

The great chamber mentioned is probably the pilimá-gé, or house for the statues. Judging by the shape of the letters, and by the first word, which shows the inscription to be cut by royal command, it is possible that reference is here made to the improvements carried out by Woháraka Tissa, A.D. 209–231. (*Mah.*, p. 226.)

IV.—Inscription on the pavement to west of the Mahárám a dágaba:—

(1) Hé wasaga harasa (2) ra tama taṇmá puda na (3) ká huṇu yasaṭa la (4) ḍḍha koṭu dwanda no

(5) pata eyi wada bho (6) ga wasaga labha (7) taká .... na bha .... gaṁ.

The monks of the Congregation, having thoroughly acquired (the qualities of) kindness, humility, affection, tranquillity of mind, absence of desires, reverence ; not seeking strife, in which are vain sinful thoughts ; having gained and esteemed humility ....

This inscription is of the 12th century, and the style of language is not unlike that of Parákrama Báhu I., A.D. 1153–1186, who restored the buildings at Mágama. He had rather a predilection for teaching the monks their duties.

V.—Inscription on the Ætábænduwa (*Ancient Inscriptions*, No. 109). I have devoted some time to this stone, but without success. So far as I can make out, its chief contents is the usual record of gifts. Part of it on the second and third faces runs :—

(6) .... dána thitatá cata ca.
(7) .... dána datâ pata kára ca.
(8) bata .... dána thitatá pata kára ca.
(9) re (? te) me tahana dana datá pata kára ca.
(10) maha ratana nama dána data ....

Having permanently established and given over the alms for ...., having given and caused to be appointed the alms for ...., having permanently established and caused to be appointed the alms for ...., having given and caused to be appointed these (?) continual alms, having given the alms called Maha Ratana ....

It will be convenient to include with these inscriptions two others referring to the district, from Rambhara wihára, on the Wallawe-ganga, about ten miles north of Ambalantoṭa. A transcript of part of one of these has already been published by Dr. E. Müller (No. 154), but as some additional fragments of it have come to light, I think it will be advisable to repeat it here, on account of its connection with the other.

VI.—Inscription on three faces of a prostrate octagonal pillar, near the wihára :—

A.—(1) Maha (2) radi (3) Maha (4) [Sirisa] (5) ṅga [bo] (6) Rambha (7) ra ce [tæ] (8) me wa (9) se sa (10) sna mi (11) dí wæ (12) talá (13) sik (14) ælæ (15) mæni (16) k si (17) ṭa bami (18) me

B.—(1) ...... ni (2) ...... pu (3) ...... ga (4) .... (5) pága (6) ...... ha ...... (7) ...... kæ (8) [t] a (9) ya dí (10) me gan (11) ga ma (12) ha me

C.—(1) ládá (2) tírá (3) rama (4) talana (5) eyi (6) n ni (7) ka das (8) kaṭa (9) ge no (10) bidá ṭá (11) rakni (12) isá (13) gamwæ (14) siya (15) geræ (16) saka mí (17) yan (18) rewe no (19) wadná (20) isá.

King Maha Siri Sangabo, in this dwelling at the Rambhara caitya, has bestowed a grant :—The royal taxes on the (?) tanks, pools, main channels, precious stones, occupied land .... are given. When this river, during heavy rains, is beating against the betel-garden on the bank, the slaves who go away from it shall protect the property, and not break into the houses on the high ground. And enemies shall not seize the villagers' cattle or cart buffaloes.

The king mentioned may perhaps be Kassapa V., A.D. 937–954; but as no other inscription by him has been found in this district, and as he has not prefixed "Maha" in other inscriptions, there is considerable doubt on this point. Some expressions, which are not the same as those on other inscriptions, seem to point to a different king from the others who call themselves "Saṅgabo." Thus we have geræ for gon, v. mideṇawá for v. deṇawá, rewe for wæriyan, saka for gæl, and sasna for pæræhær.

I take rewe = rupu ; between them we perhaps have :—

(?) Næwanæ pl. (for ræwanæ) at Ætawíragollæwa.

(?) Rawanæ pl. at Mahákalattæwa.

Ruwa pl. (for ruwanæ) on a pillar at Padawiya, newly discovered.

VII.—Inscription on a large broken slab, near the wihára :—

(1) S'rí Laṁkáwa manushyáwása kaḷa Wijaya rája param-paráyen (2) Laṁkáwa himi S'rí Wíra rája Nissaṁka Malla Káliṅga Parákra (3) ma Báhu Cakkrawarttí swámín wahanse Lakdiwa e (4) k sat koṭæ peræ raja daruwan no bada aya genæ (5) dug bita kaḷa Lak-diwæ Ruṇu rajayehi gam niyam ga (6) m wæwu æḷa awuṇu rájadháni prasiddha sthána wihá (7) ra me tænæ me liyeyi hæki nágara no haeki pa (8) ridden nasá pú wá e e tanhi e e rájadháni mahára (9) ádiwú daé karawá sat hawuruddakaṭa aya hæræ di (10) wel wahal sarak pamuṇu parapurun ma tana-turu ran (11) ridí waḷan mutu mæṇik wastrábhara ṇádí no ek was (12) tu dí hawurudu patá pas tulá-bhárayak bægin dí Laṁká (13) wa samuddha koṭæ boho Tewaḷá liyawá dí tun naká sa (14) maga idúræ (? ni-dúræ) tabá lo wæḍa sasun wæḍa koṭæ peræ

ra (15) ja daruwan boho kal sádha [was] tu no huṇu uglá (16) ádiwú no ek durgga [tæn dekæ wal wæ] ssan pael wae (17) ssan nimmúla koṭæ .... koṭæ semehi (18) tabá Dambadiwu wæ [ḍæ] .... daruwan kará dwa (19) nda yuddha il [wá] ... . ewun bhayapat .... (21) .... Lakdiwa wæ (22) ḍæ no ek wára .... Samanoḷa ádi [wú] (23) giridurgga paka [durgga wanadurgga] .... tættha wú tæn at (24) [a] mbalu [pa] kak se [balá wadára Anurádha] purayaṭa wæḍæ............

The Lord of Laṁka, of the royal race of His Majesty King Wijaya, who made Ceylon habitable by men; His Majesty Wíraraja Nissaṁka Malla, Kálinga Parákrama Báhu, Supreme King, who brought Ceylon under one umbrella; who put an end to the distress brought about by the unbounded taxation of former princes; who, in the Kingdom of Ruhuṇa in Ceylon, (saw) the villages, fortified villages, tanks, channels, dams, royal cities, celebrated places, this place, this city—as it may be written, it cannot otherwise be like a ruined town,—and caused (?) high roads and other things to be made at those places, those royal cities; who, giving up the taxes for seven years, giving lands, slaves, cattle, pamuṇu, even inheritances, offices, gold and silver ornaments, pearls, jewels, clothing, and many things; giving yearly in due order five tulábháras (his own weight in valuables, coin, &c.), made prosperity in Ceylon; who caused many Tripiṭakas to be written, and presented them; who established the three Nikáyas together, not apart; doing work for the land and work for the religion, not (?) eradicating things that former princes a long time ago effected; who saw several other places difficult (of access); who established security, up-rooting (evil-doers among) dwellers in the jungle and dwellers in huts; who visited Dambadiwa, and having appointed princes, and longing for it, having caused battle to be offered ...., having made then afraid, ... returned to Ceylon; who, on several occasions, looked at Adam's Peak, and other mountain fastnesses, marsh fastnesses, forest fastnesses, ... fear-inspiring places, like a ripe neli fruit in the hand; who visited Anurádhapura ....

These two inscriptions approximately fix the date of the abandonment of the extensive irrigation channels which are cut from the Wallawe-ganga, near Rambhara Wihara. In the time of Maha Siri Saṅgabo, that is, in the 10th century, it is clear that they were in working order ; while in the time of Nissaṁka Malla, 1187–1196, the place had become, as he says, "like a ruined town." It may be affirmed, almost with certainty, that the destruction and loss of life due to the severe fighting and its accompanying cruelties, in Rohana, during the time of Parákrama Báhu I., both before and after he ascended the throne, were the cause of the abandonment of these important and remunerative works ; which, I am glad to add, have now a prospect of taking a place among the most successful restorations in the Island. In other respects this inscription of Nissaṁka Malla's is not of much interest, being a repetition of others by the same king.

Note 3.

In various countries the lengths of the earliest bricks have, with good reason, been supposed to give the measurement of the early cubit, or length of the forearm and fingers. It will be obvious that by ascertaining the proportions between the cubit and the height we obtain a means of roughly measuring the height of the early brickmakers. In the case of ten villagers of the Hambantoṭa District, the ratio was 1 to 3·622, while their mean height was 5 feet 4½ inches. Multiplying the mean length of the most ancient bricks found at Mágama by this ratio, we obtain 5 feet 3 inches as a rough approximation to the height of the ancient workmen.

Note 4.

King Duṭṭhagámini deposited at each of the four gates of the Ruwanwæli dágaba 16 lacs of kahápanas, only (*Mah.*, p. 175) ; and the cost of the whole work, including decorations, &c., was 1,000 kotis (p. 195). The cost of the Lohapásáda was less than one-thirtieth of this, viz., 30 kotis (p. 195) ; yet we are to believe that at this smaller work 32 lacs of *gold* coins were deposited as a guarantee that the labourers would receive payment in return for their work !

Note 5.

After proceeding from Tissa, as it may now be correctly termed, to the Northern Province, I have been greatly interested to learn from Mr. Massie, Assistant Government Agent at Vilánkulam, that nine copper plaques, similar to those unearthed in our cuttings, were met with at Mulleittívu at a great depth

below the surface of the ground, while a well was in course of excavation. With Mr. Massie's permission, I am able to add descriptions of five of these coins, as I suppose them to be, two of which he has been good enough to give me. Four others were sent by him to the Museum last year; but owing to Mr. Haly's absence from the Island, it is not known where they are deposited, and I have thus been unable to see them. I also add a description of two fragments of similar plaques obtained by me in the Southern Province, and said to have been found at Sittráwila, a village two miles from Tissa, at the presumed Duratissa tank, at which a doubtful tradition states that Duṭṭhagámini settled some of the work-people employed in erecting buildings at Mágama.

Mulleittivu Coins.

(1) Oblong copper coin, 1·17 inch long, ·65 inch wide, weighing 56 grains.

Obverse. Full-length standing figure of a man, facing front, the legs apart for more than the thickness of one, feet turned half-outwards. Over the head runs the usual semicircular line (? the royal umbrella), which appears to rest on javelin-like weapons, standing upright at the margin. That on the right can be seen to have a head with two points, like the head of a trident with middle prong omitted; on the left, the upright shaft can alone be distinguished. This last one is apparently grasped near the middle by the right hand, and perhaps the left hand grasps the other. There is something below the arms, near the legs, which cannot be clearly distinguished. The king appears to be clothed to mid-thighs in a tunic; and he wears bangles on his wrists and anklets above his feet. On each side of the neck, above the shoulders, is a raised bead. There is no border. The design is stamped and not cut; it is not in true relief, the background being merely sunk.

Reverse.—In opposite direction to obverse. The royal monogram, as usual, designed with broad, well-raised lines. The upright lines at the base are all of the same height, and shorter than in Mágama coins. In the space to left, under the swástika, there is a narrow-mouthed vase, with a base on which to rest, and a nearly flat top to the body. Out of the mouth grows a Bo-tree, consisting of an upright stem and two alternate horizontal branches, each terminated by a leaf. In the space to right, arranged vertically, the sitting humped bull, facing the swástika. No border. In coll., H. Parker.

(2) Oblong copper coin (fragment); average length 1·02 in., width ·64, weight 51 grains.

Obverse.—Full-length standing figure of a man, facing front. Each hand grasps, near the middle, an upright javelin at the margin of the coin, from the top of which there passes a flattened arc over his head. There appears to be a bangle on the left wrist; the other wrist and the legs are indistinct. No border.

Reverse.—In opposite direction to obverse. The royal monogram, as usual. In space to left, the vase, with Bo-tree, indistinct; to right, the sitting humped bull facing the swástika. No border. In coll., H. Parker.

(3) Short oblong copper coin (fragment); length ·97 in., mean width ·76 in., weight 19½ grains.

Obverse.—Full-length standing figure of a man, facing front, apparently clothed from waist to mid-thighs. His hands hang down as though to hold javelins; but the plaque is too much defaced and worn for more to be distinguished. No border.

Reverse.—On this face all that can be made out is the humped sitting bull, which has been re-punched from the obverse by some one. R. Massie, Esq., C.C.S.

(4) Irregular oblong copper coin (fragment); length ·92 in., width ·56 in. to ·64 in., weight 42 grains.

Obverse.—Full-length standing figure of a man, facing half-left. The design is very roughly stamped. Apparently, the king has bangles and anklets; he holds the upright javelins, the head and point of one of which can be clearly seen at the level of his shoulder. His clothing cannot be defined. There is a bead in relief at each side of the neck. In this coin the figure of the king is in true relief. No border.

Reverse.—Opposed to obverse. The royal monogram, as usual. In space to left, a beautifully executed, full-bodied vase in good relief, with a small mouth and distinct lip. Out of it grows the Bó-tree, consisting of three separate shoots each terminated by a leaf. Design on right cannot be distinguished. R. Massie, Esq., C.C.S.

(5) Oblong copper coin (? fragment); 1·10 in. long, ·68 to ·73 in. wide, weight 47½ grains.

Obverse.—Full-length standing figure of a very vigorous man, facing front, legs apart, feet turned half-outwards. He grasps an upright javelin in each hand, near the margin, that on the right having a square knob at its base. He appears to be clothed from the waist to the upper part of the thighs, and he wears bangles and anklets. His shoulders are very broad and square, and waist narrow. There is a raised bead on each side of the neck; and the royal umbrella passes overhead, seeming to spring from the javelins. The king is not in true relief. No border.

Reverse.—Indistinct, but part of the monogram is visible. In space to left, the vase with Bó-tree, apparently consisting of two shoots, each branching into two. In right space, the humped bull, sitting facing swástika. No border. R. Massie, Esq., C.C.S.

Fragments from Sittráwila.

(6) About half the coin only; ·54 inch long, ·49 inch wide. The king is evidently standing, on the obverse, and he appears to be holding something in his right hand, which may perhaps be a javelin. His legs are well apart. On the other face there is the swástika portion of the royal monogram, or seal. The design was opposed to that on the obverse.

(7) Rather more than half the coin; ·76 inch long, ·50 inch wide. On the obverse the upright figure of a man, grasping in his left hand a staff, which may be the shaft of a javelin. No clothing discernable. Feet and right arm cannot be defined. On the reverse nothing can be distinguished.

Some doubts have been expressed as to whether the copper plaques are really coins. I am content to base my identification of them as coins, firstly, on the invariable presence of the swástika on the reverse, formed into a symbol which accompanies an inscription purporting to be cut by royal authority (whether it really is so or not is of no consequence in this argument); secondly, on the presence of the four letters on one of the Mágama coins, forming, as I believe, the name of the king under whose authority the plaque was issued; thirdly, on the presence of the religious emblems on these northern coins, emblems which are commonly found on Indian coins. The Bo-tree (without the vase, which of course is a distinctive mark of the Ceylon origin of these coins) is stamped on coins of Eran, and the bull is characteristic of South Indian coins. Even in our own country, no one is permitted to make use of the royal arms without express authorisation; and there is no warrant for assuming that the autocratic early rulers of Ceylon ever allowed their subjects this privilege.

The Mulleittívu coins are particularly interesting on account of the presence, at the same time, of the Buddhist and Hindu sacred symbols. When we read over the particulars contained in the Mahávaṁsa regarding all the early Buddhist kings of Ceylon, there appears to be no one who so favoured Hinduism as to be likely to impress a representation of the animal sacred to Vishnu beside the sacred Bo-tree. The only man, in early times, who can be selected as possessing a character in strict accordance with the design on these coins is Elára, the great Tamil King (205–161

B.C.). The Mahávaṁsa says of him (p. 128) that he administered justice with impartiality; and that 'although this king was ignorant of the "ratanattaya," as well as of its inestimable importance and immutable virtues, protecting the institutions of the land, he repaired to the Cetiya mountain, and offered his protection to the priesthood.' The anecdote which then follows shows that he paid the highest possible respect to Buddhism. Such a monarch, in his desire to conciliate the Siṁhalese, would be not unlikely to place their sacred symbol on an equality with the symbol of his own religion; but no valid reason can be assigned for an early Siṁhalese king's acting thus. The javelins grasped by the king indicate that he was a warrior, but there are many others who might claim this character. On the whole, probability points to Elāra as the king who issued these plaques, whether coins or not; but of course we cannot go beyond mere conjecture at present.

NOTE 6.

The following is the extract from the Dhátuvaṁsa regarding Mahánága's constructions in Mágama, from the manuscript at the Hambantoṭa pansala (leaf 21):—

E' Mahánága nam raja dhátúnwahanséṭa pújá keremin Mágam nuwarama wisuyéya.

E' rajahu wisin karawu wihára mesé datayutu:—Yaṭṭhála wiháraya Sandagiri wiháraya Kodorapawu wiháraya Nuwaraguṇu wiháraya Sénanala wiháraya Wælipiti wiháraya. Yanádiwú wihára siyayak karawá Tripiṭaka Mahá Arishṭa nam terunwahanséṭa hastódaka koṭa piḷiganwá mesé é raja jívitántaya dakwá dhátu pariharaṇaya koṭa antima kálayehi maraṇa mañcakayehi otté tamangé putanuwan Yaṭṭhála Tissa kumárayan laṇgaṭa kændawá "puta Tissa kumárayeni api pariharaṇaya karaṇa dhátúnwahanséṭa pújá karawa" yi dhátu piḷiwela kiyá putanuwanḍa anusósaná koṭa kála kriyá wagé kelawara dewlowa upannéya.

"That king Mahánága, continuing to pay homage to the relics, resided in the city of Mágama.

"The wiháras constructed by that king are as follows:—Yaṭṭhála wihára, Sandagiri wihára, Kodorapawu wihára, Nuwaraguṇu wihára, Sénanala wihára, Wælipiti (now Wælipatanwila) wihára. Having caused to be built one hundred other similar wiháras, and poured the water of donation, he caused the Thera Mahá Arishṭa, learned in the Tripiṭaka, to accept them.

"Thus that king, having afforded protection to the relics up to the end of his life, having in his last moments, on his deathbed, summoned to his side his only son, prince Yaṭṭhála Tissa,

and said 'Tissa, my son, beloved prince, cause reverence to be paid to the relics which we preserve,' having related the history of the relics, and exhorted his son—after death was born in the final heaven."

The Mahá Arishṭa who is mentioned is the celebrated general, the king's nephew, whom Dewánampiya Tissa sent to Asoka for the bo-branch, and who was afterwards ordained by Mahinda.

If this authority is to be relied upon, the question of Yaṭṭhála Tissa's birth at the Yaṭṭhála wihára of Mágama is definitively settled in the negative. He could not be born at a wihára which his father only built subsequently. I also draw attention to the fact recorded in some detail in the Mahávaṁsa, that Queen Anulá, the wife of Mahánága, entered the Order of nuns, under Sanghamittá, and, apparently, never afterwards left Anurádhapura. Her son must have been born before she was ordained.

As regards the Yaṭṭhála dágaba, I consider that the difference in the sizes of the bricks employed at it and at the Mahárámа is a proof that the two were not built at the same time. Mahánága might erect a wihára only, which would not be termed the "Yaṭṭhála" wihára until the adjoining dágaba had been built. In a similar manner, Dewánampiya Tissa built the "Lohapásáda hall" (*Mah.* p. 101); but the Lohapásáda, from which it derived its name, was constructed eighty years afterwards. Numerous references might be given where "wihára" means simply "wihára," and certainly not a "dágaba" also.

Note 7.

While an excavation was being made in the lands newly brought under cultivation below the Tissa tank, two interesting stones, carved with reliefs, were met with; but were unfortunately broken up. As the "motive" of the sculptures does not seem to be of Ceylon origin, the carvings are of importance in connection with early Siṁhalese art. They had evidently been fixed at the entrance to a dwelling, on each side of the steps leading up to it; and one was a replica of the other. The leading figure was a full-length cow turned to the left, but looking back to the right (her own left). At her side, turned to the right, stood a calf, scratching its ear with its right hind leg. Beyond the cow, and above her back, appeared the head and neck of a bull, half-turned to the right. The whole was well cut in good relief, in limestone; but was of a decidedly archaic type. The cow was represented without any hump, nor had the calf one.

Without at present discussing the manner in which this

"motive" found its way to Mágama, I annex the following extract regarding it, by Mr. Gardner:—

The group of cow-and-calf is of great antiquity and Oriental origin. It is found on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments as well as those of Persia, Lycia, and Phœnicia. It was undoubtedly connected with the worship of the Asiatic goddess who passed under many names in various parts of the Levant, Mylitta, Anaitis, or Cybele. This deity was introduced in the course of commerce into various Greek cities, and identified with local divinities, usually Hera or Artemis. In Eubœa we find many traces of the cultus of this Asiatic goddess; and it was probably in connection with her that the type of cow-and-calf was introduced into Eubœa, and adopted by the people of Carystus as their civic emblem. (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Coins of Thessaly to Ætolia, Introduction, p. xlvii.)

NOTE 8.

Since the description of the earthenware article No. 20 was written, I have ascertained that its shape (with the exception of the hole in the bottom) is almost exactly that of the peculiar glass bottles or alabastrons made by the Phœnicians from a very early date down to the first centuries after Christ. (*Hist. of Art in Phœnicia,* Vol. II., p. 326 & ff.)

12 DEC 1900
BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

C. A. S. JOURNAL,

Vol. VIII., No. 28, 1884.

By an oversight, the pagination was not run on from "Journal Vol. VIII., No. 26, 1883," and "Journal Vol. VIII., No. 27, 1884."

It is not possible to correct the paging neatly, except in manuscript. Members are requested to do this for themselves.

The pages should run from 193—296, and "Part II." on the cover should be struck out.

JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1884.

VOL. VIII. — PART II.

No. 28.

"The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religion, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology, Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology."

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HIST

COLOMBO:

GEORGE J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.

1886.

PAPERS

ON

THE FIRST FIFTY JÁTAKAS.

EDITED BY

THE LORD BISHOP OF COLOMBO.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CEYLON BRANCH.

THE FIRST FIFTY JA'TAKAS.

PREFACE.*

The papers on the subject of "The First Fifty Játakas," which were read last year before the Society, were placed by the Committee in my hands to be edited, with liberty to omit, abridge, or re-arrange, as I thought best. Such liberty was necessary, because several papers traversed in many parts the same ground, some were merely introductory, and some were in disorder; but this liberty made my task a complicated and delicate one. I have kept in view two objects,—the one, to record the information and the opinions elicited in the Society's meetings; the other, to present in doing so a readable sketch of the whole subject. With this view, while I have presented each author's contributions as far as possible in his own words, I have not hesitated to sacrifice his individuality when I could secure brevity or distinctness by grouping, in my own language, the results of several writers. I owe, perhaps, a special apology to Professor Künte, whose kind co-operation was so highly valued by the Society, for treating his learned papers with the same freedom.

The duty of reading the introductory papers in our meetings fell to my share, and hence I am obliged reluctantly to put some of my own work at the beginning.

R. S. C.

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* I have not thought it necessary, in a compilation of this kind, to insist on perfect accuracy or consistency in spelling and transliteration. Páli words of frequent occurrence have been often written without diacritical marks: *v* and *w* are used indiscriminately, or as each writer had used them in his manuscript; the mark of quantity has been left on *e* and *o* in many cases, though it is of course unnecessary, when these are always long.

THE MATTER.

Mr. Rhys Davids' valuable work.—The first paper* was called "A Review of Mr. Rhys Davids' Introduction," and began as follows:

Mr. Rhys Davids, in the introduction to his first volume of "Buddhist Birth-stories," published in 1880, seems to have designed to give the English reader a thorough insight into the character of the Játaka stories as a whole, and a definite acquaintance with the contents of some typical specimens of them; and at the same time to describe the place which the book holds in general literature, and to show how largely, in his opinion, European literature has been indebted to this Buddhist work and to works connected with it. In doing this he has brought together a considerable amount of curious and interesting information, and has made his introduction a very readable, though at the same time a fairly accurate and scholarly piece of work.

In the rest of the volume he has given a translation of the Páli Preface to the Játaka Book, and of nearly forty of the tales. Thus, although for the present he has stopped there, he may fairly be said to have supplied all that the general reader need know, and to have enabled those who wish to make a particular study of this book, to do so with a good start, and on the right lines. This Society, then, having applied itself, in some sense, to such a study, some acquaintance with Mr. Davids' work is, I venture to say, an indispensable part of our equipment.

Meaning of Birth-story.—According to the Buddhist belief, every man living has entered on his present life in succession to a vast number of previous lives, in any one of which he may have been a man—king, monk, or goatherd—an animal, a goblin, or deity, as the case might be. For the mass of men, these previous lives have left no trace on memory, but a Buddha remembers them all, and not his own only, but the previous births also of other men. And Gotama, so the tradition runs, was in the habit of explaining the facts of the present in the lives of those about him, by what they had been or done in other births, and of illustrating his own

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* By the Editor.

teaching by what he had done himself in earlier births. Of the stories which he has thus told of his own previous existences, 550 are supposed to have been collected immediately after his decease. And the Commentary, in which we have them now embodied, professes to state the circumstances in Gotama's life as Buddha, or in the lives of his contemporaries, which led him to narrate these stories of the past. Every story, then, (with exceptions which need not here be noticed,) in the collection we are dealing with, contains both a narrative of the past, and also a narrative of the present which explains the occasion of it. Thirdly, besides these two members, there is embodied in each story at least one stanza or *gáthá*, which either holds the place of moral or sums up the salient points of the story. And it is from the stanza, theoretically, that each story or chapter of the Commentary takes its rise. The whole is an answer to the question, On what occasion and in what connection did the Buddha utter such and such a stanza? Indeed, according to tradition, the original Játaka Book consisted of the verses only.

The Stanza the nucleus of the story. Connection with Dhammapada.—In this connection it may be worth while to mention that a large number of the Játakas are especially associated with the Dhammapada—that valuable collection of stanzas on topics of Buddhist doctrine and morality. Many of these Dhammapada verses are the central stanzas of Játakas: in Burmah a book called Dhammapada-Vatthu ('Stories on Dhammapada') has been translated into English by Captain Rogers, and in China Mr. Beal has collected a number of similar stories in illustration of verses from the same source. All this goes to show that the verses are the central element in the stories.

Such is the shape and the traditional theory of our present book. The Buddha is supposed to have uttered—to have made his own if not to have invented—the witty or moral stanzas under consideration: he is said to have uttered them in the course of unfolding a narrative about one of his own previous lives, and to have been led to unfold that narrative by some event which occurred to one of his monks or lay disciples, or which they brought to his notice.

The traditional theory erroneous. "A collection of Folk-lore."—This theory, as an explanation of the book as a whole, will not hold water for a moment, chiefly for the following reasons. Of the stanzas in question, while some are as likely to be the Buddha's own words as any words that are attributed to him, many are obviously mere popular sayings, proverbs, or snatches of popular songs. Of the tales of the past, many are fables, fairy-tales, "Joe Millers," and records of every-day experience, such as are in no way peculiar to Buddhism, but are the common property of the world. The tales of the present—that is, the narratives of the occasions on which Gotama is supposed to have told the story of the past—are in most cases the weakest and the most artificial and, evidently, the latest part of the work. In the case of many Játakas, the true account is probably something like the exact reverse of the theory. The fairy-tale or "Joe Miller" had to be got into the collection: a moral, gathered from any source, was roughly tacked on to it; and an appropriate occasion was invented on which Gotama might—had there been such an occasion—have told it. But while this is the case with perhaps the majority, there are some which answer to the theoretical description, where the stanzas and the central stories are evidently Buddhistic, and where the narrative of the occasion is a genuine fragment of the life of Gotama as we have it.

In view of these facts, and of other considerations which seem to me of less importance, Mr. Rhys Davids throws over the traditional analysis of the book, and proceeds to treat it as being primarily a collection of ancient tales and fables, "the oldest, most complete, and most important collection of folk-lore extant."

How far is this description correct?—Many of these tales are found in European collections, and without saying that in all such cases the Western has borrowed from the Eastern, Mr. Davids traces the steps by which, in many instances, this seems to have occurred. He translates for us No. 189, "The Ass in the Lion's Skin"—a fable which was known to the Greeks in Plato's time, and is found in every part of the modern world; and then of "The Talkative Tortoise," who, being carried along (at his own request) by two swans, could not keep his mouth shut, and so lost

his hold of the stick by which they were carrying him; this also a widely-known fable. Neither of these, it will be seen at once, has in itself any connection with Buddhism, but is only connected with it by the pretence that the Buddha had professed to have witnessed the event in one of his own previous lives. And so, Mr. Davids goes on to give us "The Jackal and Crow," two mutual flatterers; "The Wise Judge," (as Mr. Davids names an extract from the Ummaga Játaka), in which he who was afterwards to be the Buddha decided a question by a method very like the judgment of Solomon; and then a curious story of a magical hatchet, drum, and bowl. These five tales are all, so far as any moral or doctrine goes, οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, quite irrelevant to Buddhism; and the sixth, called "A Lesson for Kings," is the only one of those selected as specimens, which we could by any means suppose to have been invented by Gotama.

In regard, however, to those specimens which Mr. Davids has given of fables or tales known to the Western world, he has shown reason to think in some instances that the Játaka form of the story is the older. Thus, in the Játaka story of the "Lion's Skin" there is no impossible or supernatural element; a natural explanation is given of the ass having got into the skin; namely, that its owner, a pedlar, put the lion's skin upon it in order that the villagers, as he travelled about, might be afraid to approach it, and so it might feed cheaply on their standing corn. Hence this form of the story is held to be more primitive. And so on. But in the case of what he calls "The Wise Judge," Mr. Davids' critical faculty has deserted him. He rambles about the possibilities of intercourse with Jews, and whether Solomon's ships carried the fame of his judgment to Ophir; but he has failed to observe that the Játaka tale is beyond all question not an original, if only for these two reasons,—that it occurs in a long list of methods for detecting tricks, as evident a collection of existing stories as could be; and, secondly, that the judge is not said to have himself discovered the false mother by this method, but only to have thereby exposed to bystanders what he had already perceived by other means, having known at the first glance, by her red eyes and other symptoms, that she was not a woman but a demon.

Contents and classification of the stories. — A careful estimate, however, of the contents of this section of the Játaka book will lead the reader probably to qualify a little the theory he may have formed of it as a collection of those fables, fairy-tales, and comic stories which belong to the general household store of the human family. For it is only a portion of the contents which can be described as stories of universal interest or application, found or fit to be found in every part of the world. There is an equal portion, I think, which is distinctly Buddhistic, and another considerable portion which is Indian and local, and has its origin and application within a limited range of social, commercial, and woodland experience.

There are indeed a certain number of those pointed allegorical lessons of general morality and good sense, which are called fables in the most significant use of the word, and which are, or well might be, the common property of mankind. But a good many, if called fables at all, must be called fables of Buddhism. They inculcate, not morality and good sense in general, but specific points of Buddhist teaching. These cannot, as such, be parts of universal folk-lore. Finally, there are but few, in this section, which can be classed as comic stories, and only one fairy-tale.

We are led, therefore, somewhat to qualify the language which would describe the book as primarily a collection of materials which are common property, and we are prepared to find much—perhaps the most important part—to be distinctly Indian, local, and Buddhistic.

To establish this point I will now give details.

There are, as I reckon, ten stories which may claim to be called fables. Five of these, "The Impudent Peacock" (32), "The Quarrel of the Quails" (33), "The Crow and the Crab" (38), "The Pride of Possession" (39), "The Monkey, the Elephant, and the Parr ot" (37), have the pointed and universal character which belongs to the fables of wide circulation. Of the other five, "The Brahmin and his Goat" (18), "The Ox and the Pig" (30), "The Uxorious Fish" (34), "Nursing a Viper" (43), and "The Crow and the Pigeon" (42), the first three have more or less of the special character of Buddhist teaching, and the other two

have hardly point enough to be placed in the first rank of fables.

The number of comic stories, more or less amusing, is five or six. The lion maintained that the dark half of the month was the cold half, the tiger that it was cold in the moonlight half; neither seeing, till the Bodhisat told them, that the cold depends on the wind and not on the moon (17); the boy took a hatchet to kill a mosquito on his father's head (44 repeated in 45); a simpleton watered the young trees in proportion to their length of roots, and pulled them up to see (46); another put salt in wine because he saw people eat salt with it (47); another simpleton lost his bride by his attention to the stars (49); and I count with these the story of the King's Valuer, who first appraised a drove of horses at the value of a measure of rice, and then, when bribed by the horse-dealer, explained the value of a measure of rice to be the price of the whole realm of Benares.

As in part a fairy-tale, I reckon the story of Lósaka or Mittavindaka.

Thus we have about seventeen in all, out of the fifty, which can be classed as fables, comic tales, and fairy-tales. It remains to classify the remainder.

There are some seventeen, besides some of those already mentioned, of which the main interest lies in the habits of animals and their tricks, and the devices of their hunters and keepers. About deer, dogs, elephants, horses, oxen; about fish; about birds, the crow, the parrot, the pigeon, the quail, the peacock,—there are facts noted with a good deal of sagacious observation. The crow feeds on meat, the pigeon on seeds, the parrot flies far for food, the peacock struts to attract his mate, the quails lie close in a covey; the slyness of deer, and their tricks; the points in which the appearance of their death consists; hunters entrapping them by scattering sweet things on the grass, scaring them by a line of leaves (the "*pavidos formidine cervos terret*" of Ovid); the dog eating leather when it is wet; the attachment of animals to each other; the fastidiousness of the high-bred horse, and his superiority in strength and endurance—when it comes to a pinch—to the low-bred animal; the effect of kindness on oxen and the like,—are

specimens of the most interesting part of the contents of this class of stories.

Then there are some six, which are primarily tales of travel and commercial life. From these the reader may learn how to detect the approach of rain (1), or the neighbourhood of water (2); how to fit out and guide and bivouac a caravan in a tropical desert (1 and 2), the comparative advantages of being the first to travel a road, and of coming after other traders (1); the tricks of pedlars and their rules of trade (3); how to detect gold (3), how to light fires, and to escape jungle fires; all sorts of petty roadside trades (4); the dangers of bad water (10) and poisonous fruit (12), and how to detect each. All the stories in which these occur are made to bear more or less directly on some point of general or of Buddhistic morals, but their intrinsic interest and probable origin, as it seems to me, are in the connection I have shown.

The one story which may be called in part a fairy-tale is Lósaka Játaka (41), about which I have something further to say. It is thoroughly Buddhistic in application. For defrauding a brother monk of his meal, through envy, the unhappy hero is born a great number of times in various infra-human conditions of misery and starvation. This ill-luck or gainlessness pursues him even in a human condition; but in the midst of it a piece of merit, acquired ages before, suddenly bears fruit, and secures him the society of a series of goddesses in a series of sea-palaces.

I have touched on some 38 stories, and though the classes in which I have grouped them run, of course, into one another, while some tales contain nothing at all, still it may be said roughly that there remain 12 which appear to be primarily Buddhistic.

Putting aside such of these as are trifling, or repetitions of others, the Makhádéva Játaka (9) stands in a peculiar position. It is a short and very simple, but curiously dignified account of the retirement of King Makhádéva from the pomp of royalty to a religious life on the appearance of his first white hair. There is nothing in this that is inconsistent with Buddhism, but it belongs to that part of Buddhism which it received and retained unchanged from Brahmanism. There are traces in the story of the division

of life into periods. Makhádéva had been prince for 84,000 years, sub-king for the same, he had reigned a long time when the grey hairs appeared, and he lived 84,000 years afterwards as a hermit. Here is clearly a trace of the three periods of Brahmin life—as student, householder, and ascetic. And this Brahmanical character of this tale is illustrative of the position which Brahmanism holds in the Játaka Book throughout; for while many strictly Brahmanical customs, especially sacrifice of life, are condemned in what concerns retirement and hermit-life, there is no clear distinction between the Brahman and the Buddhist monk. And I suspect the less distinctly these two terms are distinguished in any Buddhist writing, the older it will be found to be.

When he beheld the white hair, it seemed to him as though he saw the king of death come and stand before him, and as if he himself had entered into a house on fire Agitation seized him. "Foolish Makhádéva," he said to himself, "even till grey hairs have come hast thou been still unable to put away these desires?" As he reflected and reflected on his grey-headedness, a fire was kindled within him; sweat flowed from his body; he tore off his robes—(so Baṭuwantuḍáwa; Rhys Davids has, "his robes oppressed him")—and they seemed as if they must be cast away. To-day I must make renunciation, and enter on seclusion. He gave the barber a rich village revenue, and, sending for his eldest son, said: "Son, a white hair has appeared on my head. I am grown old; I have done with human desires, now I will seek after divine; my time of renunciation is come: take thou this kingdom, and I will enter seclusion and live a monk's life in the Makhádéva grove." Finding him thus bent on seclusion, his ministers came and said: "Sire, why shouldst thou enter on seclusion?" The king held up the white hair and uttered these lines:—

> On the topmost part of my frame are sprung these robbers of remaining life;
> Messengers from the gods appearing: it is my retiring time.

I have come across no other passage worthy, as I think, in a literary sense to be placed beside this, except in the Introduction to the Nigródha Játaka (12), where the innocent nun who has been selfishly condemned by Déwadatta appeals to

the Buddha. "Ladies," she said, "Déwadatta is not the Buddha, nor his the order wherein I made my profession, but under the one true perfect Buddha and Chief of Men was my profession made,—and what I gained so painfully, that I pray you annul not; come, take me to Jétawana to the presence of the teacher."

This is in every way a noble story; and it is an interesting fact that it is one of those (if I am not mistaken) whose antiquity is vouched for by the Bharhut sculptures. The verse, which is its centre—

> Follow Nigródha, resort not to Sákkhá,
> Better death with Nigródha than life with Sákkhá—

is one of those which implies the existence of the story, for the names Nigródha and Sákkhá would have no meaning in this connection, except as the names of rival stags. And the occasion, as the Commentary tells us, of Gótama's uttering the verse, was briefly this. The daughter of a Benares noble had shown from childhood a singular contempt for this life and its pleasures; and though she was given in marriage, she still was so bent on the monastic life, and made herself—it must be admitted—so little agreeable in the other, that her husband consented to her becoming a nun; and she, in her simplicity, attached herself to the schism of Déwadatta. This was very shortly after her marriage; so she was already a nun, when the time came for her child to be born. Innocent as she was, Déwadatta thought nothing of justice, but only of the reputation of his sect and his own interests, and without inquiry ordered her to be expelled. But the Buddha, when the matter was brought to him, although he clearly saw the triumph which the schismatics would claim if one whom they had expelled were received by him, caused inquiry to be made, and vindicated her innocence. "And this is not the first time," he added, "that the Buddha has been a support and a refuge to this woman and her child."

For long ago in Brahmadatta's days, he who was to be Buddha was born a deer—prince of a herd—and called Nigródha; and in the same park with them ranged another herd, whose chief was Sákkhá. From these herds a victim was daily taken by the king's purveyor; and at last it was agreed between the two leaders, that instead of the whole

of both herds being exposed to constant terror and wounds, lots should be cast, one day in Nigródha's and the next in Sákkhá's herd, and the deer thus chosen should give himself up to the slaughterer, and the rest live in peace. This went on, till one day in Sákkhá's herd the lot fell on a doe big with young. She went to Sákkhá and begged for respite or exchange, but he insisted that the lot must have its course. So she went over to the other herd, to Nigródha, the princely stag. And Nigródha, seeing no other course consistent with both justice and compassion—so high has Buddhism been able to rise, in imagination—took her lot upon himself, and went to the place of the victims and stretched himself upon the block. The king was soon told of this wonder, that the prince of all the deer was lying on the block, and, coming to see him, and learning from him how it was, granted him his life. This was not enough; nor was the life of all the deer in that park enough. Nigródha pleaded eloquently and importunately, and would not cease till the king had granted to every living being throughout his realms freedom from hurt and from fear—an anticipation of the edict of Asóka (or should we, perhaps, say a reference to it?). "He who was then Sákkhá," said Gótama, "is now Déwadatta, and Nigródha is I myself."

The excellence of this fiction, which, from the nature of the case, cannot possibly have any foundation whatever in fact, leads me to think, I confess, that those who invented it could invent anything; else I should have said that the simple pathos and interest of the story of the nun were probable marks of truth.

The *Sukhavihári Játaka* (10) is a simple and completely Buddhistic statement of the happiness of the life of contemplation; its burden is, "The monk is happier than the king;" it has no particular value as a story. No. 18, the story already reckoned under fables ("The Brahmin and his Goat") is the vehicle of a vigorous denunciation of sacrifices, especially of sacrifices to the dead. The verse has no particular connection with the tale, and it may well be a borrowed story in substance; but as told it is characteristically Buddhistic, and, like others of that class, has a dignity of its own. But the story which, out of these 50, can best stand with Makhádéwa and Nigródha, is the

Khadirangára Játaka (40) which Mr. Davids—like so many Páli scholars who seem to think things are made clearer by giving them a name already identified with something else—calls the "Fiery Furnace." Its design is to recommend liberality, especially giving to monks, by the example of a rich man who would not allow any terrors of the powers of evil to deter him for giving, but stepped boldly forward to fill the mendicant's bowl, although a pit of burning acacia charcoal eighty fathoms deep, supernatually produced by Mára, to deter him from liberality, was burning and raging between them. A gigantic lotus in this case reared itself through the flames, and, standing on its petals, he filled the bowl in safety.

Thus, those which have the most directly Buddhist connection, Makhádéva, Nigródhamiga, Kaṭṭhahári, and Khadirangára—to which may be added the important Kuláwaka—are the best as well as, in all probability, the oldest. It is around these, and such as these, that the fables proper and tales of merely general application have been gathered.

Professor Künte's Classification.—Professor Künte proposes a classification of the central stanzas or gáthás which will be given below. (P. 121.)

The Nidána Kathá.—The stories which have been thus described or classified may be read at length in Mr. Rhys Davids' book, and in our appendices. But the reader must be made aware that in our Játaka Book the stories themselves are prefaced by a most important historical (or mythical) introduction, the Nidána Kathá, which contains the received account of the preparation, many ages back, for the coming of the Buddha Gótama, the previous lives of him who was to be that Gótama, and to become Buddha, and, thirdly—most important of all—the birth and life of Gótama, —his early history, renunciation of his home, search after wisdom, his attainment of Buddhahood, and the commencement of his teaching. This has nothing further to do with the Játakas than that it was in the course of his teaching that he told them; but it is a most important part of Buddhist literature, and reckons as part of the "Játaka Commentary." It will be often alluded to in the critical papers.

Moral value.—I will pass on now to a remark or two on the moral value of our book. What is to be said on its

witness to ancient customs and traditions, I must leave for the present to others.

Even from the passages I have quoted above some estimate may be formed of the moral value of the teaching of this section. In regard to that cardinal point of Buddhism, the sin of taking life, and that other ruling maxim, that liberality is best shown in giving to monks,— opinions will, of course, differ in this Society as to the sin or the virtue in itself: that I do not discuss. But assuming the prominence of these in the scale of duties, the criticism which the moralist, of whatever school, must make, is this. A very high standard of self-sacrifice, of perseverance, and of justice, and just ideas of the relative value of pleasure and of wisdom, are set before us. The theory is good. Further, the virtues are illustrated with feeling, with genuine admiration for them, with a fine taste in virtue, so to speak. The theory is understood. But here, for a large part, it ends. The most striking examples are derived from fiction. It is a stag, which sacrificed its life for others; a horse, which excelled in zeal; or it is a mythical king who despised the world. There are genuine cases, which, to the believer in Buddhist history, are historical, of which this cannot be said, but in which the Buddha in actual life displayed justice, patience, and insight. But the most striking and high-pitched examples of virtue are fictitious.

It is of course useless to point to the doings of a talking stag as example or proof of virtue. To all but a few—I suppose—even among Buddhists, no serious *stimulus* to action or proof of what man can do and be, is to be derived from narratives of supposed previous births. It is by the narratives of what Gótama in his historical existence actually did that the value of his example, for all practical purposes, must be judged.

Now, there is nothing, I believe—unless it be the fictions by which the record is accompanied—to prevent our believing that Gótama showed, for instance, the justice and generosity recorded of him in his dealing with the nun, or the tender patience with which he taught the monk who had despaired of ever learning, or the endurance and zeal with which he went his rounds, teaching in the village of Mágadha or of the Vajjians. These are the examples and

proofs of virtue which, regarded as historical, do credit to Buddhism,—infinitely more credit than fictitious accounts of exaggerated and unnatural applications of the rules of virtue on the part of stags or of hares, or of human beings in some other stage of the world.

The propriety of the conduct of the hero of the stories is not, I think, to be questioned within the limits of this section; but I can lay no stress on that, for if we extended the inquiry to the next 50, we should find cases where the conduct of the hero is very questionable indeed. This, as well as some other points of interest, can hardly be usefully dealt with till we have taken more Játakas within our scope.

It remains to say a few words about the moral and doctrinal disquisitions which the compiler—as I suppose—has interwoven in his glossaries on Text and Gáthás. They consist in great part of quotations, and to verify these quotations will be one of the most laborious, but most useful, parts of the task of any one who undertakes fully to edit the Játaka Book. But they contain also some subtle moral disquisitions, many of which show, not only a hand practised in moral distinctions and an extensive store of moral terms, but also a good deal of shrewd observation.

In illustration of this a note of the grammarian on the words *hiri* and *ottappam* is translated in the Appendix.

Migrations of the Tales.—Having given his readers a sample of the contents of the collection, Mr. Davids goes on to tell us how some at least of the tales found their way to Europe. But here the unenlightened reader has to complain of Mr. Davids for not making it perfectly clear what he is proving, and what not. For the work which he learnedly follows into Europe is not the Játaka—as such—but the Pancha Tantra. Now, I should be extremely sorry to deny that the Hindu Pancha Tantra is derived from Buddhist sources; this is the general opinion of scholars, and in particular of Professor Benfey, whom Mr. Davids afterwards quotes at some length. But it does not follow that the Pancha Tantra is derived from our Játaka Book. And if it should turn out that the Pancha Tantra was not borrowed from the Játaka at all, but was an independent collection of similar materials from the same sources, then all that

follows—interesting as it might be as a history of Indian tales—would be no history of the Játaka in particular.

The Hindu collection of tales, called Pancha Tantra, was translated—or a book like it was—into Persian, and thence, in the 8th century of our era, into Syriac and into Arabic, under the title of "Kalilah and Dimnah." The Arabs carried this into Europe, and so it was translated into Spanish, Latin, German, Italian, French, and English. And to the Latin version was given the title "Æsop the Old."

Now, the original of what we call Æsop's Fables has always been obscure. It is not certain that Æsop left any works behind him; if he did, they were very early lost, and there is little doubt that part at least of what bear his name were never collected in Europe till the 14th century. Doubtless some of these were borrowed from the "Kalilah and Dimnah." Thus, with some probability, we trace the Æsop of our childhood to the Pancha Tantra, and (leaping easily thence) to the Játaka. But the part of his introduction, which has evidently given Mr. Davids most delight, is that in which he states (for here again the evidence is omitted,—the borrowing, however, is unquestionable) that a story called "Barlaam and Joasaph," written by the Christian monk, St. John of Damascus,* about 750 A.D., is borrowed from the legend of Buddha, and that the name Joasaph is only a corruption of Bódhisat. This would not seem more strange than that any other romance should have been founded on tales which the author had heard, especially as the writer says it is an Indian story; but what moves Mr. Davids to almost childish glee is, that some authorities of the Romish Church—and I think he says also of the Eastern—mistaking the romance for history, have included in the list of canonised saints the hero of this story. An absurd parade of detail is accumulated about this trumpery fact, that our editor may have the delight of concluding "that Gótama the Buddha, under the name of St. Josaphat, is now officially recognized, and honoured, and worshipped throughout the whole of Catholic Christendom as a Christian saint!"

But whatever be the value of this, we owe Mr. Davids gratitude for the more important and interesting facts, that

* Or, rather, attributed to him.—*Ed.*

the fables of Europe, whether the Greek of Babrius (B.C. 60 ?), the Latin of Phœdrus (c. A.D. 1), or the modern ones of Boccaccio, Chaucer, La Fontaine, and Gay, are indebted more or less directly to that mass of Eastern stories, of which our Játaka Book is the most important collection.

Meanwhile, some at least of the stories have probably travelled to India from the West. Postponing to future papers some further remarks on those which have come from Jewish sources, I venture to submit the following, to which I hope to add other instances.

Traces of Greek influence.—I have mentioned already how the hero of Losaka Játaka (41), after suffering a long course of calamities in consequence of demerit, is suddenly transported, in consequence of a long-past act of merit, into conditions of happiness. The early part of the tale is characteristically Buddhistic. But my suspicion is, that the latter part is of quite different origin from the beginning; that it is a wide-famed story, half remembered, and its vicissitudes explained by Buddhist theories—a story no less famed than that of Ulysses!

The hero is called by name Mittavindaka, but his description is "kálakaṇṇí," 'the wretched one,' or 'the sufferer,' which is the meaning of "Odusseus." When Mittavindaka would put to sea, the ship which carried him stuck fast till lots had been drawn, and he had been cast into the sea. This passage may possibly owe something to the history of Jonah, though, I fancy, such a thing was often done as this casting of the "unlucky lot," but there is a corresponding event in the story of Ulysses, when Æolus is said to have refused him the assistance of the winds, as being too unlucky to be safely dealt with. Mittavindaka had experience of cannibals, who devoured his family, as Polyphemus and the Loestrygones did the companions of Ulysses; Mittavindaka suffered for catching a demon-goat, and Ulysses for attacking the oxen of the sun; Mittavindaka was carried to three successive palaces of nymphs, as Ulysses past the Sirens to the palaces of Circe and Calypso and the fairy land of Phœacia; Ulysses floated on a magic veil and on a mast, Mittavindaka on a bundle of bamboos; and both, after all their wanderings, were restored at last. Of the nymphs, it is said that they

had an alternate existence of pleasure and suffering,—an idea which occurs several times in Greek mythology, notably in the cases of Hercules and of the Dioscuri.

I have made the most, I admit, of these points of likeness, but they are too numerous not to arrest attention. At the time when these tales were taking shape in Buddhist hands, Greek influence was powerful at the Court of Mágadha. As it unquestionably affected the art which still remains to us, so it may well have affected the literature; and the further this study is prosecuted, the more clearly, I believe, it will appear that Greek culture had something to do with stimulating the wonderful and sudden burst of art and invention and writing, which gave shape to Buddhism, and culminated in the sculptures of Bharhut and Amrávati. A beautiful little statue in the Calcutta Museum is typical, I fancy, of much beyond itself. It is a finished work of Greek art—a statue of Hercules. Among many carvings and statues in which Greek influence is discernible, it stands out as purely Greek; but Buddhism had laid a claim upon it, for while the lion-skin hangs over one shoulder, on the other shoulder has been engraved a lotus.

The traditional account of the origin of the collection being put aside (and indeed few, if any, Buddhists accept it) and the range of subjects being as wide as it has been shown to be, the inquiry follows—How did the collection such as we find it come into existence? The question is at present of the collection of materials; not of the language, the book, or the edition.

Growth of the Collection.—How, it is now to be asked, did the Buddhist collection come together? It may be answered, in the first place, that, according to the theory of Buddhahood, in which it is an essential point that the Buddha should have been developed, so to speak, to perfection through a long series of lives, some record of previous births of Gótama—some Játaka Book—was inevitable. Accordingly, in the history of the series of Buddhas—the Buddhavaṁsa—under the head of each of the previous Buddhas who are supposed to have existed since he who was to be Gótama Buddha first resolved on Buddhahood, some narrative is given of the life which the Bódhisat,

(or Buddha in course of development) lived under that Buddha. Further, since every Buddha devotes a whole series of existences to the acquirement or exercise of perfection in certain elements of the Buddha character, there is a treatise called Cariyá Piṭakaṁ, which narrates the lives in which he who was to be Gótama acquired generosity, goodness, and the rest of the ten *Páramitá.* This amount of Jataka material was essential to a complete history of the Buddha ; but there is, besides this, scattered here and there in the Piṭaka, a considerable number of narratives, by Gótama himself, of his previous births, told in illustration of what he happened to be teaching. This, then, may reasonably be supposed to have been the nucleus round which gathered the stories of less genuine pretensions.

It is certain, apart from all tradition, that some of the stories which at present form our collection were popular under the name of Játaka in the 3rd century, B.C. In the carvings of the great stone railings around the dagabas of Barhut are to be seen still very rich and vivid illustrations of scenes from our Játaka stories. And on some of them are written, as I have myself read in the Calcutta Museum, the names of the Játakas represented. The interesting paper devoted by our President to this subject abundantly proves the point. Mr. Rhys Davids thus expresses his own opinion :—" The most probable explanation is," he says, " that it was due to the religious faith of the Indian Buddhists of the 3rd or 4th century B.C., who not only repeated a number of fables, parables, and stories ascribed to the Buddha, but gave them a peculiar sacredness, and a special religious signification, by identifying the best character in each with the Buddha himself in previous births." By this means, what had been mere tales became birth-stories of Buddha. This must certainly have been some time before the Bharhut rails were carved. And, probably, stories thus sacred and popularly accepted were brought together into a collection before the Council of Vesáli.

The plan of prefacing these stories by the introductory stories, or stories of the present, may have been justified by some genuine traditions as to the occasions when the Buddha

told such as were really of his telling; and the method having been adopted, was extended to the rest.

When Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon, about 200 B.C., these Jatakas were carried thither in Páli; and the whole was then translated and preserved in Siṁhalese, (except the verses, which have always remained in Páli,) until some one unknown, in the 5th century, re-translated, or—and here Mr. Davids' characteristic uncertainty reappears—compiled the present Játaka Book!

Illustrated from the practice of the Jains and Brahmans. —The learned paper of Professor M. M. Künte illustrates the method and development of the system by the parallel cases of the Jains, &c.

The Játaka an artistic Sermon. Professor Künté's paper (occasionally abridged).—The system of teaching by stories, and in particular of illustrating stories of the present epoch by stories of the past, seems to be used not only by the Buddhists, but also by the Jains and, in some degree, by the Brahmans. For although the relation between these sects is one of contrast and rivalry, their philosophic standpoints being opposed, yet they have in their life and method of teaching much in common. The broad division of society into monks and householders is common to them all, and it is out of the customs and necessities of a society so divided that the method of teaching by "birth-stories" may be supposed to have grown.

On the other hand, the attitude of Buddhism to Jainism in respect of its philosophic doctrines was one of hostility; and this appears in the language of the first Játaka, in the "moral" of which certain characteristic tenets of the Jains are condemned.

"The gáthá, or central stanza, of the 1st Játaka runs thus:—

> Apaṇṇakaṁ ṭhánaṁ eke dutiyam áhu takkiká.
> Etad aññáya medhávî taṁ gaṇhe yad apaṇṇakaṁ ti.

Translated: "Some hold to truth, the reasoners declare otherwise; a wise man, knowing this, ought to take that which is truth."

"And the word-commentary on this stanza identifies the first or true doctrine referred to by calling it, amongst

other names, *ekamsikam* (containing one proposition),* while the second or heretical is called *anekamsikam* (manifold). This latter term is employed with special reference to the Jainas, "who call themselves *anekánta vádinah;* because they hold that truth is never absolutely known, but that it is always relative. They ridicule their opponents as *ekantavádins.* The terms *ekantavádi* and *ekamsika* express the same thing, *anta* and *amsa* meaning a side, a proposition. (Mr. Childers gives *ekanta* for *ekansa* in his Páli Dic-

"The Jainas attach great importance to the system of
tionary.)
dialectic reasoning developed by Kanada, whose atomic theory about the creation of the world is the foundation of Jainism. They are, therefore, the *anekamsika* reasoners already referred to. The Jainas consider both the Buddhists and the Brahmanas to be *ekantavádins.*

"The standpoints of the Brahmanas, the Buddhists, and the Jainas are these:—The Brahmanas and the Buddhists state that their systems are based upon absolute truths. The former hold that the Veda is revealed by some mysterious impersonal agency; while the latter hold that truth is made known to them by persons who attained to omniscience. The first declare that the purpose of life is to perform all sacrifices and ceremonies that the Veda enjoins; while the latter declare that the purpose of life is to practise austerities and to attain to spirituality. This is significantly expressed in the Púrvamimansa system as *kritvárthatá,* as opposed to *purushárthatá.* The Jainas differ from both the Brahmanas and the Buddhists, characterising both as *ekantavádins*—men who adhere to one-sided truth, forgetting that nothing can be known absolutely—and assume that their position as *anekamsikas* is unchallengeable."

This description applies to the Jains of both classes,

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* It should be mentioned that Professor Künte's argument here was called in question by several members of the Society, on the ground that ekamsikam means simply "certain," and implies no particular philosophy. The words in the text, *eke* and *dutiyam,* mean only "some" and "another," while in the gloss itself the "two positions" *(dwisu thánesi)* are contrasted as "certain" and "uncertain," not as monistic and dualistic.

Svetambara and Digambara alike, but it is the Svetambara monks whose manners and way of life are so similar to those of the Buddhist monks of Ceylon. They carry hair-brushes, however, instead of fans, and they are more scrupulous in guarding "against causing even imaginary injury to any animal. Hence they put lime in the water they keep with them for the purpose of washing their hands and feet or cleaning their mouths. They do not bathe at all. They seldom move out of their convents. They drink water once heated and cooled." The Jain monks, like the Buddhist, deliver sermons to the laity, and these bear a considerable resemblance to Játaka stories. "The sermon of the Jainas consists of two main parts. The first part enunciates some doctrine or some ethical or philosophical principle, and in the second part a story is narrated. Frequently, in the first part, a heretic and his doctrines are described, criticized, and condemned; and the second part gives a story which describes the ill-luck of those who have once behaved in like manner. The preacher formally introduces the sermon and enlarges upon the subject of his dissertation. He next chaunts *gáthás*, and, by way of commenting upon them, goes into grammatical, dialectic, and philological questions. And then he narrates a story, in which he vehemently and sometimes pathetically describes natural scenery and social questions, touching sometimes upon what he considers the question of the day. He is a *citrakathi dhammakathiko*.

"The Jain scriptures are divided into four parts:—(1) *Dravyánuyoga*, which corresponds to the *Abhidhammakatho* of the Buddhist; (2) the *Gaṇitánuyoga*, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Tripiṭaka; (3) *Caranánuyoga*, which corresponds to *Vinaya*; and (4) the *Dharmakathánuyoga*, which corresponds to the *Játakakathás*. The *Dhammakathánuyoga* is not as yet, I believe, sufficiently investigated. Jainism and Buddhism, however, provide a large field for a comparative study, and the stories in the *Dharmakathánuyoga* will not fail to elicit much philosophical and historical interest, because they throw direct and strong light on the condition of the people as affected by heresies and religious revivals, and attack Buddhism and its propagators. At present, it seems to me, that so little

is known about Jainism that it is confounded with Buddhism, of which it is considered to be a sect, though the Buddhists, who call themselves *ekamsikas*, are opposed diametrically to the Jainas, who call themselves *anekánta-vádins*. In this place, I cannot do more than point out this new field of research likely to lead to important results."

Jainism has thus much in common with Buddhism, but its "Anekamsa" logic seems to be its most distinctive and its most ancient characteristic. From the reference in Jain works to "certain grammatical questions which Pánini in relation to *Sákatáyana* raises," and from the fact that "the Sákatáyana grammar is found in the possession of the Southern Jainas," it appears that the "Anekamsika" philosophy was known as early as the 4th century B.C. On the other hand, it is clear that both Jainism and Buddhism as well as Brahaminism—three opposed systems—existed side by side until a comparatively late date, for "Sánkarácharya, who led the revival of Brahminism, and who is characterized as a concealed Buddhist, flourished about 700 A.D. "Before this, flourished Kundakundácharya, a distinguished Jain teacher, because a *gaṇa* established by him is mentioned in Kirtivarma's inscription dated 584 A.D. Between 584 A.D. and 700 A.D. the Jainas energized. Amarsiṁha, a Buddhistic lexicographer, flourished about the same time. Hwen-thsang describes Buddhistic convents and their prosperity. Thus the three systems seem to have worked at the same time—three systems opposed to each other." Among the Brahmans, as well as among the Jains, there is a system of teaching, used by their *Sannyásis* or ascetics, which is thus described:—"The Sannyasis in their hermitages preach what they call *pravachana*, which signifies a comment. Some Vedic *gáthá* or text is taken. A Purána story, corresponding to an *atíta-vatthu*, follows, and a conclusion is stated."......The Brahminic Kathás draw upon the stories of the Puráṇas, these stories serving the purpose of the *atíta-vatthus*. "The Purana stories—the best and the most popular of them—have all the ring and the point of the *atíta-vatthu*, as the Brahminical Katha-system shows." ......"A katha consists of two parts, interluded by music. The first part is known as *nírupana* or *vedánta*, and dwells at considerable length upon some religious doctrine or

philosophical principle illustrated by a short story bearing on what is enunciated. The second part is the *anusandhana*, another story brought in by way of illustration. Now, *anusandhana* is the same as *anusandhi;* and I believe the Játaka-phrase *anusandhim ghátetvá* signifies that the second story is brought to bear upon the first story—the Paccuppanna-vatthu. Thus it will be seen that Brahminism throws light upon Buddhism."

The above facts are thus summarized :—"According to Jainas, Brahminism and Buddhism come under one class, the *Ekamsika*, and are, therefore, the opponents of Jainism. But there is much common to Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism, Jainism, and Brahminism act and re-act upon each other. The Buddhistic story-system, the Jain story-system, and the Brahmanical story-system have their points of comparison. The Jainas were, about the 4th century B.C., mere philosophical sceptics. About the time of Kunda-kundacharya, they grew into dogmatic thinkers by the combined action of Brahmanism and Buddhism, while picture-stories and sculptures on the Sutranjaya hills correspond to the picture-stories and sculptures of the Buddhists on the stupe of Bharhut."

The stories not only describe the life of monastery, palace, market, and village respectively, but their form has been determined by the influence of each of these,—of the monks, the princes, the traders, and the villagers. The Paccuppanna-vatthu, or story of the present, arose out of the life of the monastery, and deals with such points of morality, religion, or philosophy, as the inmates of the monastery may be supposed to have been familiar with, and turns on incidents in the studies and discipline of the monks, their errors, and controversies. The *Atita-vatthu*, or 'Story of the Past,' is told to illustrate this, and to make the abstruse topic interesting and amusing to the laity.

"Of the compound story thus arising, a gáthá or stanza is the central part. These stanzas are tentatively classified thus :—(1) Maxim *gáthás*, or gáthás which lay down general truths and practical rules of life. (2) Ethical *gáthás*, gáthás which inculcate morality. (3) Disciplinary *gáthás*, gáthás which condense the Buddhistic feeling and aspiration. (4) The Story *gáthás*, gáthás on which stories are

built. (5) Explanatory *gáthás*, gáthás which explain, in their own way, patent facts. (6) Descriptive *gáthás*, gáthás which describe natural scenery. (7) Pastoral *gáthás*, gáthás which describe the manners of the pastoral people, and deal with the life of lower animals, and the life of the peasantry. Thus, the gáthás have a two-fold origin—the monastic gáthás and popular gáthás. Stories, whether monastic or popular, were soon crystallised into proverbs ; thus, out of the stories the gáthás grew ; these gáthás, therefore, had a two-fold origin,—monastic and popular. And this was in accordance with the nature of the story told either by a monk, practising his disciplinary lessons, or by one ordinary man to another, while journeying or reaping his harvest or watching his field."

Proverbial stanzas summarizing well-known stories are still common in the Mahrattha country. "Proverbs like the following are always in the mouths of the people in Maharashtra : 'Tupagelen telagelen hali dhupáta ne álen.' The sense of this is : 'Clarified butter is gone, oil is gone, and an incense-pot remains in the hand.' Again, 'Bajaranta turí áṇi bhata bhatṇi la mári.' The sense of this is : 'The turi-pulse is in the bazaar, and the Brahmana quarrels with his wife as to her turi-soup to be prepared, being thick or thin, and beats her.' The stories for these gáthás are at first mere balanced prose-pieces (in rhythmical prose?) which are in the course of time versified and poetically expressed by well-known poets. The Mahrattha poet Tukaráma does this." And the Mahrattha preacher, or Haridása, still "recites a portion of a gáthá as in the Játaka-stories, and then builds upon it a mirupana or vedanta. Dwelling upon it at considerable length, he chaunts the gáthá in full, and explains it at great length, introducing into the explanation as much of his learning as he can. And upon this foundation the *anusandhana* is built. Similarly, when the Mahrattha ladies meet for religious ceremonies, it is the custom for them to "narrate festive stories, which poetically express their hopes and aspirations. The ceremony itself is the *paccuppanna vatthu*. The story told is the *atita vatthu*. The ladies call their story *káháṇí*, a word which comes from the Sanskrit *kathánaka*. Some ladies are known for their power of telling a *kahaṇí*,

which more or less begins in the same way as every *atita vatthu* does, by "Baraṇasi, prince Brahmadatta," &c. Gáthás and comments upon them constitute the higher part of the kathás; and the stories support what the gâthás inculcate.

"It is plain, then, that the Játakas, as they exist, are a series of sermons, ready to hand, and to be preached to mixed audiences. A part of a gáthá is first recited, and the attention of an audience is thus called to what is coming. A *paccuppanna vatthu* points out the particular topic of the gáthá recited. Faith in Buddha Gótama is awakened, and a ground-basis for the chaunt of the gáthá in full is thus prepared. Then, in explaining the gáthá, the preacher shows his power of scholasticism. The ordinary audience listens on, half-puzzled and half-struck by what the mind considers to be profound and mysterious; and, moved by the incomprehensible, it works it up into the marvellous, and obtains from this a passive intellectual enjoyment. The preacher proceeds with an energy of his own. The strain on the mental power of the audience is now at its height, when abstruse comments upon a gáthá are abstrusely but eloquently explained. This is succeeded by the narration of the simple popular *atita vatthu*. There is thus a sudden transition from the abstruse to the simple, from the philosophical to the popular element. Such a transition produces a contrast. The parallelism, which runs between the two stories, and which constitutes the *anusandhi* between them, is thus combined with a contrast. And parallelism and contrast are the foundation upon which all æsthetic pleasure, whether intellectual or emotional, is built. The transition from the comments on a gáthá affords relief to the mind of the audience.

"When a Mahrattha preacher, for instance, dwells at length on a *nirupana*, his audience asks him to descend into an *anusandhana*. When he has a short, cursory *nirupana*, and a long tedious *anusandhana*, he is criticized by his audience as they go home, and has a chance of seeing his audience diminished. An audience cannot be trifled with. Pleasure it must have. The number of lay gentlemen and ladies attending a convent gave it importance. Such attendance is specially preached in some Játakas. There were necessarily two or more convents in a large town, as Hwen-thsang

states. The priests of one convent naturally vied with those of another in securing large audiences. And large audiences always depended on the eloquence of the preacher, who became known as *citra kathí*. All preachers, however, could not be learned and eloquent. The Játaka stories are, therefore, artistic sermons.

"A part of the gáthá, a *paccuppanna vatthu*, or something in its stead, the full gáthá, the abstruse comments upon it, the *atita vatthu*, and the conclusion, in which everything said by the preacher is referred to Buddha Gótama himself—the great omniscient teacher—all this is not an accidental arrangement. It is an essential growth necessitated by the tendencies of the times: the *ekamsikas* could counteract the activity of the *anekamsikas* in this way alone; because the environment of the opponents and the opposed being the same, the same weapons must needs be used by both. Hence the points of resemblance between a Jain sermon and a Buddhistic sermon have already been insisted upon. I have heard Jain sermons, and am inclined to conclude, on account of the considerations already stated, that each Játaka is a systematic sermon."

The Compilation is the work of one hand.—That the book as we have it is a compilation by a single hand is thus inferred:—"These sermons are compiled by one individual—(1) because in the *paccuppanna vatthu* references backwards and forwards—to Játakas already narrated as well as to Játakas to be narrated—are made; (2) because comments upon gáthás are abbreviated, and directions about such abbreviations are given; (3) because directions indicating the abbreviations to be made in the conclusions of the sermons are also, once for all, given; and because the same system of fitting in all the parts—a part of the gáthá, the *paccuppanna vatthu*, the gáthá in full, the comments upon the gáthá, the *atita vatthu*, and the conclusion—is discernible; and when any part is wanting, an attempt to provide a semblance for it is made."

So far Professor Künte. Another paper thus touches on the same:—"In some the introduction may possibly be historical, and the second or illustrative story is distinct from it, and has some bearing on it. But in contrast with these there are a considerable number in which

the arrangement of introductory story and illustrative story is merely artificial. Among the tales already mentioned under various hands, there are seven flagrant instances of this, and about the same number of less conspicuous cases. In such the latter part is a mere repetition of the former. This is evidently compiler's work, for the sake of uniformity. Similarly, there are one or two cases in which stories separately numbered are virtually the same, as when No. 44 tells how a boy killed his father in striking with a hatchet at a mosquito on his head, and No. 45 how a girl killed her mother by striking with a pestle at a fly on her back; these are duplicated, to make up the groups of 50, and of 10, into which the stories have been forced by the compiler. These are the packing; the later part of the book.

"I will draw attention to two curious indications of the compiler's hand, as it seems to me, in tales of this class.

"Into many of the Játakas there have been introduced grammatical or other explanations; as, for instance, in No. 1, when a haunted and waterless desert is mentioned, the mention is followed by a short but needless *excursus* enumerating several kinds of desert, and ending: "Now, among these kinds, this one was of the haunted and waterless sorts." In other cases, still more pedantic notes are introduced. Now, in the very simple story of the peacock, whose impudent strutting lost him his swan-bride, the swan-king is made, in the heat of his indignation, to draw a distinction between sense of propriety or conscience, and sense of shame—sense of propriety which has its origin within the man, and sense of shame, which has regard to the opinion of others. This looks at first sight like the work of the pedant compiler. But the introduction to this story (32) is connected with that of No. 6, and refers back to it. Now, among the notes embodied in No. 6 is a very long and interesting note on these two words. It seems to me unquestionable that the same compiler who wrote the long note on No. 6, and who refers in the introduction of No. 32 to No. 6, also inserted in No. 32 this frigid piece of pedantry in reference to his own note.

"The second indication I will mention is this. No. 16 is a story about the cleverness of deer, and evidently merely an expansion of a popular rhyme, that the deer has six tricks

by which he can escape—pretending death, and so on. The Páli for "by six tricks" is "chahi kaláhi." Now, No. 15 is a story with virtually no introduction—or merely a formal one—and is to the effect that a certain young deer would not come to his uncle to be taught deer-tricks, but played truant seven times. The Páli for "seven times" is "sattahi-kálehi." The two stanzas of these two stories are in the main similar: but (apart from other slight differences) the one has "chahi kaláhi atikkantam," 'getting away (winning) by six tricks,' the other "sattali kálehi atikkantam," 'playing truant or getting away seven times.' When we look at MSS. we find them uncertain about this word "kálehi," 'times'; some, as two examined by Mr. Ranasinhe, have "kaláhi," and some, among them the Burmese MS. in this Library, have "káláhi," which as it stands is nothing, but is quite as likely to represent "kaláhi" as "kálehi." I have little doubt that "kaláhi" is the original form of the popular sing-song, and "kálehi" a mistake for it, and that on this mistake the grammarian-compiler has built up his silly little story about the deer who would not go to school.

"Perhaps, if all the stories were closely scrutinized, it would be possible to eliminate with almost certainty a considerable number which are mere packing, and even among the rest to distinguish the Buddhistic nucleus from the accretions."

Date of the Compilation.—Professor Künte, reasoning entirely from internal evidence, and without reference to tradition, arrives at a conclusion which is irreconcileable, as it stands, therewith. He lays down the landmarks of Páli literature thus: "We have utterances of Buddha Gótama himself, and they constitute the Páli of the 6th century B.C. The inscriptions of Asóka and his successors employ Páli, and this Páli is of the period between 250 B.C. and 100 B.C. The Sahyadri inscriptions are in Páli, the Páli of the period between 100 B.C. and 200 A.D. The Mahawaṁso is in Páli, the Páli of 480 A.D. There are Jain works written in Ardha-maghadi by Kunda-kundacharya before 584 A.D., as already stated. There are different Prakrit dialects, as they are met with in the extensive dramatic literature, and in such poems as the Salivahana-saptasati and the Setubandha." And his conclusion is as follows:—"When the Páli of all these periods is compared

with the Páli of the comment-portion of the Játakas, and when the attempts of using metaphysical grammar and its terminology are taken into account, it seems to me evident that these Játakas were put together and compiled in the 8th century A.D., because the Jain activity, which was attended by the study of metaphysical grammar, manifested itself at this time, the Jainendra grammar being composed in 728 A.D. Though the fitting in of all the materials was done in the 8th century A.D., yet the materials from which it was compiled existed so early as the 5th century B.C." He draws a further inference as follows:—"The geographical notices, as they are met with in these stories, point to a time antecedent to the 3rd century B.C., when Buddhistic embassies were sent to Banavási in North Canara, and to Mahishamandala or Mysore, to a time when, therefore, the *Dakshiṇápatha* was well-known; but I have not met with the name of the *Dahshiṇápatha* in these stories, though the word *Uttarapatha* is indefinitely used is reference to countries to the North of Benares, as in the Játaka entitled *Taṇḍula-náli-Játaka.* The inference from all these facts is that the Játaka stories, both monastic and popular, existed and were popularised before the 3rd century B.C." By comparison with the Jain system, as developed in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries A.D., from traces of the slokas of the Pancha-tantra literature, and from the coins mentioned (*masaka, kahápana, kimkamka*), the Professor is confirmed in assigning as late a date as the 8th century for the compilation of the book in its present form, and concludes that "some Buddhistic monk about the 8th century A.D. at the latest, and the 5th century A.D. at the earliest, put together the *paccuppanna vatthu*, the *atita vatthu*, and the gáthás, as they existed long before him, and compiled his system of sermons, which he calls his commentary." As an instance of this, Professor Künte calls attention to a gloss in the commentary on Gámani Játaka, on Phalásá. The inversion, Phalásá-A'sáphalaṁ, requires, he says, a knowledge of metaphysical grammar, such as was not cultivated in India before the 6th century A.D., when Hwen-thsang travelled, the time of the Brahmanical and Jain revival. He says: "Between the 2nd and the 1st centuries B.C., it appears that metaphysical

distinctions were made by such schools as those of Soutrátikás, Mádhyamikas, Yogácáras, and Vaibháshikas, and, therefore, it is evident that this was not the period when the Buddhists in Upper India had time for the study of metaphysical grammar and writing glosses. From 500 B.C. to 100 B.C.—i.e., from the advent of Gótama Buddha to Asóka's time—the Buddhistic system underwent a development, and was propagated, and enforced as the inscriptions of Asóka and of others, at Shahabaja, Khálsi, Delhi, Allahabad, Gaya, Sahasram, Udayagiri, Devateka, Sanci, Rúpanath, Ramgada, Junágada, and Sopárá show. The conclusion, therefore, is that about the Brahminical and Jain revival the gloss was written."

From the substance of the story called Katṭhahári Játaka (Appendix I.) the Professor draws an inference leading to a similar conclusion, as follows :—

1. "The comparison of the incidents of the Katṭhahári Játaka, of the story of Dushyanta and Sakuntalá, as narrated in the Mahábhárata, and of the Lost Ring, a drama of Kálidása, yields a considerable result.

· (1) "The incidents of the Játaka story are known. King Dushyanta, as Mahábhárata narrates, induces Sakuntalá, who is the daughter of a heavenly damsel, named Menaká, and of Visvámitra, a Rishi, to marry him according to the Gándharva form. Brahmadatta, as the Katṭhakári Játaka narrates, marries Katṭhaháriká, a slave-girl, by living with her for a short time according to Muhúrta form, resembling the Gándharva form. The Gándharva form is the marriage settled by the mere consent of the two parties without any preliminaries, and on the spur of the moment. The Muhúrta form is the same as the Gándharva form. It obtains among the Mahráthás other than the Brahmanas. The term Muhúrtika, used in the Katṭhaháriká-Játaka, is, I believe, such a marriage; and the Mahráṭhas call it Mohottura, a corrupt form of the word Muhúrta.

(2) "Once only associating with Sakuntalá, King Dushyanta leaves her in her hermitage, and goes to his own capital. So does Brahmadatta.

(3) "Sakuntalá begets a son who grows up. So does Katṭhaháriká beget a son, who is able to inquire as to who his father is.

(4) "Both Sakuntalá and Kaṭṭhahárikâ take their sons to the capitals of the princes who had once loved them.

(5) "Both are rejected at first.

(6) "Miracles, however, intervene, and both are accepted.

(7) "But in the story, as narrated in the Mahábhárata, the episode of the seal-ring is entirely wanting; while in the Kaṭṭhahári-Játaka and in the "Lost-ring" of Kálidása, the episode of the seal-ring plays an important and essential part.

2. "The Mahábhárata-form of the story is the first; because it is so simple and the episode of the seal-ring is wanting. The Játaka-form adds the episode of the seal-ring. It is, therefore, a development of the popular story narrated in the Mahábhárata. The form of the story as narrated by Kálidása in his drama is a further artistic development.

3. "The chronology of the Kaṭṭhahári-Játaka can be determined from what is already stated. It was narrated between the composition of the Mahábhárata and of the lost-ring. The Mahábhárata was written about 1200 B.C., as is evident from the philosophical disputes, religious ceremonies, the social condition of the people, geographical notices, and astronomical facts as they are described in the great Epic. General Cunningham places the Mahábhárata 1,500 years before Christ. There is an inscription dated 584 A.D., written by Kirtivarma, who mentions the names of Kálidása and Bhárari as distinguished poets. The Pancha-tantra of Vishṇu Sárman, translated into Pahlavi in the 6th century A.D., and therefore earlier than the 6th century A.D., quotes Kálidása. There is ample evidence to show from the writings of Kálidása himself that he flourished about the first century of the Christian era. This the popular tradition in India supports. Max Müller contends in his "Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature" that Kálidása flourished about the 6th century A.D. There are other European scholars, however, who differ from him. I believe that the evidence, which the latter adduce, preponderates.

"A mass of evidence has collected on this subject, and its details cannot be examined in this place. The conclusion, however, as to the chronology of the Kaṭṭahári Játaka is not affected by this evidence. The story of the Kaṭṭahári

Játaka was known among the Indian Aryas about the sixth century before Christ, which appears to be the period which the Lalit Vistara describes, when miraculous stories were told by the people and believed in; when sceptics—the Sámsayikas of Páṇini, the Takkikas of the Játaka stories—attempted to influence the people; and when any teacher *(Tirtha)* could gather about him a host of disciples. The Kaṭṭhahári Játaka, therefore, was known in India about the sixth century B.C., and was told and listened to in the earliest Buddhistic monasteries."

The Popular Acceptance of the Játakas as shown in Picture-stories and Sculptures.

(By J. F. Dickson, Esq., C.M.G., &c.)

The oldest and the most important of the Buddhist sculptures are those belonging to the gateways and Bharhut Stupa, first discovered in 1873, and made known in 1879 in General Cunningham's magnificent work, "The Stupa of Bharhut," on which the greater part of this paper is based. They belong to the third century before Christ, and were probably completed between 240 and 210 B.C. The importance of these sculptures is derived in great measure from the titles inscribed, in the Asoka alphabet, on many of the sculptural scenes, by which we are able to identify them beyond doubt with scenes or legends in the history of Buddha; and from them I select for your notice to-night the more striking of those which illustrate the introduction (Nidánakathá) to our book, and some of the first fifty Játakas to which our attention is at present specially confined. As you are aware, in the earliest Buddhist period images of Buddha were unknown. Symbols of the religion he taught were recognized, but no object of personal adoration. The earliest personal symbol was the foot-print (derived probably from a Hindu source). The earliest known statue of Buddha is of the first century after Christ, and the Bharhut sculptures are of the highest value in the history of the development, or, if I may be allowed to say so, in the history of the decline of Buddhism from its primitive simplicity, on account of the entire absence of any statue or image or personal representation of Buddha. This is excellently set forth by Rájendra Lála in his work on Buddha Gáya (Cap. IV., pp. 128, 129):—

"If we may rely on the evidence of the great Tope of Bharhut,

images of Buddha must have come into vogue many centuries after the Stúpa. That tope represents scores of scenes illustrating the history of Buddha's last, as well as of previous, life, but none in which an image of the saint is being worshipped. For purposes of adoration the Bodhi-tree, the Chaitya, and the Wheel of Law, were the only principal objects selected, and, occasionally, foot-prints; but we look in vain for statues of the saint. This would have never been the case had images of the saint been worshipped in the time of Asóka. That Emperor would have never allowed so important an object to be neglected in his sculptures, had it then attained the rank of one worthy of being worshipped. On the Buddha Gáya rails there is also the same entire absence of the image of the saint as an object of adoration. A century later, in the Sánchi bas-reliefs, we notice the same absence of statues of Buddha; but in Mathurá, two centuries afterwards, they are largely met with, and this I look upon as all but conclusive evidence against the use of statues as objects of worship for the first four or five centuries after the Nirvána of the great reformer. He fought most strenuously against ritualistic ceremony in general, and idol-worship in particular, and his teaching was respected for a long time before it was set aside. The tree of knowledge was the first to claim respect. It had been the means of bestowing the perfection of wisdom on the saint, and all who aspired to that wisdom naturally looked upon it with respectful solicitude. After the death of the teacher, the grave or chaitya was associated with it, the one as the receptacle of him who had acquired perfect knowledge, and the other as the source of that knowledge. The worship or adoration paid to these was confined, probably, to prostration before, and ambulation round, them, and the offering of a few flowers for their decoration. These were the ways in which respect had been shown to the teacher himself, and in his absence they were rendered to his emblems. The pictorial representations of scenes from the life of the saint were intended solely as ready means of impressing on the minds of the masses the history of his life, and the moral maxims which they inculcated, and not to require any adoration. In fact, they were purely ornamental; they were never adored, and from the positions they occupied in the buildings, they could not be used as objects of worship. Images intended for worship would imply temples and sanctuaries, but down to the time of Asóka temples were never thought of, and idols for worship could not have existed. The word *Vihára,* so often used in later works for a temple, originally meant only a convent, a place where the homeless hermits of the sect could find a shelter during disease and decrepitude, and also from the

inclemencies of the Indian rainy weather, when travelling was prohibited, and the use of the word is therefore not a safe proof. The evidence of the earlier texts of the Buddhists is particularly significant in this respect. The Lalita Vistara, while referring frequently to the worship of chaityas, nowhere alludes to images. In ancient Hindu writings, the word chaitya is occasionally used for a "temple," but the earlier Buddhists could not have used it in that sense, for they could not have ordained the worship of the temple, leaving unnoticed the presiding divinity of the sanctuary.

"The earliest samples of the statue occur in the monastery of Mathurá, and we may conclude, therefore, that the statue came into use after the date of the Bhilsá Tope of the second century before Christ, and a little before the Mathurá monastery of the first century after Christ."

The Bódhi-tree, or tree of knowledge of Gótama Buddha, is, as you know, the Pippal or *Ficus religiosa;* it is found in these sculptures, and its identification is made certain by the inscription on the domed roof of the building which surrounds its trunk:—

"Bhagavato Saka Munino Bodho."
'The tree of knowledge of the Blessed Sákya Muni.'

Each Buddha had his own separate tree, and in the Bharhut sculptures the trees of six out of the last seven Buddhas have been found with the names attached to them. The surroundings of the Bódhi-tree of the last Buddha are much more elaborate than the others. [See Plate XIII. (1), XXX. (3), LIV. (28.)] They are thus described by General Cunningham:—

"The trunk is entirely surrounded by an open-pillared building with an upper-storey, ornamented with niches containing umbrellas. Two umbrellas are placed in the top of the tree, and numerous streamers are hanging from the branches. In the two upper corners are flying figures with wings, bringing offerings of garlands. On each side there is a male figure raising a garland in his right-hand, and holding the tip of his tongue with the thumb and fore-finger of the left-hand. This curious action is also seen in another sculpture, in which the worship of Sákya Muni's Bódhi tree is represented. In the lower storey of the building there is a throne in front of a tree surmounted by two specimens of the favourite Buddhist symbol, the Dhamma chakra, and the tri-ratna combined. Two figures, male and female, are kneeling

before the throne, while a female figure is standing to the left, and a Nága Raja, with his hands crossed on his breast, to the right. This figure is distinguished by a triple-serpent crest. To the extreme right there is an isolated pillar, surmounted by an elephant holding out a garland in his trunk."

The Bódhimaṇḍá or Vajrásana is a square plinth, ornamented on each face with four small pillars: it is placed in the middle storey of the building, and represents the sacred seat on which Sákya Muni sat in meditation until he gained Buddhahood.

The stúpas represented in the Bharhut sculptures are of masonry surmounted by umbrellas from which garlands are hung: they contain relics. In form they are similar to the dágabas at Anurádhapura, and to the fine stone model at the Ruwanweli dágaba; the bas-reliefs found at Bharhut, Sánchi, and Amrávatí are of interest as showing the magnificent decorations of these buildings and the mode of adoration. (See Fergusson's Indian and Eastern Architecture, Book I., cap. 3), and for illustrations of Tree and Dágaba Worship, see Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, plate XXVIII.

The wheel-symbol holds an important place in the ancient sculptures. The finest example of it at Bharhut (plate XIII., 3) is fortunately labelled *Bhagawató damma chakam*, 'the wheel of the Law of Buddha.' The inscription is on the top of the temple, in which is placed the wheel as an object of worship, surmounted by an umbrella and adorned with garlands. Below it, in a four-horse chariot, Parasénajita, King of Sravasti, who was a contemporary of Buddha, is on his way to the sacred symbol: on the gateway he has just passed is inscribed *Rája Nasénaji Kósala.* In the Sánchi sculptures is a striking scene of wheel-worship (Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, plate XXIX., fig. 2) in a deer park, representing no doubt the Mrigadáwa, where Buddha first and chiefly taught.

The last objects of reverence here to be noticed are the foot-prints of Buddha, in connection with which I will bring before you the Sankisa ladder scene of the Bharhut sculptures. The legend briefly is this:—Buddha visited the heavens to preach his doctrine to the Dévas and his mother Máyá Dévi. After three months he determined to re-visit

the earth at a place called Sankisa or Sakaspura. Of this Spence Hardy writes :—

"Sakra (Indra) reflected that he (Buddha) had come from the earth at three steps, but that it would be right to celebrate his departure with special honours. He therefore caused a ladder of gold to extend from Mahaméru to Sakaspura ; at the right side of the ladder there was another, also of gold, upon which the *Dévas* appeared with instruments of music ; and on the left there was another of silver upon which the Brahmá appeared holding canopies of umbrellas...........The whole appeared to the people of the earth like three rainbows.—(Hardy's Buddhism, pp. 300–301.)

In the Bharhut sculptures (plate XVII., fig. 2) the triple ladder fills the middle of the scene. At the foot is a bó-tree and a crowd of kings, ministers, and people, awaiting the return of Buddha to earth. On the top step, and on the bottom step, is a foot-print—which, in the absence of any personal representation of Buddha, indicate the presence of Buddha himself, and form symbolical objects of reverence.

Turning now to the Nidána-kathá, we shall find it affording numerous subjects for sculptures and picture-stories from the time of the Bharhut sculptures to the present day. One of the most favourite subjects is the dream of Máyá Dévi, or the conception of the mother of Buddha. It is one of the Bharhut sculptures (plate XXVIII., fig. 3), and it occurs with the birth of Buddha, in the Buddhist sculptures (now at Lahore) brought from the Yusafzai Districts ; it is also found in a very interesting scene at Sánchi and in several sculptures at Amrávatí. In the Bharhut sculpture Máyá Dévi, in full costume and laden with jewellery, is asleep on her couch, with the right side exposed, surrounded by her maidens, one of whom is waving a *chauri*. The chadanta elephant, which appeared to her in a dream, fills the right of the medallion. The legend says that he thrice made obeisance to the couch, gently struck his mother's right side, and seemed to enter her womb (Davids' translation, p. 63). The medallion is labelled *Bhagavato okkanti*—'the descent of the Blessed one,' as rightly read by Davids—and not *rúkdanta*, 'roaring,' as read by Cunningham. It is interesting to compare with this the same legend as depicted in the Sanchi sculptures (plate XXXIII.) where Máyá Dévi is lying on her left side. In the Amrávatí bas-reliefs

(plate LXXIV.) is a fine example of this subject. In the same series (plate XCI., fig. 4) we have both the conception of Máyá Dévi and the birth of Buddha. (See Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 131, 195, and 212.) In the Lahore Museum are several sculptures illustrating the birth of Buddha, with Máyá Dévi in the Lumbini grove, standing under the Sál tree, and holding one of the branches—she leans on her half-sister Máyápati for support on the left, and on the right Brahma receives the infant Buddha as he springs from his mother's side. (Lahore Sculptures, 210, 220, 261, 268, 281.) Amongst the quaintest of the early Buddhist legends (Nidána-kathá, Davids, p. 86) is that relating to the headdress of Buddha. When he started on his great pilgrimage he cut off his hair, which, with his turban, he threw away. It was caught by Sakra and enshrined in the Távatiṁsa heaven, and in the Bharhut sculptures (plate XVI., fig. 1) the shrine is shown with the label *Sudàmmá Dèva Sabá Bhagavato chúḍá mahó* [not 'the grand headdress of Buddha in the assembly hall of the Dévas,' as General Cunningham renders it, but] 'the hall of the assembly of the gods at the time of the festival of the head-dress of the Blessed one'; and to place beyond all doubt that it is a shrine in the heavens of the Dévas, the palace in which it is is labelled *Véjayamto pásádo* (*'the palace of the Victorious'*) i.e., Indra, which was the abode of the Dévas in the Táva-tiṁsa heavens. We may close for the present our selections from illustrations of the legends of Buddha prior to the period when he lived and taught as the great Teacher, by some account of the sculptures and pictures representing the last great struggle between good and evil, when Sákya Muni finally overcame the assaults of Mára—the evil-one—and was triumphant over the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil. The account of it given in the Introduction to the Játakas tells how the evil-one brought up army after army, and failed again and again. Time will not permit to read it to-night (Davids' translation, pp. 96—101). No illustration of this great scene has been found at Bharhut, but it forms the subject of one of the most important sculptures at Ajanta in Cave XXVI. (Cave Temples of India, plate LI.) Below, Mára stands erect on the left, bow and arrow in hand, with his daughters in the middle trying in

vain the power of the allurements of passion; on the right, Mára is sitting disconsolate at his failure. "Above are his "demon forces attacking the great ascetic sitting under the "Bodhi tree with his right-hand pointing to the earth, "and the left in his lap, while the drum of the Dévas is "being beaten above him." Mára himself rides his war-elephant confident of victory, already shouted forth by his attendant hosts, when Buddha puts forth his hand, and the great earth cries out with overwhelming voice in testimony of the all-providing charity of Buddha. The elephant falls down and worships, and the discomfited host of Mára hurries away on the right, and the heavenly hosts cry, "The tempter is overcome; Siddhattha, the prince, has prevailed." (In Cave Temples of India, p. 345.) A magnificent fresco of this scene is to be found in Cave No. 1 at Ajanta (see Rajendra Lala's Buddha Gaya, plate II.) This is probably of the sixth century. With it may be compared the vigorous and powerful fresco of the same subject, which covers the whole vault of the great rock temple at Dambulla. For sculptures supposed to represent the temptations of the daughters of Mára, reference may be further made to the Amrávati sculptures, plate LIX., centre of the right-hand pillar, and plate LXIII., fig. 1. Leaving these legends, we come to the history of the dedication of the first Buddhist monastery. The story of the purchase of the land is told in the bas-reliefs, of which a drawing enlarged from General Cunningham's photograph is before you. The Buddhist story tells how the wealthy merchant, Anáthapiṇḍika, purchased for 18 kóṭis of gold coins the garden of the Prince Jéta, who at first refused to sell it unless it was covered with coins. The sculpture tells well the chief points of the story: the large sums of money which had to be brought in a cart, the coins covering the ground, the dedication by pouring water from a golden vessel (as the book says) over the hands of Buddha; but Buddha is not represented in the sculpture, and in the grounds are the two temples labelled *Gondha kuṭi* and *Kosamba kuṭi*, and the mango tree surrounded by a Buddhist rail. The inscription below the sculpture is almost in the very words of the existing text. It runs: *Jétavana Anádhapeḍiko deti kóṭi santhatena keta:* 'Anáthapindako presents Jétavana having

become the purchaser for a layer of kóṭis' (See Childers' Notes in *The Academy* for 28th November, 1874, p. 586, and for 5th December, 1874, p. 612.) The story, as we have it, was therefore extant, in the same words as we read it to-day, as early as the third century before Christ.

Scenes from the Játakas themselves are found in all the sculptures from Bharhut downwards: they are found in the frescoes at Ajanta, everywhere on the walls of the temples in Ceylon; and Fa-hian, who visited Ceylon in A.D. 405, relates that he was present when the tooth-relic was carried in the annual procession from Anurádhapura to Mihintale, a distance of nearly eight miles, and that on these occasions both sides of the road were hung with paintings of the 500 different births of Buddha, painted in different colours and "executed with such care as to appear living." (Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 82.)

There are, unfortunately, very few of the first fifty Játakas, with which we are specially dealing at present, which can be identified by the numerous Buddhist scenes at Bharhut. (See plate XXV., fig. 1.) A medallion is inscribed *Pusasathabho dánam Miga Játakam*—'pillar gift of Pushya': the Deer-birth.' Buddha was born as a deer eleven times. I am as yet unable to identify this sculpture. Davids says it is the Nigrodha Miga Játaka (No. 12), with which I am unable to identify it.

The Játaka labelled the *Hamsa Játaka* or 'Goose-birth' is clearly the Nacca Jákata (No. 32, plate XXVII., p. 11) or the Dancing Peacock. The story is that the royal goose summoned all the birds for his daughter to choose a husband. She chose the peacock, who in his vanity began to dance, spreading out his tail, which so much shocked the royal-goose that he broke off the match and married his daughter to a young goose, his nephew. The sculpture shows only the goose and the peacock with outspread tail. In this instance, it will be noted, that the name of the Játaka inscribed on the sculpture is not the name in the books; but the identity of the Játaka is undoubted. It would be interesting to ascertain when the popular name changed.

The story of Makhá Déva (Játaka 9) is told on the coping stone from Bharhut shown in plate XLVIII., fig. 2., and labelled *Maghá Déviya Játakam*—'the Mághá Déwa birth.' It

is the story of the first mortal whose hair turned grey, who, when he saw the first grey hair, was so convinced of the instability of human existence, that he resigned his kingdom to his son and became an ascetic ; and this became the rule of his race. In the sculpture the king is seated between two attendants : in his right-hand he holds before his face something small between his fore-finger and thumb ; the attendant on the right holds up something in the same way between his fore-finger and thumb, and is drawing the king's attention to it.

With the key given by the label, the story is seen to be well told ; without the label it would have been difficult to identify the Játaka.

Before passing from the most ancient sculptures, it may be well to call attention to the simplicity of the sculptures, and to the striking way in which the story is told with only a few figures : the salient points are seized, and the main points of a long story are put before the eye in a small space; for example, how can the story of the purchase and dedication of the Jétavana monastery be better told than in the small medallion before you ; also compare the Chadantiya Játakam of the third century B.C., as shown in plate XXVI., fig. 6, with the elaborate and beautiful drawing in the Ajanta caves of the same Játaka in the sixth century A.D. (Burgess, Buddhist Cave Temples, 1883, plate XVI., and text pp. 45 and 46.) In the one, the story is told by a kneeling elephant and a hunter with a saw, a tree, and two elephants in the background ; in the drawing there is a large herd of elephants, the huntsmen returning over the rocks with the tusks, the presentation of the tusks to the Queen, and the remorse of the Queen. That gradually these Játakas were more and more elaborately depicted, we have already learnt from Fa-hian's account of them in the beginning of the fifth century ; and at this day, in spite of great decline in artistic power, there is great elaboration of all the details of the stories. To show this to the Members of this Society, I have had drawn by native artists, in their own way, two of the first fifty Játakas—the Dévadhamma Játaka (6) and the Khadirangára Játaka (40) or 'fiery furnace.' Any one who wishes can compare this picture-story of the Dévadhamma Játaka with the same story on the walls of the Kẹlani temple, which is

within an easy drive of Colombo, or with the drawings on the equally accessible temple at Kóṭṭé, where, besides the Dévadhamma Játaka, are the Kaṭṭahári Játaka, and the Khadirangára Játaka, which last, as just stated, is one of those before you to-night.

The subject of this paper has been the popular acceptance of the Játakas, as shown in sculptures and picture-stories. The Nidánakathá, or Introduction to the Játakas, has been regarded as part of them. It, with them, affords subjects for the decoration of Buddhist buildings, and for the instruction of the people. We have seen that these illustrations existed from 250 B.C. to this day; and that they have been found from beyond Lahore, and at Bharhut and Amrávati, down to Ceylon. The sculptures give the same names to the Játakas as they bear to-day; or they give a different name, while the popular story remains unaltered; and we have an important historical scene described in the third century in letters inscribed on the stones in the very words of the Páli edition of the Játakas now on the table, and Fa-hian relates how in 405 A.D. the stories were told at length in pictures as you see them at this day on the walls of the temples. Briefly to illustrate this, and to bring before you within the time allowed for our meetings some of the more striking examples of the Buddhist picture-stories from the third century B.C. to this day, has been the endeavour of this paper.

II.—THE TEXT.

So far the question has been of the Matter and contents, their nature and origin separately and as a collection; the question of the Text, and the different editions it may have passed through, is another.

Original form of Book.—The Játaka of the Tripiṭaka, the last book of the Khuddaka Nikáya, is not our Játaka Book, but consists only of the gáthás or stanzas. The stories are not there. The book which contains the stories and the long introductory history of the Buddha is called the Játaka Commentary, Játaka Aṭṭhavaṇṇaná. The theory of the stories is that they are only a comment on the stanzas. Some scholars have, therefore, been satisfied to understand by the word Játakaṁ (when it is shown by the Dípawaṁsa

that a Játakaṁ existed at the Council of Vesáli) the bare string of verses, assigning to writers of indefinite date the construction of the commentary. And of the commentary in its present form, with the grammatical glosses and the artificial arrangement, no doubt this must be just. But it seems to me indisputable, on the other hand, that the collection of stories must have existed before the stanzas could have been collected. It is no more possible that the Játakapota should have grown out of the Játakapela, than that any other book should have been constructed out of its index! If the stanzas existed at the date of Vesáli, a collection of the stories of which they are the mottoes or morals must have existed too, whether written or not. The argument from the Dípawaṁsa, therefore, is good for the whole substantial contents, if it is good for anything. And this applies to the indisputable evidence of the sculptures, for what they witness to is the story, not the verse. The titles which are written on some of them would be unintelligible unless the story, in something like its present shape, was known; for the title is often an arbitrary one, which in no wise tells the tale.

It seems certain, therefore, that (correct as probably are Professor Künte's inferences from the grammatical and philosophical glosses to a late date of the book exactly in its present form) the substantial compilation of the matter must date from as early as the 3rd century B.C. Was it then written? Has there been a ruder, shorter edition than the present? Is there, or has there been, any Játaka Book intermediate (in extant of detail) between the bare Játaka Páli and the Játaka Aṭṭhavaṇṇana?

I am sorry that I am unable to complete my inquiries on this point so as to state finally what is, and what is not known, for I have met with uncertainty among Siṇhalese scholars themselves.

So far I have not been able to find any book, but the Játaka Páli, Játaka Pela, or simple Játakaṁ of the Khuddaka Nikáya. This consists of the gáthás only, and bears marks of being a mul-pota or original text; at any rate, it bears marks which show that it is so treated. It is this, not our large Játaka Book, which is part of the canonical sacred books of Buddhism.

I have seen three MSS. of it. One, borrowed from Maligákanda Library, bears the name in Siṇhalese, Játaka Pela; but the copyist in his customary epilogue speaks of the Aṭṭhavaṇṇaná. This, of course, was a blunder, and the copy throughout is full of every sort of mistake: but still the blunder seemed, so long as we had only this MS. in hand, to point to the conclusion that this copyist had made up his book by extracting the gáthás from a copy of the Játaka Commentary. It might have seemed, had it stood alone, not to be an original integral book, but a collection of extracts.

The next MS. was No. 27 in the Society's Library, substantially the same, but an excellently and accurately written one, and this contains no allusion to the Commentary. It has not the "*uddanam.*"

The third is the MS. No. 22, in Burmese characters, of which Mr. Baṭuwantuḍâwé read to me enough to characterise it. It is somewhat injured at the end, and the leaves disarranged, but in other respects precisely the same as the last, except in the point which I understand is most important as being the sign of an original text or mul-pota (which is wanting in both the other MSS.). That sign is the insertion at each division—after each ten Játakas, or as the case may be—of the words *Dutiyo Vaggo* or (as the case may be) *Tassa uddánam*, &c.; that is, 'here ends the second division,' 'the list of its contents is as follows.' These words *Tassa uddánam*, and the lists repeated, are characteristic, Mr. Baṭuwantuḍáwé tells me, of originals—Pitaka books. They do not occur in the Játaka Commentary.

There are extant, at least, two word-comments or glossaries on the stanzas only, the Getapada Sanné or 'Glossary of hard passages,' and the Játaka Gáthá Sanné or Játaka pela Sanné of Rájamurári, a transcript from which our President has communicated to the Society. The latter work is imperfect, containing, in its extant form, less than half the gáthás.

While, then, the Játaka of the Canon seems to have always been the collection of the verses only, and while it is only this which we can safely assume to be meant when the Játakaṁ *as a text* is referred to in the Dípawaṁsa or other ancient sources of evidence, some of the Játaka stories

appear in other parts of the Pitakas in language not exactly taken—to say the least—from the Commentary.

It is to be hoped that this will be abundantly illustrated in our future proceedings when birth-stories from other collections, such as are found in Mr. Beal's Dhammapada for instance, and such as are scattered about in the other Pitaka books, are compared in detail with our edition.

The Játakam of the Canon.—Mr. Dickson stated the matter for us thus:—The Játakas form the tenth section of the Khuddakanikáya of the Sutta Pitaka of the Buddhist Canon.

The date of this Canon is generally accepted as prior to the third Council held under Asóka about 242 B.C. Two important facts for determining the date of the Páli Canon have been ably brought out by Dr. Oldenberg in his introduction to the Vinaya Pitaka, p. xxv.

1. In the Tripitaka no mention is made of the third Council.

2. The first Council of Rajagaha (B.C. 477) and the second Council of Vesáli (B.C. 37) are both mentioned.

The Canon, therefore, cannot be earlier than the second Council, and was probably finally completed before or at the third Council. (See Max Müller's Dhammapada, p. xxx.) It may probably be that the gáthás or stanzas originally formed the Játaka text of the Sutta Piṭaka, and that the stories gathered round them are of a later date ; but Páli scholarship must be more accurate and more advanced than at present before it will be safe to attempt to fix the age of any portion of the text on the evidence of language. Tradition leads us to believe that the text and the commentaries were brought to Ceylon by Mahinda in 241 B.C.; that they were first committed to writing in the reign of Buddhadása (339—368 A.D.). As recorded in the Mahawaṁsa, the Suttas were translated from the Páli into the Siṇhalese language : and it would appear probable that the Gáthás continued to be written in Páli while the commentaries were in Siṇhalese, until Buddhaghosa, in the beginning of the 5th century A.D., rendered the whole in Páli in the form in which we now have it. The original Siṇhalese translations of the reign of Buddhadása are unfortunately

lost, and the present Siṇhalese translations date from the reign of Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu (A.D. 1297).

Translations.—Mr. Dickson has given the popular interpretation of the tradition, according to which Buddhaghosha translated "all" the Commentaries; but whether the Játaka Commentary was in fact one of those which Buddhaghosha translated, is a point which has been disputed; and the question is discussed with great learning by Messrs. Ranesinghe and Sumangala.

Whether Buddhaghosha did translate the Játaka Commentary. The account as given in Mahawamsa.

The case pro *is given fully by Mr. Ranesinghe.*

According to the Mahawaṁsa, Mahánáma began his reign in the year 953 of Buddha's Parinirwáṇa, which is A.D. 410, and reigned 22 years. It was in his reign that Buddhaghosha landed in Ceylon. He was a Brahman by birth, and was learned in the Vedas. He became a pupil of Revata, and was robed by him. Finding the peculiar aptitude of his pupil to write Commentaries on the Dharma or Buddhist Scriptures, Nevata informed him that in Ceylon there were good Commentaries on the Dharma in the Siṇhalese language, and desired him to proceed thither and translate the Siṇhalese Aṭuvás (Commentaries) into Páli. He came to Ceylon, studied under Sanhapáta, and, having learnt the Aṭuvás at the Maha Vihára, asked for books to translate into Páli. With a view to try his ability, the monks gave him only two gáthás. Taking the two gáthás as his text, he wrote the work called Visuddhimagga. The learned monks approved of his work, and gave him the Commentaries and the books of the Tripiṭakas. He remained at Dúrasankara Grantákara Piriveṇa, and, it is said, translated all the Siṇhalese Aṭuvás into Páli, and returned to India.

The words of the Mahawaṁsa are:—

"Parivattesi sabbápi síhalaṭṭha kathá tadá
"Sabbesam múla bhásáya mágadháya niruttiyá."

'He translated according to the grammatical rules of the Mágadha, which is the root of all languages, the whole of the Siṇhalese Aṭṭha Kathás into Páli.'

In the *Saddharma Sangraha*, a Páli work written by Dhamma Kitti, pupil of Dhamma Dinna, the time of

Buddhaghosha's writing the Commentaries is given in the following gáthás :—

"Sambuddha parinibbáṇá, nava vassa satésuca
Cha paññásátikkantésu Mahánámo narádhipo
Dhammena dasa vidheneva Lanká rajjaṁ akárayé
Buddhaghoshoti ghoshohi Buddho viya Mahitalé
Lanká dípaṁhi ágamma Lanka dípaṁ hitávahi
Ganthákare vasantósọ vihára dúra sankaré
Parivattesi sabbápi síhalaṭṭha kathá tadá."

The date here given, A.B. 956 (A.D. 413), is not, as I think, the date of Mahánáma's accession to the throne, but that of Buddhaghosha's commencing the great work of translating the aṭuvas into Páli.

(2.) *The Khuddaka Nikáya is numerically specified as one of the "all."*—In the same work Buddhaghosha's works are thus enumerated :—

"Suttantan páṭavattháya sásanassaca vuddhiyá
Mágadháya samáraddhá suttantaṭṭha kathá vasá
Catu nikáyaṭṭha kathá sabbaso pariniṭṭhitá.
Sá asíti sahassehi ganthehi parimáṇato
Khuddaka nikáyaṭṭha kathá sabbaso pariniṭṭhitá
Sattati sata sahassehi ganthehi parimáṇato."

Here we are told that the Khuddaka Nikáyaṭṭhakathá, containing seven millions of granthas, each grantha being equal to thirty-two syllabic instants, were fully composed by Buddhaghosha.

(3.) *It includes the Játaka.*—Fifteen works, including the Játakaṭṭha Kathá are mentioned as forming the Khuddaka Nikáyaṭṭhakathá, namely :—(1) Khuddaka Aṭuvá, (2) Saddhamma Jotiká Aṭuvá, (3) Udána Aṭuvá, (4) Itivuttaka Aṭuvá, (5) Sutta Nipáta Aṭuvá, (6) Vimána Vatthu Aṭuvá, (7) Peta Vatthu Aṭuvá, (8) Thera Gáthá Aṭuvá, (9) Theri Gáthá Aṭuvá, (10) Játaka Aṭuvá, (11) Niddésa Aṭuvá, (12) Patisambhida Aṭuvá, (13) Apádána Aṭuvá, (14) Buddha Vaṁsa Aṭuvá, and (15) Nettipavuruṇu Aṭuvá.

The Nidána Kathá, or introduction to the Páli Játakaṭṭhakathá, begins with the following adoration :—

"Játi koti sahassehi pamána rahitaṁ hitaṁ
Lokassa loka náthéna katam yéna mahesiná."

(4.) *The old Glossary asserts it.*—In the ganthi or glossary to the Páli Játakaṭṭha Kathás, written to explain the difficult Páli words of the book in a very old Siṉhalese style, it is said that Buddhaghosha wrote the above adoration at the beginning of his Játakarthasaṁvarṇaná to ward off evil from the work he had begun. These are the words:—"Sarva vádíbha siṁha kumbha vidálana samarthásésa vid vajjana cakra cúdámani Buddhaghosha caryapádayo tamanvisin prárabdha granthayágé avighnayen parisamáptiya pinisa játakárthasamvarṇṇanádiyehi ishṭa dévatá namaskára dakwannáhu játikoti sahassehi yanádi kíha."

Another piece of evidence in support of the general belief that Buddhaghosha wrote the Játakaṭṭha Kathá is that the Suttaraipata Aṭṭha Kathá, which is admittedly the work of Buddhaghosha, the Nidána Kathá is omitted, and the reader is referred to the Nidána Kathá of the Játaka Commentary for it.

So that the evidence in support of the general belief that Buddhaghosha wrote the Játakaṭṭhakathá seems to be complete. The Mahavaṁsa and Saddharma Sangraha state this generally. The author of the glossary mentions Buddhaghosha by name as the author of the work; and the reference in the Sutta Nipáta Commentary also favours this belief.

Difficulties admitted: (1.) *There are confessedly exceptions to the "all."*—But it is also admitted that Dharmapala, a learned monk, wrote some of the Attha Kathás: namely, the Theragatha and the Therigatha Attha Kathás of this very Khuddaka Nikaya. This naturally raises a suspicion in the mind. Nor do we know who the author of the glossary (a fragment of which is only extant) was, when and where he lived, and what his authority or sources of knowledge were to make the statement that Buddhaghosha himself wrote this commentary.

(2.) *Buddhaghosha, while alluding to Játaka Commentary, does not say he wrote it.*—In the reference, too, in the Sutta Nipáta Aṭṭha Kathá to the Nidána of the Játaka Commentary, Buddhaghosha does not say that he himself wrote the Nidána. So that we are compelled to sift the internal evidence, and to ask what that says.

The case contra *is thus stated by Sumangala Unnánse.*

The general opinion is that the Játaka Commentary was also written by Buddhaghosha. But it is doubtful whether it was composed by him, for the following reasons:

1. That at the end of the Aṭṭha Kathás composed by Buddhaghosha, in giving the name of the work the following words occur:—'Parama visuddha saddhá buddhi viriya guṇa patimaṇḍitena,' &c. After eulogizing the author in many such expressions, his name is mentioned in these words:—Buddhaghoshoti garugahita námadheyyena katá; after which follows the name of the work. These words do not occur at the end of the Játakaṭṭha Kathá.

2. The Commentaries on the Vinaya Piṭaka and Sútra Piṭaka, written by Buddhaghoshácárya, have a separate name for each; for instance, the Commentary on the five divisions of the Vinaya is called Samantapasádiká; the Commentary on the two Prátimokshas is called Kankha Vitaraṇí That on the Dígha Nikáya is called Sumangala-Vilásini.

The Commentary on the Játakas, which is larger than those abovementioned, bears no other name than the Játakaṭṭha Kathá.

3. The benedictions at the end of the works of Buddhaghosha are as follows:—"By virtue of this meritorious act may all beings enjoy the taste of the Dharma of the omniscient one. May the good Dharma last long, &c." But the wish of the writer of the Játakaṭṭha Kathá is as follows:—"By virtue of this meritorious act may I, after death, be born in Tusita heaven, and when Maitriya Buddha attains Buddhahood may I receive nomination from him to become a Buddha, and, having perfected the vast constituents of Buddhahood, may I become a Buddha!"

4. The adorations, &c., of Buddhaghosácárya at the beginning of his commentaries are very captivating, but those of the Játakaṭṭha Kathá are not so; even the effect of the adoration is, in the latter, expressed in a different manner.

5. The request to Buddhaghosha to write the Aṭṭha kathás appears to have been made by Buddha Siri and other *theras* of the Maha Vihára. Three theras—namely, Atthadassi, Buddhamitta, and Buddhadeva—are mentioned as those who have requested the author to write the

Commentary on the Játakas. In introducing one of these, it is said that he belonged to the Mahimsásaka sect. The words are *Mahimsásaka vamsamhi sambhutena yasassiná.* Now this Mahiṁsásaka sect is one which has separated in India from the Theraváda sect. In the Mahávaṁsa, chap. V., gáthá 6th, this matter is thus narrated:—*Punápi thera vádehi Mahimsásaka bhikkhavo Vajji puttaka bhikkhú ca duve játá ime khalu*—"Again from the Thera vádaka bhikkhus, there was a separation of two sects called Mahiṁsásaka and Vajji puttaka." The name Mahiṁsásaka is thus given to a sect which separated from the orthodox faith. If one of those who thus requested the author was of the Mahiṁsásaka sect, it may be presumed that the rest were also of the same sect. Therefore it may be inferred that this Commentary was the work of a priest of the Mahiṁsásaka sect.

6. In Buddhaghosa's Commentaries on any discourse of Buddha, he first states the method he proposes to follow in writing the Commentary. But in the Játaka Aṭṭha Kathá it is only stated that the Commentary will be written in conformity with the exposition current among the inmates of the Mahávihára; but the method in which it will be written is not mentioned.

7. Those who have studied Páli works will also find that the Páli of the Játaka Commentary is different from that of Commentaries he attributed to Buddhaghosha.

For the foregoing reasons it cannot be said with certainty that the Commentary on the Játakas is the work of Buddhaghosha, and the name of the author is not mentioned in it, and, therefore, we cannot say who else, if any, wrote it.

Date of Buddhaghosha.—If the translation be Buddhaghosha's, the date is fixed as follows:—Buddhaghoshácárya translated the Siṇhalese Commentaries into Páli during the reign of Mahánáma. Mahánáma began to reign in the year of Buddha 953, that is, about the year 410 of Christ. Buddhaghosha commenced writing the work called Samantapásadika in the twentieth year of King Mahánáma, that is in the year 973 of Buddha. That Commentary was completed in one year. Though it is not said when, it is possible that the Játakaṭṭha Kathá was also written about this time.

Mr. Ranesinghe, says : "If this view is correct, the work must have been done between 413 and 432 A.D."

Sinhalese version. — Of the current Sinhalese version Jayawardane Mudaliyár writes as follows :—

The Sinhalese version of the Játakas is not of pure Sinhalese, but it is understood better by the present generation ; as the language, though mixed with Sanskrit and Páli, is colloquial. In this version many Páli words are retained, while several others have expletives added to them in Sinhalese ; but neither the addition of these expletives nor the quotation made of words affect the sense of the Páli version. In illustration of this remark* I would quote the two versions of Páli and Sinhalese of one of the shortest Játakas, namely, 'Gámini Játaka,' in juxta-position for the inspection of members. This Sinhalese version seems to be the same as that which existed in the 14th century. Another Sinhalese version of an earlier date seems to have existed (306 B.C.) during the reign of Dewánampiyatisso. This version is not to be found, nor does any work now extant make any allusion as to its fate. It is possible that the work was destroyed by one of the kings who was inimical to literature.

While on this subject, it may not be amiss to mention here that the Sinhalese version which existed during the reign of Dewánampiyatisso seems to have been spread throughout Ceylon by the Buddhist Priest Mahindasthavira. But the party who translated it from the original Páli is not known. The Sinhalese version now extant seems to have been made by Prákramabahu IV.

Opinions as to the Sinhalese version, whether it represents anything of the old version, whether it is a perfect specimen of the 14*th century, or has the defects of a servile translation.*

Sumangala Unnánse contributed the following valuable monograph on the Sinhalese version :—

Máhéndra, a Buddhist monk of Ujjeni in Northern India, the first propagator of Buddhism in Lamká, arrived in this Island about the beginning of the reign of Devenipœtissa, who governed the country for forty years from B.C. 307 to B.C. 267. On the very day he arrived here

* See Appendix 4.

he is said to have entered into conversation, without the aid of an interpreter, with Devenipœtissa, and on the following day he is said to have preached Buddhism to the people of Ceylon.

The Dharma thus brought from Northern India was recorded in books during the reign of Waṭṭagâminí Abhaya.

Wáṭṭagáminí began his reign in B.C. 103. After a reign of five months he was expelled by the Tamils, who usurped the throne for fifteen years. He, in his turn, drove them away and re-ascended the throne and reigned twelve years. Now it would be interesting to know what was the language of the Siṇhalese about this period.

Dr. E. Müller, in his Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon, has given us the texts of many inscriptions of this period. The dialect in which these inscriptions are worded is much closer to Páli than to modern Siṇhalese, and somewhat similar to the dialect of the Middle Indian Asóka inscriptions. The characters in which they are engraved are also similar to those of the Ujjeni inscriptions. The following is a Ceylon inscription of the century under notice :—

Parumaka abaya puta parumaka Tisaha wapi acagirika Tisa pawatahi agata anagata catudisa sagasa dine. Dewanapi maharaja Gamiṇi abaya niyate aca nagaraka ca tawirikiya nagarakaca. Parumaka abaya puta parumaka Tisa niyata pite rajaha agata anagata catudisa sagasa.

The following is Dr. Müller's translation :—

"The tank of Parumaka Tisa, son of Parumaka Abhaya, at the mountain of Acagarika Tisa is given to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent. The Great King, beloved of the gods, Gamini Abhaya ordered Acanagara and Tawarikiyanagara, which have been established by (my?) his father King Tisa, son of King Abhaya, to the priesthood of the four quarters, present and absent."

The following is a short inscription of Asóka, King of Mágadha, in India, the friend of Devenipœtissa and father of Máhendra :—

Lájiná Piyadasiná duvá dasávasábhisitena iyam Nigoha kubha diná adivikemhi.

"By the King Piyadasi, in the 12th year of his inauguration, this cave of the Nigrodha tree has been given to the mendicants."

From the narrative in the Mahawaṁsa it would appear that Máhendra's language was understood by the King of Ceylon and his subjects.

It is said in the Mahawaṁsa that the monks "orally perpetuated" the Páli Piṭakattaya and the Aṭṭakathás (Siṇhalese commentaries) from this period to Waṭṭagamini Abhaya's time—that is, for about 175 or 200 years—and then in that King's reign they were recorded in books. From this it is concluded that the Játaka commentary existed in Siṇhalese at this period, and was recorded in a book; if there was any Siṇhalese commentary of the Játaka text at this period, I think it cannot be doubted that the Siṇhalese of that commentary must have been the Siṇhalese of our inscriptions, if not even older and nearer the language of the inscriptions of Asóka.

Now, the language of these inscriptions, is not at all intelligible to the Siṇhalese of the present day. In modern Siṇhalese, the words "*agata anagata catudisa sagasa dine*" would be *á ná satara disávé sanghayáṭa dena ladí.* It is this so-called Siṇhalese commentary that is said to have been translated into Páli about the fifth century of the Christian era. The existing Siṇhalese version of the Pansiya Panas Játaka, as it is called, is a translation of this Páli version made in the reign of King Parákrama Báhu IV., who ascended the throne about the year A. D. 1308. Though the version is in a style differing from the modern Siṇhalese, yet it is generally understood by the people. I am, therefore, of opinion that this version does not reproduce anything of the old. Indeed, if it did, it would not be intelligible even to the educated.

As to the question whether the version is a perfect specimen of the 14th century, or has the defects of a servile translation, I think I can with confidence say, speaking of the first fifty Játakas, that it is a perfect specimen of that period. Though faithful as far as I have been able to judge, yet it is not servile; it may be called a free translation.

In some cases I find that it has avoided the defects of the Páli commentary.

In the interesting paper read by the Bishop of Colombo, at the last meeting of the Association, it was pointed out that in one of the Játakás there was a "needless excursus

enumerating several kinds of deserts." Now this needless dissertation is not found in the Siṇhalese version.

Again, his lordship pointed out that in the 15th Játaka, the compiler built up his story about the deer, who would not go to school, upon a mistake; reading *Kálehi* for *Kaḷáhi* in the text. In the Siṇhalese translation no allusion is made to time at all; the translator's words are *sapta kaḷáyen*, and not *kálayen*.

Provincialisms are to be detected in the Játakás. Some of these are written in indifferent Siṇhalese; some contain a few Tamil expressions and words. From these facts I conclude that the work must have been done by several persons, and not by the King himself, as one might be lead to believe from the statement in the Mahávaṁsa. In the Siṇhalese Introduction to the Játakas it is said that the work was accomplished by the exertions of the minister Wérasinha Pratirája at the personal request of the minister Prákrama, and no mention of the King is made at all.

The statement in the Mahávaṁsa is that the King, having made a monk who came from the Cola country his tutor, learnt the purport of all the Játakas from him. He subsequently translated all the 550 Játakas into Siṇhalese, and had the translation read before monks who were learned in the Tripiṭakas. The version was then carefully recorded in books and published throughout the Island. The version was entrusted to the learned monk Médhankara, who and his pupil in succession were enjoined to preserve it, and for that purpose a hermitage was built for him and was delivered to him with four villages for his and their maintenance.

APPENDIX I.

KAṬṬHAHA'RI JA'TAKA.

The Slave-Girl and the King.

"*I am thy son, O Great King.*"

This the teacher, when travelling in the Jétavana, told about the story of Vásabhakhaṭṭiya. The story will appear (in full) in the birth-story (entitled) Bhaddasála (and given) in the twelfth division. She was, it is said, the daughter of a Sákya prince named Mahánáma (and was) born of a slave-girl named Nágamuṇda, and became the first queen of the king of Kosála. She bore unto the king a son; but the king afterwards knew her to be a slave-girl* and just deprived her (of her) position, and also just deprived his son Vidudabha (of his) position. Both, however, dwelt in the inner palace itself. Having known that case, the teacher, surrounded by five hundred mendicants, went in the forenoon† to the palace of the king and sat (down) in the seat prepared; (he) said thus: "O great king, where is Vásabhakhaṭṭiya?" The king explained the case. (The teacher asked) thus: "O great king, whose daughter is Vásabhakhaṭṭiya?" (The king replied) thus: "Of Mahánáma, O reverend sir." (The teacher asked) thus: "Coming (of age), to whom did she come (in wedlock)?" (The king replied) thus: "To me, O reverend sir." (The teacher said) thus: "O great king, she is the daughter of a king and has just come (in wedlock) to a king, and by the king himself (has) had a son. For what reason (then) does that son not become the lord of the kingdom belonging to the father? It is said (that) former kings had sons‡ by girls‡ whose occupation§ was to collect (fire) wood and with whom they lived for a short time,‖ (and) gave to such sons (their) kingdoms." The king begged the honoured teacher for the plain sense of the matter. The honoured teacher made manifest this matter concealed by change of birth.

Once upon a time there was a king named Brahmadatta in

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* Lit. her being a slave-girl.

† Lit. at the time of the forenoon.

‡ The words *Kaṭṭháharika rajja* and *putta* are used in the singular; but they express the plural number as is usual.

§ The termination *ika* in Kaṭṭhahárika signifies tacchilya, or one's occupation.

‖ The word *Muhuttiká* means 'lasting for a moment,' and is used probably in this sense here. If so, it is unusually used. I am not satisfied with the version I have put upon it. *Mohotura* (*Muhurta*) is a form of marriage in Mahárashtra.

Báránasi, who went in great state to (his) garden. (Moved) by a desire of (gathering) fruits and flowers, he there walked about under a grove of trees in the garden. (He) saw one woman picking up pieces of wood and singing continuously.* .... She bore him a son, the Bódhisat, and before his birth the king gave her his signet-ring and said thus: "If a daughter is (born) you will maintain her (by) disposing of this (signet-ring)." (Then) he went away. In course of time the Bódhisat was born.† He had crawled and moved about at the time of his being able to walk about,—he sported in the play-ground. Then to him some said so‡: "We§ are undone by one (who is) fatherless." Having heard that, the Bódhisatva went to his mother and asked her thus: "Mamma, who is my father?" (She replied) thus: "Thou art the son of the king of Báránasi." (He asked) thus: "But, mamma, is there any evidence?" (She said) thus: "Darling, the king gave his signet-ring and said, 'If a daughter is (born), thou wilt maintain her, having disposed of this (signet-ring); if a son is (born), thou wilt bring him to me together with this (signet-ring);' and went away." (He said) thus: "Such being the case, why did you not take me to my father?" Having known the desire of her son, she went to the palace-gate and caused herself to be announced to the king. Being called by the king, she entered the (palace), saluted the king, and said thus: "This is thy son, O lord." Though the king was aware of this, he said thus: "(This is) not my son," because of shame, as he was seated in the midst of an assembly. (She replied) thus: "O lord, this is thy (signet-ring); dost thou recognise it?"‖ (He said) thus: "This is also not my signet-ring." "Now, lord, except a demonstration by ordeal,¶ there is no other witness for me. If this child is begotten by thee, let him stand in the sky; if not, having fallen

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* The term *gáyitva* is repeated, and such a repetition signifies continuity.

† The term *Patisandhi* is used, and means a series of births in the course of transmigration.

‡ *Vattáro honti* means 'speakers were.' The term *evam* qualifies the verbal root in *vattáro*. *Evam-vattáro* is a compound term; otherwise it would not be correct grammar to say *Evaṁ vattáro*.

§ The reading *Nipitrikénámhé* deserves to be preferred, because *pahata* must have some nominative. *Amhe* signifies *we*, as in Mahratṭi and other languages.

‖ Lit. "Didst thou recognise it?" The past tense in this sense is used in all Indian vernaculars.

¶ *Sacca kiriyam* is used in the text. *Sacca* is not connected with *Sákshát*, as Childers states. *Sacca* is the Prákṛita form of *Satya*. *Kiriya* is *Kriya*. The word *keriya* is still used in the sense of an ordeal in Mahárashtra and elsewhere. *Sacca kiriyam* means 'ordeal of truth': *lit.* "an act of truth." Compare with this the use of the same word made in different ways in the Sakuna Játaka (36).

down upon the earth, let him die." So saying, she caught the Bódhisatva by his leg and tossed him (up) into the sky. The Bódhisatva sat cross-legged in the sky, and explaining religious duties to his father, in a sweet voice uttered this verse: "I am thy son,* great king, lord of the people, maintain me!† The lord maintains even others ;‡ much more the lord his own offspring." § Having heard the Bódhisatva (while) sitting in the sky thus inculcating duties, the king said thus: "Come, my darling. I will of course nurse thee." So saying, he held out his hand. A thousand hands were held out. The Bódhisatva, not alighting into the hand of any one else, (but) just alighting into the hand of the king, sat down in his lap. Having given to him the viceroyalty, the king made his mother his chief queen. On the death of his father he became a king of the name of Kaṭṭhaváhana, administered the kingdom righteously, and went away (into another birth) according to his deeds.

Having pronounced this lecture on virtue to the king of Kósala, having shown the two cases, and having adjusted their bearing, the teacher put together the birth-story. Then the mother was Mahamáyá, the father was the great king Suddhodana, and I myself was king Kaṭṭhavâhana. This is the Kaṭṭhahári Jâtaka.

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* The sense of the phrase *puttotyáhan* is 'I am thy son;' and there are these four kinds of sons (such) as atrajo, khettajo, antevásiko, and dinnako. There *atrajo* means 'born of one's self.' *Khettajo* means 'one's wife's son by another (and) brought up on the surface of a bed, in a cot, or on the bosom, &c.' *Antevásiko* means a student in science (staying) near (one's self). [Paṇini recognizes *Vidyáyoni sambandha*. See his Sútra (IV. 3, 77).] *Dinnako* means one given to another for maintenance and protection. But here, concerning one's own son, the term *putto* is used. A Rájá is one who entertains the people by a four-fold reception. Maharájá is a great king. Addressing him, he said "Maharájá." "*Tvam mam posa janádhipa*"—*Janadhipa* is the people's lord. It was a custom among the Indian Aryas to have two names—the name of the teacher and the name of one's own clan. This was specially predominant in the time of Pantajali.

† *Tvam mam posa* means 'nurse me, bring me up.'

‡ *Aññe pi devo poseti* means 'even others'—men, such as elephant-keepers, and the multitude in the condition of lower animals, such as elephants and horses—'the lord feeds.' *Aññe* is the accusative of a verb of which *devo* is the nominative. The vocative form of *devo* is *deva*, as this story itself shows. Therefore *devo* is not the vocative.

§ *Kinca devo sakam pajam*, &c. Here, however, *Kinca* is a particle (used) in the sense of censure as well as grace. "The lord does not nurse me, his own son, his own offspring:" even so saying, he censures indeed. "He feeds among other beings": so saying, he shows grace indeed. The Bódhisatva, both censuring and showing grace, says thus: "Much more the lord, his own offspring."

GA'MANI JA'TAKA.

PRINCE GÁMANI.

"*Of those who do not make (any) haste,*" *&c.*

THIS the teacher, when dwelling in Jétavana, narrated of a dejected* mendicant. The introductory story, as well as the first story of this Játaka, however, will appear in the birth-story (entitled) Samvara Játaka in the eleventh division, because the story in that as well as in this is indeed alike. The verses, however, are different. Prince Gámani, though the youngest of his hundred brothers, saw his own glory† when sitting upon a royal cot under a white umbrella, (and when) surrounded by his hundred brothers. Gratified, because (said he) "this store of my glory is from our teacher," he exultingly pronounced this (following) enthusiastic speech:

"The desire for fruit of those who do not indeed make any haste is fulfilled.‡ I am of ripe Brahmacarya. So know, O Gámani."

There (in the verses) *api* is a mere particle. *Ataramánánam* signifies those learned men§ (who) perform the acts (of their life) carefully,‖ (who are) not moved¶ (by any emotion, and) who do not make (any) haste, (and) obey the precepts of the teacher.

Phalásá va Samajjhati signifies 'the desire of the fruit,' as sought by the acquisition of that fruit—prospers indeed; or *phalásá* is *ásáphaláni,*** that is 'the fruit of the desire.' The fruit as sought prospers indeed. (This is) the sense.

Vipakkabrahmacariyosmi. Here four objects of acquisition (are to be considered): (1) Brahmacariya†† means excellent conduct;

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* *Ossaṭṭhaviriyo* literally means one whose *viriya* is gone. *Ossaṭṭha* is Sanskrit. *Avasṛishta,* which means resigned or given up, and *viriyam* is *virya,* manliness or spirits. The word *ossaṭṭhaviriyo* occurs in Vaṇṇupatha Játaka and Serivaṇi Játaka.

† Lit. "the store of his own glory."

‡ Lit. "prospers."

§ *Pandit* is the word used in the text.

‖ *Upáyena* is the word used in the text, and signifies 'by means adequate to an end to be secured.'

¶ *Avegáhitvá* and *Avegáyitvá* are two different readings. I have preferred the latter.

** When was the gloss written is known from this story. See my remarks on this story.

†† The three kinds of Brahmacariya, together with Vipakka Brahmacariya, seem to make up No. 4 mentioned in the text. The term *Brahmacariya* is used here in a very extended sense. The same word is used in its usual sense in the comments of the Gáthá No. 63, of the Takka Játaka, where a three-fold Brahmacariya is stated to consist of Jhanasukham, Maggasukham, Phalasukham, and in the Gáthá in question worldly prosperity is included.

and (2) that by the acquisition of glory springing from it, is success in ecstatic meditation ; (3) this is ripe Brahmacariya ; (4) that glory, which is acquired by one's self, is also Brahmacariya in a higher sense. Hence he said : "I am of ripe Brahmacariya."

Evam jánáhi Gámani.—Both any townsman and the chief of a town is Gámani. Here, however, he said regarding himself as the chief of all people : "O Gámani, thou for this reason know thus : having excelled a hundred brothers, I have got this kingdom because of the teacher." This enthusiastic speech he uttered. After the lapse of seven or eight days after his having got the kingdom, just all the brothers went to their own places of residence. Administering his kingdom in righteousness, prince Gámani passed (into another life) according to his deeds. Having performed righteous acts, the Bódhisatva also passed away according to his deeds.

Having pronounced this lecture on virtue, and having shown (it), the teacher made manifest truths. The result (of the inculcation) of the truth was that the dejected mendicant stood (established) in Rahatship. Having narrated the two stories, and having adjusted their bearing, the teacher put together the birth-story. This is the Gámani Játaka.

(Translated by Professor Kúnte.)

APPENDIX II.

TRANSLATION FROM THE PA'LI OF JA'TAKAS 41–50.

By the Editor.

[This translation has been furnished for the temporary convenience of members ; but it is a rougher piece of work than I could have wished to send out even for a temporary purpose. I have intentionally sacrificed the English idiom in many places to the Páli; but Páli words, however familiar, have been avoided.

Mr. Baṭuwantuḍáwe is not responsible for any mistakes I may have made, for though I read the stories with his aid, I have not been able to consult him since I began to write. The emendations of the text, however, have his authority.

Words in brackets are not separate words in the original.

R. S. C.]

ATTHAKA'MA VAGGA.

41.—LO'SAKA-JA'TAKA.

"The Advice of a well-meaning Friend."

THIS the teacher told while residing in Jetavana on occasion of an elder named Lósakatissa. This Lósakatissa was a man of fisher caste in Kósala, who had been the ruin of his own family, and was now a luckless mendicant (to whom no one gave). On emerging from the scene of his last birth, he had assumed his present existence, they say, in the womb of a certain fisherwoman in a fisher village of a thousand families. On the day of his conception these thousand families, net in hand, sought for fish in streams and ponds and the like, but not one little fish did they catch. From that time these fishers kept declining. Between this and his birth, their village was seven times burnt by fire, and seven fined by the king. Thus, as time went on, they grew more and more miserable. They thought: "Formerly it was not thus with us, but now we are declining; there must be some "ill-luck" amongst us; let us form two bands;" and so they separated into five and five hundred families. Then the portion where his parents were declined; the other prospered. Then, on the principle of halving that portion, and that again, and so on, they divided until that family was left by itself; and having thus ascertained that the ill-luck was theirs, they beat them and turned them out.

Then his mother, living in hardship, when her offspring was matured, brought him forth somewhere (where she could).

A being in his last existence it is impossible to kill: the potentiality of Rahatship burns in his heart like a lamp within a jar. She nourished the child, and as soon as he could run about she put a potsherd (or half a cocoanut, or whatever it might be) into his hand and told the boy to go to some house, and went away. Thenceforth, being quite alone, he sought alms there, and slept where he could, never bathed, took no care of his person, and passed his life in hardship like a dirt goblin. In course of time, when he was seven years old, at a certain house-door in the place where they throw away the washings of the rice-pot, he had picked up a single lump of rice, and was eating it like a crow. The lord of religion, as he went on his begging rounds to Sávatthi, saw the child, and thinking, "This being is a great object of compassion; what village does he belong to?"—kindness growing in his heart towards him—said, "Come here, my boy." He went and did obeisance to the elder, and stood still.

The elder asked him, "What is your village? where are your parents?" "Sir, I have no one I belong to; my parents got tired of me and abandoned me, and are gone." "Well, will you become a monk?" "Sir, I should be glad enough to become a monk, but who would admit such a wretch as me?" "I will admit you." "Thank you, sir, do so by all means." The elder gave him food, hard and soft, took him to his dwelling, bathed him with his own hands, admitted him, and when he was of full age ordained him. When he was old he was known as the elder Lósakatissa, and was always unfortunate,* never in luck. Even on special alms-days, they say, he never got a bellyful; he only got just enough to hold life together. When a single spoonful of gruel was put in his bowl, the bowl looked as if it were filled; so people thought "This man's bowl is full," and gave the gruel to the next. They say, too, that when people gave gruel to his bowl, the gruel in their own basin vanished. It was the same way with solid food and everything else. Afterwards he acquired full insight, and was established in the highest fruit of Rahatship, but even then he was a little-gain. In due course, his life-material being exhausted, the day of his final extinction arrived. The lord of religion, making mental inquiry, perceived the fact of his attaining extinction to-day, and feeling "This elder Lósakatissa will attain extinction to-day, I must give him food to his heart's content," took him with him and entered Sávatthi to beg. Because of him, even the great elder held out his hand in populous Sávatthi, but got not a bow. The (great) elder sent him in, saying "Go on brother, sit in the sitting-hall," and sent him the food he received, saying "Take this to Lósaka." The people (to whom it was entrusted) took it and went off, and forgot Lósaka, and ate it themselves. When the (great) elder arose, and was going to his dwelling, Lósakatissa went and did reverence to him. The great elder stopped and stood and asked, "Did you get the food, brother?" "I shall get it (in good time) sir," he replied. The elder was disturbed, and took notice of the time. The time (for eating) was passed. "Never mind, brother, sit down here," he said, and giving Lósaka a seat in the sitting-hall, he went to the dwelling of the king of Kósala. The king took the elder's bowl, and as it was out of time for cooked food, had the bowl filled with the four sweet offerings (honey, ghee, butter, and sugar). The elder took it and went, and saying "Come brother Tissa, eat these four sweets," stood with the bowl in his hand. The other elder, out of respect, was too modest to eat.

* *Nippañño*: read *nippañño*, as on p. 236 apuñño.

Then the elder said, "Come, brother Tissa, I will take this bowl and stand, you sit and eat; if I let this bowl to go out of my hand, there will be nothing in it." Then the venerable Lósakatissa ate the four sweets, the high chief, the lord of religion, standing and holding the bowl. By the high supernatural power of the elder it did not waste. On that occasion Lósakatissa ate to his full and filled his belly, and on that very day, by the extinction which leaves no element of being behind, he attained extinction. The Buddha himself came to the place and performed the funeral rites. They took the relics and made a shrine. Then the mendicants assembled in the hall of religion, talked there as they sat: "Brethren, Lósaka was an unlucky gainless man, but how has such an unlucky little-gain as he attained such glory in religion?" The teacher, coming to the hall of religion, asked, "What is the subject of your conversation now, mendicants, as you sit together?" They told him what it was. The teacher said, "Mendicants, this mendicant's own acts were the cause of his being a little-gain, and also of his gaining the glory of religion. By his formerly preventing the gains of others he became (or was born) a little-gain, while by the fruit of his attainment of clear perception about impermanency, sorrow, and the unreality of the soul,* he was born (or became) a gainer of the glory of religion." He then told the story of the past.

In the past, in the time of Kassapa Buddha, a certain mendicant was living in a village, dwelling near (and in dependence on) a man of property.† He was a perfect (monk), an observer of the precepts, and possessed of very great insight. An elder of mortified desires, as he pursued his regular way of life, arrived for the first time at the village in which lived the man of property who supported this mendicant. The man of property (squire), delighted at the very manner of the elder, took his bowl and made him enter his house, fed him zealously, and after hearing a short discourse on religion, made obeisance and said, "Sir, go to the residence we keep up, I will come in the evening to see you." The elder went to the residence, and after having made obeisance to the resident elder and asked permission, sat down by him. He, after the usual greetings, asked, "Brother, have you had alms-food?" "Yes," he said. "Where?" "At the house of the squire of the village you frequent." Having said this, he asked for his own seat, and having performed his toilet and put away his bowl and

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* *Anantá:* read *anattá.*

† *Kuṭumbikam.* B. says the v. l. *Kuṭimbikam* is correct.

robes, sat engaged in the bliss of meditation and of the fruits (of religion). The squire came in the evening with people carrying perfumes and flowers, and lamps and oil, and after doing obeisance to the resident elder asked, "There is a strange elder, sir, did he come?" "Yes, he came." "Where is he now?" "On such and such a seat." He went to the place where he was, and after making obeisance sat down by him and heard religious discourse, and went home in the cool, after having made offerings to the shrine and the sacred tree, and lighted the lamps, and invited the two (to eat at his house). The resident elder thought, "This squire's heart is lost to me; if that mendicant lives in this residence he will make no account whatever of me." So the elder got into a discontented state of mind, and feeling "I must contrive to prevent his living in this residence," when they met spoke not a word to him. The elder of mortified desires perceived his intention, and saying to himself, "That elder does not perceive how free I am from the bonds of rank or following," went to his abode, and passed the time in the bliss of meditation and of the fruits (of religion). Next day, the resident tapped the door-post with the back of his nail,* and knocked at the door with his nail, and went to the squire's house. The squire took his bowl, seated him on the seat prepared, and asked "Where is the visitor, sir?" I know nothing about your favourite: I tapped at his doorpost, I knocked at his door, but I could not wake him. Yesterday he ate some sweet food at your house, and I suppose he could not digest it, and has only just fallen asleep; this is the sort of object you choose for your admiration.† The elder of mortified desires, reflecting that it was his time for going to beg, arranged his person, took his bowl and robes, and, rising into the air, went to some other place. The squire gave the resident elder to drink some porridge made with ghee, honey, and sugar, and then after cleaning the bowl with perfumed powder, he filled it again, and gave it to him, saying "Sir, that elder must be wearied with his journey, take this to him." The other did not refuse, but took it, and as he went he thought: "If that mendicant drinks this porridge, he will never go even if he is dragged out by the throat. On the other hand, if I give this porridge to anybody, my deed will be made known; if I throw it into water, the ghee will show on the top of the water; if I throw it on the ground, it will be seen by the crows collecting; so where

* *Punadivasena Kappitth*, &c.: read *Punadivase nakhapiṭṭh*, &c.

† *Idáni, &c.* The inverted commas are misplaced. If the second *ti* is correct, the construction may be "The sort of person you like is one who would eat to indigestion and oversleep himself."

can I throw it?" While he was thus considering, he saw a field where there had been a 'burn'; he raked open the ashes, and threw out the porridge there, covered it over with ashes, and went to the residence. Not seeing that mendicant, he said to himself, "Doubtless that mendicant of mortified desires must have perceived my intention, and gone to some other place; alas! for my belly's sake I have done a wicked deed!" Thus, from that moment great sorrow came upon him. Very soon after he became a goblin in human form, and not long after died, and was born in hell. For many thousand years he was maturing* in torment in hell, and after he had reaped the fruit of his sin, by force of the demerit that still remained, he was born a demon for five hundred successive births. During that time, not one day did he get a bellyful of food. One day he got a meal of filth.† Then for five hundred births he was a dog. There, too, one day he got a meal of disgusting food. But the rest of all that time he did not get one good meal. On emerging from the dog existence, he was born in a village in Kási, in a poverty-stricken family. After his birth that family was reduced to the extremity of misery. He never got more than half a meal of some water gruel. His name was Mittavindaka. His father and mother, unable to bear the misery of starvation,‡ said "Get along, wretch," and beat him and sent him away. Helpless (and friendless) he wandered till he came to Benares. At that time the Bódhisat was a far-famed professor in Benares, and was teaching§ five hundred youths. In those days the inhabitants of Benares used to pay for the education of the poor. So this Mittavindaka was receiving a free education under the Bódhisat. He was rude and impatient of reproof (or advice), and went about striking first one and then another (boy), and when reproved by the Bodhisat, would not take reproof (or advice), so that because of him the fees fell off. After a quarrel with the other boys, refusing reproof, he ran away from the place, and wandered to a country-village where he lived by doing jobs for hire. There he lived with a poor woman who bore him two sons. The villagers invited Mittavindaka to teach them about right and wrong, and gave him a salary and a hut to live in at the entrance of the village. Because of this Mittavindaka, the inhabitants of

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* I cannot represent in English the play on the cognate ideas of roasting-ripening, and maturing, which are here implied in *Paccati.*

† I have softened for the English reader the rude force of *udarapuram, gabbhamalam, vamanabhattam, nábhito uddham, &c.*

‡ *Játakadukkham.* Read *Chátakad.*

§ *Vácesi.* B. would prefer *Váceti.*

that country-village seven times paid a fine to the king, seven times their houses were burnt up, seven times the dam of their tank burst. They said to themselves : "Before this Mittavindaka came, it was not so with us ; but now, since his coming, we are being ruined ;" and thereupon they beat him and turned him out. As he was going with his family to another place, he came to a demon-haunted forest. There the demon killed and devoured his wife and children. He fled, and wandered from place to place till he came to a port named Gambhira, on the very day when a ship was sailing, and took service (as a sailor) and went on board. The ship, after going seven days over the sea, on the seventh day stood still in mid-sea as if nailed to the spot. They threw the ill-luck lot. Seven times it came to Mittavindaka. The men gave him a little bundle of bamboos, and took him by the hand and threw him into the sea. The moment he was thrown out the ship went on. Mittavindaka, leaning on the bundle of bamboos, travelled over the sea, till, by fruit of his observance of precept in the time of Kassapa Buddha, he found on the sea in a crystal palace four goddesses, and with them he lived in the enjoyment of bliss for seven days. Now, these palace nymphs live in bliss for seven days. When they departed for the seven days of suffering, they said to him, "Stay here till we come back." But when they were gone, Mittivindaka went further, leaning on the bundle of bamboos, till he found eight goddesses in a palace of silver. Thence he went again and found sixteen goddesses in a palace of gems, and thirty-two in a palace of gold. He disregarded their advice also, and went on till he saw on an island, in mid-sea, a demon city. There a she-demon was roaming in the form of a goat. Mittivindaka not perceiving that she was a demon, and feeling a wish for a meal of goat's flesh, caught her by the leg. By her demon power she kicked up and flung him away. On her thus flinging him,* he passed over the sea to Benares, and fell into a thorn-bush behind a tank, and rolled down and rested on the ground. At that time thieves had been carrying off the king's goats which roamed behind that tank ; and goatherds were stationed in hiding on one side, hoping to catch the thieves. Mittavindaka, when he had rolled down to the ground and stood up and saw the goats, said to himself : "On an island at sea I caught a goat by the leg and was flung by her and fell here ; so, if I now catch a goat by the leg, she will fling me off over the sea to the place where the palace nymphs are" ; and with this foolish idea he caught a goat by the

* *Táya khitte.* B. tells me this is correct, or I should have wished to read *táya khitto*, as eight lines below.

leg. The moment she was caught she bleated loudly. The goatherds came up from every side, caught him, and crying "Here is the thief who has been feeding so long on the royal goats," beat him and bound him, and took him before the king. At that moment the Bódhisat with his train of five hundred youths had just come out of the city, and was going to bathe. When he saw Mittavindaka he recognised him, and said to the men: "Friends, this is our (my) pupil; what are you seizing him for?" "Master, he is a goat-stealer; he had got one goat by the leg, that is why we have caught him." "Then give him to me to be my slave; I will keep him (he shall live in dependence on me)." They replied, "Very well, master," and let him go, and departed. Then the Bódhisat asked him: "Mittavindaka, where have you been living all this time?" He told him all that he had done. The Bódhisat said, "This is the misfortune that comes to those who will not do what their friends say," and he uttered this stanza:—

"He who refuses to follow
The advice of a well-meaning friend,
Like Mittaka catching the goat by the leg
Will surely repent in the end."

And that time that professor and Mittavindaka passed away according to their deeds.

The teacher having related this religious history to explain the words, "Thus, mendicants, this man's own acts were the cause both of his being a little-gain and of his being a gainer of the glory of religion," made the connection and summed up the Játaka by saying: "At that time Mittavindaka was the elder Lósakatissa, and the far-famed professor was I myself."

(Here ends Lósaka-Játaka.)

42.—KA'POTA-JA'TAKA.

"Pigeon" Birth-Story.

"The Good Advice of Friends," &c.

This the teacher told while residing in Jétavana on occasion of a certain greedy mendicant. His greediness will be shown in the Ninth Part, in the "Crow-birth." They told the teacher about this mendicant, saying: "Sir, this mendicant is greedy." The teacher asked him: "Is it true, mendicant, that you are greedy?" "Yes, sir," he replied. The teacher said: "This is not the first time, mendicant, you have been greedy; by means of greediness you came to your end, and on your account also the wise lost their dwelling-place." He then related the story of the past.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the

Bodhisat was born a pigeon. In those days they used, out of desire of merit, to hang up baskets with chaff in them for small birds to live in comfort. A nobleman's cook in Benares put up a hanging basket of chaff in his kitchen. There the Bodhisat lived. He lived there and spent his time thus: he went out early in the morning to roam for food, and came back in the evening. One day a crow, passing over the kitchen, smelt the savour of various dishes (sour and not sour) of fish, and his greediness was excited.* He perched not far off and was casting about for some means of getting the fish, when he saw the Bodhisat return in the evening and enter the kitchen, and thought, "By means of this pigeon I will get the fish." So he came back next morning, and when the Bodhisat started on his rounds for food, he followed him about. Then the Bodhisat said to him: "Friend, why are you flying about with me?" "Sir, your way of life charms me; henceforth I shall wait upon you." "Friend, you are one kind of feeder and I another; it is difficult for you to wait upon me;" said the Bodhisat. "Sir, I will take my food, and then when you are taking your food, I will go about with you." "Very well; only mind, you must be very active!" (or careful). Having given the crow this warning, the Bodhisat went about feeding, and eating grass seeds and such like. But while the Bodhisat was at pasture, the crow, who had already gone and raked up a lump of cow-dung and eaten his fill of worms (or insects), joined him, saying, "Sir, you have been an immense time on your round, it is not good to eat to excess;" and when the Bodhisat returned in the evening from pasture, the crow entered the kitchen with him. The cook thought: "Our pigeon has come back with another;" and set a basket for the crow too. Thenceforward they both lived there. One day a great quantity of fish was brought in for the nobleman. The cook took it and hung it up in different parts of the kitchen. When the crow saw it his greediness was excited, and thinking, "To-morrow I shall not go to the feeding ground, but this must be my food," he lay all night in agitation. Next day when the Bodhisat started for pasture, he said, "Come, friend crow!" "Sir, you go; I am suffering from indigestion." "Sir, there never yet was such a thing as a crow having indigestion. At night they are famished in each watch of the three; when they have eaten a lamp-wick they are satisfied for a very little while. You must be

* It is not easy to represent in English such expressions as *lobham uppádetvá* The lust is not said to arise in the man, but the men to rouse or give birth to the lust. The man is regarded as the (responsible) author of his own desires, and so with his thoughts and emotions.

longing to eat this fish! Come, men's food is bad for you; don't do such a thing; go with me and feed!" "Master, I cannot." "Then your own deeds will discover you: don't let greediness get the better of you; be careful (don't give way)!" Thus the Bodhisat warned him, and went to pasture. The cook, after making a mixed dish of a variety of fish, opened the vessels for to little while to let out the steam, then put the strainer on the top of each vessel, and went and stood outside, wiping off the perspiration.* At that moment the crow put his head out of the basket, and looking round the cooking-house, saw that the cook was gone. "Now," he thought, "is my time to eat fish to my heart's content. How, now: shall I eat slices or mince?" Deciding that it is impossible to fill the stomach quickly with minced meat, he said a himself, "I will take a large slice and put it in the basket, and eat it as I sit there." So saying, he flew out of the basket and alighted on the strainer. It gave a "ting."† The cook heard it, and, coming in to find out what it was, saw the crow. "This mischievous crow," thought he, "wants to eat my lord's cooked meat. My living depends on my lord (I am my lord's servant), not on this stupid animal; what is it to me?" So he shut the door and caught the crow. He then plucked the feathers from its whole body, pounded up some green ginger with salt and cummin, and mixed it with some buttermilk; with this he smeared the crow all over, and flung it into the basket. There it lay quivering in the utmost agony. When the Bódhisat returned in the evening, he saw the crow come to calamity, and said: "Greedy crow, by not taking my advice and by your own greediness you are come to great misery;" and then he uttered this stanza:—

"He who no attention lends
To the warnings of his friends,
Like the disobedient crow
Falls a victim to the foe."

The Bódhisat having uttered this stanza, felt he also could no longer stay in that place, and went elsewhere. The crow died on the spot, and the cook took him and threw him away, basket and all, on the rubbish heap.

The teacher having related this religious discourse on the words, "This is not the first time, mendicant, you have been greedy; formerly you were greedy too, and on account of you and your greediness the wise were obliged to leave their abode," preached the truths. When the truths were concluded, that mendicant

* *Muncamáno:* read *Puncamáno*, with B.'s MS. † *Killi.*

attained the fruit of "Unreturning." The teacher made the connection, and summed up the birth-story thus: "At that time the crow was the greedy mendicant, and the pigeon was I myself."

(End of the "Pigeon" Birth-Story.)

43.—VAḶUKA-JA'TAKA.

"Bamboo-Boy" Birth-Story.

"The Advice," &c.

This the teacher told while residing in Jétavana on occasion of a certain obstinate mendicant. The blessed one asked him (as before), "Is it true as they say, mendicant, that you are obstinate?" and on his saying "Yes, sir," said, "This is not the first time you have been obstinate; formerly, too, you were obstinate, and by obstinacy, and not doing what the wise said, you came to your end by a serpent's bite (in the mouth of a serpent). He then related the story of the past.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bódhisat was born in a wealthy family in Kási, and when he came to years of discretion, seeing the danger of desires and the benefits of abnegation, he renounced desires, and going into the Himalaya country he entered the hermit order, and by practice of mental concentration acquired the five kinds of supernatural knowledge, and the eight attainments, and passed his days in the bliss of meditation, and afterwards becoming much sought after, dwelt in a residence as teacher of a train of five hundred ascetics. A young snake of a venomous kind, roaming according to its instinct, came to the cell of a certain ascetic. The ascetic conceived a parent's love for it, and made it a bed in a bamboo-joint, and took care of it. From having its bed in a bamboo-joint they named it "Bamboo-boy." And the ascetic they named "Bamboo-boy's father," from his taking care of it as lovingly as if it were his son. Then the Bódhisat, hearing that one of the ascetics was nursing a poisonous snake, sent for him and asked, "Is it true that you are rearing a poisonous snake?" and on his saying "yes," said, "There is no such thing as friendship with snakes (they cannot be trusted); don't rear it.' The ascetic said, "He is my pupil and child; I cannot live without him." "Then he will be the death of you." The ascetic did not take the Bódhisat's advice, and could not give up the snake. Some time after that, all the ascetics went to gather herbs and wild fruits, and finding these plentiful in the place they had gone to, remained there two or three days. "Bamboo-boy's father" went with them, leaving the poisonous snake shut up in his bed in the

bamboo-joint. When he returned with the ascetics at the end of the two or three days, he opened the bamboo-joint to give "Bamboo-boy" some food, and said "Come my son, you must be starving," and put out his hand. The poisonous snake, infuriated by being two or three days without food, bit the outstretched hand and killed the ascetic on the spot, and went into the forest. The ascetics seeing it, told the Bódhisat. The Bódhisat, after performing the funeral rites, took his seat in the midst of the hermit band, and uttered this stanza by way of warning to the hermits :—

"He who will not attend
To the words of a friend,
Will lie a murdered corpse some day
As 'Bamboo-boy's father' lay."

The Bódhisat, after giving this advice to the hermits, practised the four elements of saintly living, till, at the end of his appointed time, he was born in the Brahma world.

The teacher, after relating this religious discourse on the words "This is not the first time, mendicant, you have been obstinate ; in a former existence, too, by obstinacy you came to rottenness at a serpent's mouth," established the connection and summed up the birth-story by saying : "At that time 'Bamboo-boy's father' was the obstinate mendicant ; the rest of the train were the Buddha's train ; the teacher of the band was I myself."

(End of "Bamboo-Boy" Birth-Story.)

44.—MAKASA-JA'TAKA.

"Mosquito" Birth-Story.

"Better a Wise Foe," &c.

This the teacher told when he was on circuit in Mágadha in a certain village, on occasion of some village simpletons. The Buddha (Tathágata), they say, once went from Sávatthi to Mágadha, and as he was going his rounds in that country he came upon a certain village. This village was full, almost without exception, of simpletons. One day these simpletons met together and took counsel thus : "Friends, when we go into the forest mosquitoes bite us while we are at work, and this interferes with our work : let us all take bows and weapons, and make war on the mosquitoes till we have shot dead or cut to pieces every mosquito." So they went to the forest, and in trying to shoot the mosquitoes shot and struck and injured one another, so that they came back and lay, some in the inner part of the village, some

half-way down the street, some near the gate. The teacher, with the company of mendicants in his train, entered the village for alms. The remnant of wise men, seeing the blessed one, made a pavilion at the entrance of the village, and after bringing large offerings to the Buddha and the rest of his company of mendicants, did obeisance to the teacher, and sat down. The teacher, seeing the wounded men on every side, asked those laymen, "Here are a great many sick men ; what have they been doing?" "Sir, these men went to wage war with mosquitoes and shot one another, and so have made themselves ill." The teacher said : "This is not the first time that simpletons, intending to strike mosquitoes, have struck one another ; formerly, too, there were people who struck their neighbours meaning to strike mosquitoes ;" and at the request of these men he told the story of the past time.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bódhisat was living by trade. At that time there were a great many carpenters living in a country village in Kási. A sawyer there was chopping a felled tree when a mosquito settled on his copper-basin-like head, and darted his proboscis into it like the thrust of a spear. He said to his son, who was sitting by, "My boy, there is a mosquito stinging me on the head, as if he were running a spear into me ; drive him off." "Wait a bit, father ; I will kill it with one blow." Just then the Bódhisat was come into that village in search of goods, and was sitting in that carpenter's shed. So the carpenter said : "Son, drive off this mosquito." And the boy, saying "I will," took up a sharp axe and took his stand behind his father's back, and thinking to strike the mosquito, cleft his father's head in two. The carpenter died on the spot. The Bódhisat, seeing what the boy had done, thought : "Even an enemy, if he is wise, is better ; fear of punishment at any rate will prevent his killing people ;"* and so uttered this stanza :—

"Better a wise foe
Than a friend of sense bereft ;
The stupid son to kill the gnat
His father's headpiece cleft."

After uttering this stanza the Bódhisat got up and departed according to his deeds. The carpenter's relatives performed his funeral.

The teacher, having related this religious discourse in illustration of his saying, "Thus, laymen,† formerly there were people

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* *Manussánam :* read *Manusse.*

† *Evam upásaká pubbe, &c. :* read *Evam, upásaká, pubbe, &c.*

who would strike their neighbours when they meant to strike a mosquito," established the connection and summed up the birth-story by saying, "The wise merchant who uttered the stanza and went away was I myself."

(End of the "Mosquito" Birth-Story.)

45.—"ROHINI" BIRTH-STORY.

"*Better a wise Enemy,*" *&c.*

This the teacher told while residing in Jétavana on occasion of a slave woman of the nobleman Anâthapindika's. Anáthapindika, the story goes, had a slave named Rohini. She was once pounding rice when her aged mother came to the place and sat down. The flies came about her and bit her as if they were running needles into her. She said to her daughter: "My girl, the flies are biting me; drive them off." She said, "I will mother," and raising the pestle, thinking "I will kill and destroy the flies on my mother's body," struck her mother with the pestle, and killed her. Seeing that, she began to cry, "O mother! mother"! They told this event to the nobleman. The nobleman having performed the funeral rites for her, went and told the whole story to the teacher. The teacher said: "This is not the first time, householder, that this woman, thinking to kill flies on her mother's body, has killed her mother with a blow of her pestle; in a former birth she did the same; and at his request he told the story of the past.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bódhisat was born in a nobleman's family, and on his father's death succeeded to the family honours. He, too, had a slave named Rohini. She also, when her mother came and sat where she was pounding rice, when told "Daughter, drive away the flies," in exactly the same way struck her mother with the pestle and killed her, and began to cry. The Bódhisat, when he heard of it, thinking "Even an enemy if he is wise is better in this world," uttered this stanza:—

"Better a sensible enemy
Than a fool, however kind he be;
Look at silly Rohini,
She's killed her mother, and sore weeps she!"

The Bódhisat, in praise of the wise man, discoursed religion in this stanza.

The teacher, after relating this religious discourse to illustrate what he had said, "This is not the first time, householder, that this woman, meaning to kill flies, has killed her mother; she did

so in a former birth," established the connection and summed up the birth-story by saying, "Then the mother was the mother, the daughter the daughter, and I was the great nobleman."

(End of "Rohini" Birth-Story.)

46.—ARA'MADU'SAKA-JA'TAKA.

"The Park-Spoiler" Birth-Story.

"A Blunderer's," &c.

This the teacher told in a certain village in Kósala, on occasion of a park-spoiler. The teacher, it is said, in the course of his rounds in Kósala, came into a certain village. There a man of property invited the Tathágata (Buddha), and after having given him a seat in his grounds, and made offerings to him and to the monks in his train, said, "Sirs, stroll at your pleasure in these grounds." The mendicants rose, and taking the park-keeper, strolled about the park. Seeing a bare spot, they asked the park-keeper, "Good layman, this park is in other parts thick with shade, but in this spot there is not a tree nor a shrub; what is the cause?" "Sirs, at the time this park was planted, a village lad who was watering pulled up the young trees in this spot and watered each in proportion to the root it had. Those young trees faded and died: that is the season why this became a bare spot. The mendicants went up to the teacher and told him this fact. The teacher said: "Mendicants, this is not the first time that village lad has been a park-spoiler; formerly also he was a park-spoiler;" and then he told the story of the past.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, they proclaimed a festival. From the time the sound of the drum proclaiming the festival was heard, all the townsfolk went about full of the festival. At that time in the king's grounds there were a great many apes living. The park-keeper thought: "There is a festival proclaimed in the city; I will ask these monkeys to water (the trees), and I will go and take part in the festival;" and so he went up to the chief (or senior) monkey and asked: "Sir chief monkey, this park is of great benefit to you (and yours); you feed on the leaves and fruits and buds here. Now, there is a festival proclaimed in the city, and I am going to take part in it ('play at festival'); while I am gone will you be able to water the young trees in this park?" "Yes, we can!" "Then do your best (or, be careful)" he said; and giving them the leathern vessels and wooden pots for watering, he departed. The monkeys took the leathern vessels and the wooden waterpots and watered the young trees. Then the chief monkey said to them,

"My good monkeys, water is a thing to be taken care of; when you are watering the young trees, pull up each in turn and look at the root, and when the roots have gone deep pour plenty of water on them, but when they have not gone deep, only a little; by and by you will have difficulty in getting water." They applauded and agreed; and did so. Just then a wise man seeing these monkeys acting in that way in the royal grounds said thus: "My good monkeys, why are you pulling up each tree in turn and watering in proportion to the roots?" They said: "Our chief monkey told us to do so." Hearing that he thought: "Ah! my foolish friends, ignorant people, meaning to help, only harm;" and he uttered this stanza:—

"A blunderer's best efforts can bring about no good:
A fool spoils business,* like the monkey in the wood."

Thus that wise man with this stanza rebuked the monkey-chief, and having done so he and his retinue left the grounds.

The teacher having related this religious discourse, after his words, "This is not the first time, mendicants, that this village lad has been a park-spoiler; formerly also he was a park-spoiler," joined the connection and summed up the birth-story thus: "At that time the chief monkey was this village lad who spoilt the park, and the wise man I myself."

(End of the "Park-Spoiler" Birth-Story.)

47.—V'ARUNI-JA'TAKA.

"Liquor" Birth-Story.

"A Blunderer's," &c.

This the teacher told when residing in Jétavana on occasion of a liquor-spoiler. A friend, they say, of Anáthapiṇḍika was a liquor merchant. He had made some strong spirits (liquor) and was selling it for money (gold, &c.), and a great many people had assembled. He gave instructions to his apprentice: "My boy, you take the money and give the spirits," and himself went to bathe. The apprentice, as he supplied the spirits to a great many people, saw people from time to time getting salt sweetmeats (or, salt and jaggery) and eating; so he thought: "The liquor must want salt, I will put some salt into it," and he threw a measure of salt into the (earthen) wine-jar, and so gave them the spirits. The people every time they filled their mouth, threw it out; and asked "What have you done?" "I saw that when you drank the

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* "Prevents profit," "destroys wealth," &c. It is impossible to keep pace with the many meanings of *Attho*.

spirits you took salt, so I mixed salt with it." "You fool,* you have spoilt such excellent liquor as this!" Thus reproaching him, each in turn got up and went away.

The spirit-seller came back, and seeing not one man, asked. "Where are the spirit-drinkers gone?" He told him the fact. Then his master reproached him: "You fool, you have spoilt such spirits as this!" and told this thing to Anáthapiṇḍika. Anáthapiṇḍika, thinking "I have got a good story to tell" (a present in the form of a story to offer to the Buddha), went to Jétavana, and, after obeisance to the teacher, told this case. The teacher said: "This is not the first time, householder, that he has been a liquor-spoiler; formerly also he was a liquor-spoiler;" and at his request he told the story of the past.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bódhisat was a nobleman in Benares. Near him there lived a spirit-seller. He made some strong spirits, and saying to his apprentice, "sell this," went to bathe. The moment he was gone, the apprentice put in salt and destroyed the liquor in the same way. Then his master came, and on learning the thing told the nobleman. The nobleman said: "Fools and blunderers, meaning to help harm;" and uttered this stanza:—

"A blunderer's good intentions to no good can lead:
A fool spoils business as Kandanna did the mead (spirits)."

The Bódhisat preached religion by this stanza. And the teacher having said: "This is not the first time, householder, that lad has been a liquor-spoiler; formerly also he was a liquor-spoiler"; made the connection, and summed up the birth-story thus: "Then the liquor-spoiler was he who is liquor-spoiler now, and the nobleman of Benares was I myself."

(End of "Liquor" Birth-Story.)

48.—THE "VEDABBHA" BIRTH-STORY.

"Who seeks gain the wrong way," &c.

This the teacher told when residing in Jétavana on occasion of an obstinate mendicant. To this mendicant (too) the teacher said: "This is not the first time, mendicant, you have been obstinate; formerly also you were obstinate and thereby,† not doing what the wise told you, you got cut in two with a sharp sword, and flung in the road, and on your single account a thousand

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* *Bálá*: read *Bála.*

† *Ten' eva vacakáràṇena*: read *ten' eva ca káraṇena*; or, possibly, B. suggests, *dubbacakáraṇena.* There is no such combination as *vacakár.*

men came by their death"; and then he told the story of the past. In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, in a certain village was a Brahmin who knew the charm called Vedabbha. That charm, men say, is a precious and most valuable one. Having observed the proper conjunction of the heavenly bodies, he went through this charm and looked* up to the sky, and thereupon a rain of the seven gems would rain from the sky. At that time the Bódhisat was learning science under that Brahmin.

One day the Brahmin took the Bódhisat and went out of his own village for some purpose or other, and went into the Cetiyan country. On the way thither, in a forest place, there were five hundred "sending thieves," as they are called, engaged in highway robbery. These robbers caught the Bódhisat and the Brahmin Vedabbha. The reason they are called "sending thieves" is this. They catch two people and "send" one to fetch treasure—from this they are called "sending thieves." When they catch father and son, they say to the father, "You bring us treasure and then you may take your son and go;" in the same way, when they catch mother and daughter, they let the mother go; when they catch elder and younger brothers,† they let the elder go; when teacher and pupil, they let the pupil go. So this time they seized the Brahmin Vedabbha and let go the Bódhisat. The Bódhisat, after making obeisance to his master, said, "I shall come back in one or two days; fear not, and do what I say. To-day it will be the conjunction of the heavens for producing the rain of treasure; but do not grow impatient and go through the charm and produce the rain of treasure; if you do, you will come to destruction and so will these five hundred robbers." After giving this warning to his master, he went for treasure. The robbers, when the sun went down, bound the Brahmin and lay down. At that very moment from the Eastern quarter the full moon rose. The Brahmin observing the constellation (in which she rose) said to himself: "It is the proper conjunction for the rain of treasure; why need I endure (this) suffering? I will recite the charm and bring down the rain of treasure, give the treasure to the robbers, and go where I please." And so he said to the robbers, "Good robbers, what are you seizing me for?" "For treasure, sir." "Then, if it is treasure you want, make haste and release me

* *Ulloki.* It is not unlikely, as the text of this Játaka is more corrupt than others, that this should be *ulloketi*: "One" (the person, whoever he may be, who uses the charm) "looks up, &c."

† *Jeṭṭhakakaniṭṭhe.* Read *Jeṭṭhakaniṭṭhe.* B. has no doubt of this correction in spite of *jeṭṭhakabhátikam.*

from these bonds ; let me bathe my head (give me a thorough bath), give me new clothes to put on, perfumes to anoint myself, and flowers to deck me, and so leave me." The robbers, on hearing what he said, did so. The Brahmin, having observed the conjunction of the heavenly bodies, recited the charm, and looked up to the sky. Immediately jewels fell from the sky. The robbers collected the treasure, tied it up in their clothes, and departed.* The Brahmin followed them. Presently these robbers were caught by another five hundred robbers. "What are you seizing us for ?" they said ; and the reply was, "For treasure." If you want treasure, seize that Brahmin ; he looks up† to the sky and brings down a rain of treasure ; "he is the man who gave us this," they said. The robbers let the robbers go, and seized the Brahmin, saying "Give us treasure, too !" The Brahmin said : "I should be glad enough to give you treasure, but the conjunction-of-the-heavenly-bodies-for-bringing-down-a-rain-of-treasure will be at the end of a year from this ; if you want treasure, wait patiently, and at that time I will bring you down a treasure-shower." (Same word as before.) The robbers were furious. "You rascal of a Brahmin, you gave others a treasure-shower now, and you tell us to wait another year !" So saying, with a sharp sword they cleft the Brahmin in two and flung him in the road, and then ran off in pursuit of the other robbers, fought with them, killed them all, and took the treasure. Then they formed two bands and fought with one another, and two hundred and fifty men got killed, and so they went on killing one another till only two were left. Thus these thousand men came to destruction. The two contrived to carry the treasure, and buried it in a woody place near a village, and one sat with a sword guarding it, while the other went into the village to get rice and have food cooked. Covetousness is indeed the root of destruction.‡ The man who was sitting by the treasure thought: "When he comes this treasure will be divided into two parts : suppose I strike him with the sword just as he comes and kill him ?" and he drew the sword and sat watching for his arrival. And the other thought : "That treasure will have to be divided into two parts : suppose I put poison in the food and give it to

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* *Payimsu.* Read *paláyimsu.* So B. in spite of *Páyási* below.

† *Vassápesi.* B. would read *vassápeti.* The emphasis of the sentence requires it.

‡ *-evá" ti dhanasantike, &c.* Read *-evá" ti. Dhanasantike, &c.* The words *Lobho ca, &c.*, are a moral reflection on the historian's part. B. insists on this way of dividing it. No doubt it is the native way ; but it may be more correct to treat the words as one sentence, and translate : "Then, as if to illustrate the maxim, 'Covetousness is the root of destruction' the man, &c."

that man to eat, and so kill him and take all the treasure for myself?" and so as soon as the food was done, he dined himself, and then put poison in the rest and took it and went to the place. He had hardly put down the food and stood still, when the other cleft him in two with the sword, and threw him in a covered place (out of sight), then ate the food and himself died on the spot. Thus on account of that treasure they all came to destruction.

After one or two days, the Bódhisat came back with the treasure. Not seeing his master in that place, and seeing the treasure scattered about, he thought: "My master has not done as I said, but must have brought the treasure-shower; they must all have come to destruction;" and he went on along the high road. As he went he saw his master on the high road cleft in two, and saying to himself, "He has died from not taking my advice," he brought wood and made a pile and burnt his master and offered wild flowers, and went on. Soon he saw lying dead first five hundred, and then two hundred and fifty, and so on, till at the end he saw two men dead; so he thought: "Here are a thousand men all but two come to destruction: there must be two more robbers; they also cannot possibly survive; where are they gone?" And going on he saw the path by which they had gone with the treasure into the woody place, and going on he saw the heaps of treasure tied up in a bundle, and then he saw one man dead by the bowl of rice which he had put down. Then he perceived the whole (story, and said to himself), "This is what they must have done." Thinking "where now is that man?" he looked about and saw him also laid in a covered spot. Then he thought, "Our master has not done as I told him, and by his obstinacy has himself come to destruction, and by him another thousand men have been destroyed. Ah! those who seek their own advantage wrongly and unreasonably, like our master, will surely come to great destruction;" and therewith he uttered the stanza:—

"Who seeks gain the wrong way, failure will him befall;
The Cetians killed Vedabbha, and they, too, perished all."

Thus the Bódhisat, meaning, "As our master, making his effort wrongly and bringing down the treasure-shower at the wrong moment, not only himself came by his end, but was also a cause of destruction to others; so, anyone else who exerts himself in the wrong way, in his desire for his own advantage, will both perish himself, and will be a cause of ruin to others," preached religion by this stanza in a voice that rang through the forest amid the applause of the (woodland) nymphs. He then contrived to convey

the treasure to his own house, and having lasted as long as his time was to last, giving gifts and doing other acts of merit, at the end of life he departed to fill a place in heaven.

This religious discourse the teacher made on the words, "This is not the first time, mendicant, that you have been obstinate; formerly, too, you were obstinate, and by your obstinacy came to great destruction;" and then he summed up the birth-story thus: "At that time the Brahman Vedabbha was the obstinate mendicant, and the pupil was I myself."

(End of "Vedabbha" Birth-story.)

49.—NAKKHATTA-JA'TAKA.

The Lucky Day.*

" *While the star-gazing Fool,*" *&c.*

This the teacher told while residing in Jétavana on occasion of a certain Hindu astrologer. It is said that a respectable man in the country had secured for his son the daughter of a family in Sávatthi, and had fixed the day, saying "On such a day we will come† for her." When the day came he asked the family astrologer: "Sir, we are going to hold a festival to-day; is it a lucky day (auspicuous constellation)?" The other was angry, and said to himself, "This man has fixed the day without asking me first, now he comes and asks! Never mind, I will teach him a lesson." So he replied: "To-day is an inauspicious conjunction; don't hold your festival to-day; if you do, it will be very disastrous." The people of that family, relying on the astrologer, did not go that day. The city people, who had made all preparations for the festival, finding them not come, said: "They fixed to-day, but they are not come. We have gone to great expense; what have we to do with them? We will give our daughter to some one else," and so with the festival (preparations) as they were, they gave their daughter to another man. The others came next day and said, "Give us your daughter." Then the Sávatthi people abused them, and said: "You country people are a sinful folk; you fix a day, but you care nothing for that, and don't come; go

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* *Nakkhattam* means "a constellation or lunar asterism," "a special conjunction" (as in 48), "a lucky day," "a festival," "a day of rejoicing." Meanwhile its name puns with *Attho*, which means "luck," "cause," "meaning," and a thousand other things. Hence this stanza is untranslateable. It is a really witty jingle.

† "*Ganhissamiti*" B. would read "ganhissámá 'ti," in accordance with idiom throughout the story.

back the way you came; we have given our daughter to others." The country people quarrelled with them, and went back the way they came. It became known among the mendicants how that astrologer* had spoilt these people's festival. These mendicants, when assembled in the conversation hall, sat talking thus: "Brothers, an astrologer has spoilt a family's festival." The teacher came in and asked: "What subject of conversation, mendicants, are you sitting engaged in?" They told him what it was. "This is not the first time, mendicants," he said, "that the astrologer has interfered with a festival of that family; formerly also he got angry and spoilt their festival;" and he told the story of the past.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, some townspeople secured (for their son) the daughter of some country people, and after fixing the day asked their family astrologer: "Sir, we have festival doings to-day; are the stars favourable?" He, offended at their fixing the day at their own pleasure, and not asking him till then, thinking "To-day I will prevent their festival," replied: "To-day the stars are unfavourable; if you hold it, you will come to great evil." They took his advice and did not go. The country people finding that they did not come, said: "They fixed this day, but they are not come; we will have nothing to do with them;" and gave their daughter to another family. Next day the city family came and asked for the girl. The country people said: "You city people are shameless folks; you fix the day and then don't come for the girl; as you did not come we have given her to others." "The reason we did not come is that we asked (our) astrologer, and he said the stars were unpropitious; give us your daughter." "As you did not come, we gave her to others; how shall we now take back a girl we have given?" While they were quarrelling with one another in this way, a wise man of the city came on some business into the country. When he heard those city people saying: "We asked the astrologer and because of the unluckiness of the stars we did not come," he said: "What use is luck in the stars? surely, getting the girl is the luck!" and uttered this stanza:—

"While the star-gazing fool is waiting for luck, the luck goes by:
The star of luck is luck, and not any star in the sky."†

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* *Ajíviko.* B.'s MS. has here *A'jívako,* which should be read throughout.

† Literally, something to this effect: Gain passes by a fool while he is intent on (reverences) the lucky conjunction of the stars: the fact of getting what one wants is the best guarantee that it is the right moment for getting it: what can the stars do?

The city family, after quarrelling a while, went away without the young lady.

So the teacher, when he had told this religious tale on the words, "This is not the first time, mendicants, that this astrologer has prevented a festival in that family, formerly also he did so," established the connection and linked the birth-story on (to the present) by saying: "At that time the astrologer was the present astrologer, and the families were the present families; the wise man who stopped and uttered the stanza was I myself."

(End of "The Lucky Day.")

50.—DUMMEDHA-JA'TAKA.

"The Fools."

"A Thousand Fools," &c.

This the teacher told while residing in Jétavana about living for the good of the world. This will be explained in the Twelfth Part in the Krishna birth-story.

In past time, when Brahmadatta was reigning at Benares, the Bódhisat entered on a new existence as the son of that king's chief queen. As soon as he was born, on his naming day they named him Prince Brahmadatta. When he was sixteen years old he studied at Taxila and mastered the three Vedas, and became perfectly accomplished in the eighteen branches of knowledge. Then his father gave him a share in his royalty. At that time the people of Benares used to keep the festivals of the natural deities, used to worship the natural deities, and, slaying a great quantity of goats, rams, small birds, pigs, and other animals, used to perform sacrificial rites with all sorts of flowers and perfumes, as well as with flesh and blood. The Bódhisat thought: "Now-a-days persons in keeping the festivals of the gods of nature destroy a great deal of life,—the people at large are almost all confirmed in irreligion; but when I receive the kingdom on my father's death, I will contrive to prevent their destroying life without giving pain to a single man." So one day he ascended his chariot and drove out of the city, and saw a great multitude assembled under a large banyan tree, each man praying for what each desired, whether sons and daughters, glory, wealth, or the like, to the deity that dwelt in that tree. He alighted from the chariot, and went up to the tree, offered perfumes and flowers, made a libation with water, made a reverential circuit of the tree, and after worshipping the deity as if he were* a votary of such deities, ascended his chariot

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* "*Viya*" seems to be omitted before "*hutvá*."

and entered the city. Thenceforward in this same way he went there from time to time and made offerings as if he were a votary of such deities. Afterwards, on his father's death, he succeeded to the throne and reigned righteously, avoiding the four bad ways, and never violating the ten royal duties. Then he thought: "My desire is accomplished; I am established in the kingdom; now I will accomplish a certain purpose which I entertained of old." So he gathered together his ministers and his Brahmins and his householders and the rest; and said to them: "Know ye by what means I came to the kingdom?" "Sire, we know not," they said. "Have you ever seen me making offerings of perfumes and the like to a certain tree, and worshipping it with clasped hands." "Yes sire." "At that time I made this vow: 'If I come to the kingdom, I will do sacrifice to thee.' It is by the power of that deity that I have got the kingdom. Now I shall do sacrifice to her; you do your utmost quickly to prepare a sacrifice for the tree-goddess." "What victims shall we get sire?"* "Friends, when I made my prayer (or vow) to the goddess, I vowed that I would slay and offer in sacrifice, with entrails, flesh, and blood, all those who in my kingdom shall live in the open practice of the five forbidden acts and the ten ways of demerit. Therefore do you proclaim this by beat of drum: 'Our king, when he was sub-king, made this vow: If I come to the kingdom I will slay and offer in sacrifice all those in my kingdom who are breakers of the precepts: and now he intends to slay a thousand of the precept-breakers who live in open practice of the tenfold forbidden conduct, and to have their hearts and flesh taken and sacrificed to the goddess; let all dwellers in the city take notice!' (This proclamation you are to make, and) after this announcement, if any now henceforth live in the practice of the forbidden actions, I will slay a thousand of them and offer an offering, and be free from my vow." While proclaiming that intention he uttered this stanza:—

"I vowed a vow, a thousand fools in sacrifice to slay;
I'll pay it now, for wicked men are plentiful to-day."

The ministers hearing the words of the Bódhisat, said: "It is well sire," and had the drum beat through the twelve-yojana-broad city of Benares. When the decree by beat of drum was heard, there was not a single man found to abide in the open practice of the forbidden conduct. Thenceforth, as long as the Bódhisat reigned, not one individual was discovered committing

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* *Devatá,* of course a mistake for *dévá,* as F. suggests.

any of either the five or the ten* forbidden actions. Thus the Bódhisat, without giving pain to a single individual, made all the inhabitants of the land keep the precepts, and himself having given gifts and done other acts of merit, at the end of his life went with his retinue to fill a place in the city of the gods.

The teacher related this religious discourse on the words : "This is not the first time, mendicants, that the Tathágata (Buddha) has lived for the good of the world, formerly he did so also ;" and then he made the connection and linked the birth-story (to the present) by saying : "The retinue of that time were the Buddha's retinue, and the king of Benares was I myself."

(End of "Dummedha" Birth-Story. End of the Fifth Decade called Atthakámavaggo. End of the First Fifty.)

APPENDIX III.

NOTE ON "HIRI."

Hiri is shame at impropriety of act, for which "modesty" is a synonym, while *ottappam* is "shrinking from sin." *Hiri* is excited from within, *ottappam* from without. *Hiri* rests on self-authority, *ottappam* on world-authority. *Hiri* has the nature of modesty, *ottappam* of fear. *Hiri* marks sense of propriety, *ottappam* marks quickness to see the danger of fault.

(1) There are four things by which a man excites within him the internal sense of *Hiri:* considerations of rank, of age, of strength, and of learning. Of rank, as when he abstains from destroying life and other sins from the reflection ; such and such a sinful act is not the act of people of rank, it is the act of low-born people and fishers ; it is not fitting for a man of such rank to commit this act. Of age, when he thinks such and such a sinful act is what boys would do ; it is not fitting for a man of my age, &c. Of strength, when he thinks this is what feeble-natured people would do, not a man of my strength. Of learning, when he thinks this is the act of fools, not of wise men ; it is not fit for a man of my wisdom and learning. Then by these four considerations he excites the feeling of *Hiri* within himself, and so, having put that feeling into his mind, abstains from the sin ; hence it is said that *Hiri* is excited within the man's self. *Ottappam*, on the other hand is excited by external considerations. "If you do the sinful deed you will meet with condemnation among the four companies. The wise man will condemn him as the city man does dirt ; what

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* *Pancadasasu vá.* Read *Pancasu vá dasasu vá.*

will a monk do when the good reject? Thus *ottappam* is excited from without.

(2) *Hiri* rests on self-authority: a well-born man puts himself under his own authority and superiority, and abstains from sin on the ground that it does not become one so religious, so learned, so ascetic (?) to commit sin; and thus Buddha said "Whoso puts himself under his own authority, and rejects demerit and practices merit, and rejects faults and practices what is faultless, he keeps himself pure."

Ottappam, on the other hand, rests on world-authority.

A well-born man puts himself under the world's authority and superiority, and so abstains from sin. "Great is this world assemblage, and therein are ascetics and monks of supernatural powers and divine insight who know the minds of others. They see from afar, they see close at hand; with their mind they discern minds; they will know me; look, they will say, at that well-born man; he left home and made a sincere profession of the monastic life, but he is living abandoned in sinful and demeritorious ways: there are deities (of similar powers and insight), &c., they will say, &c. (the same); thus he makes the world his authority and superior, and puts away demerit and (so on). Hence *Ottappam* is said to rest on *world-authority*.

(3) *Hiri* is of the nature of modesty, that is, modest shame; and *Ottappam* of the nature of fear, that is, fear of hell. These are both shown in the avoiding of sin. Just as a well-born man, performing any of the offices of nature, if he sees a person towards whom modesty is due, feels ashamed and confused; exactly in the same way one man abstains from sin from a sense of modesty towards himself. Another well-born man abstains from sin from fear of hell. This is to be illustrated thus. Suppose there are two balls of iron, one of which is cold and smeared with filth, the other hot and fiery. In that case a wise man will decline to take up the one from disgust at the filth, and the other from fear of being burnt. Here, it is to be understood that the declining to take up the cold but filthy ball is like abstaining from sin from sense of modesty towards one's self; declining the hot ball from fear of being burnt is like abstaining from sin from fear of hell.

Hiri marks sense of propriety, *Ottappam* quickness to see the danger of sin. Both these also are displayed in the avoiding sin. One man, by the four considerations of greatness of rank, greatness of learning, greatness of inheritance, greatness of religious character, excites within himself the inward sense of propriety and abstains from sin. The other, by the four fears, of his own

reproach, of the reproach of others, of punishment, of birth in the unhappy conditions, excites in himself *Ottappam*, the sign of a quick sense of the danger of sin. ("At this point," ends the commentator, "the four kinds of greatness and the four kinds of fear ought to be explained in detail, as they stand in the Anguttara Aṭṭhakathá," into which we cannot follow him.)

APPENDIX IV.

එකනිපාතේ—අපණ්ණක වර්ගයෙහි අටවෙනි ගාමිනිජාතකයයි.

"අපි අතරමානානන්ති" ඉදං සත්ථා ජෙතවනෙ විහාරන්තො ඔස්සට්ඨවිරියං භික්ඛුං ආරබ්භකථෙසි—ඉමස්මිං පන ජාතකෙ පච්චුප්පන්න වත්ථුංච අතීත වත්ථුංච එකාදස නිපාතෙ සංවරජාතකෙ ආවි භවිස්සති, වත්ථුම්හිතස්මිංච ඉමස්මිංච එක සදිසමෙව, ගාථා පන නානා—ගාමනි කුමාරො බොධිසත්තස්ස ඔවාදෙ ඨත්වා භාතික සතස්සකනිට්ඨොපි හුත්වා භාතික සතපරිවාරිතො සෙතච්ඡත්තස්ස හෙට්ඨාවර පල්ලංකෙ නිසින්නො අත්තනො යසසම්පත්තිං ඔලොකෙත්වා "අයංමය්හං යසසම්පත්ති අම්හාකං ආචාරියස්ස සන්තකා "තිතුට්ඨො ඉමං උදානං උදානෙසි.

අපි අතරමානානං පලාසාව වස්සමීජ්ඣති. විපක්ක බ්‍රහ්මචරියොස්මි එවං ජානාහි ගාමිනීති.

තත්ථ අපි නිපාතමත්තං අතරමානානන්ති පණ්ඩිතානං ඔවාදෙ ඨත්වා අතුරිත්වා අවේගායිත්වා උපායෙන කම්මං කරොන්තානං ඵලාසාව සමි

තවද එක්සමයෙක්හී (සනරාමර ලොකගුරුවූ බුදුරජානන්වහන්සේ, දෙව්රම්වෙහෙර වැඩවසනසේක්, පසුබට වීර්යඇති භික්ෂුකෙනෙකුන් අරබයා අපි අතරමානානං යනාදි මේ ජාතකය වදාලසේක. මේ ජාතකයේහි වර්තමාන කථාවත් අතීත කථාවත් එකොලොස්වැනි නිපාතයෙහිවූ සංවර ජාතකයෙහි මතු පහල වන්නේය.—කතාව වනාහි ඒ ජාතකයෙහිද මෙහිද එකාකාරමය, ගාථාව වනාහි වෙනස් වන්නේය. ගාමිනී කුමාරතෙම බොධිසත්වයන් වහන්සේගේ අවවාදයෙහි පිහිටා ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ භාතෘවූ කුමාරවරුන් සියයකට බාලව සියයක් පමන භ්‍රාතෘන් පිරිවරා ධවලච්ඡත්‍රයාගේ යට උතුම්ආසනයෙහි හුන්සේක. තමාගේ ඓශ්වර්ය සම්පත්තිය බලා මේ මාගේ ඓශ්වර්ය සම්පත්තිය අපගේ ආචාරීන් වහන්සේ සන්තකයයි සතුටුව (ප්‍රීති වාක්‍ය පවත්වනසේක්, නුවනැත්තවුන්ගේ අවවාදයෙහි සිට තුරිත

ජ්ඣතීති යථා පඨිත ඵලෙ ආසාතස්ස ඵලස්ස නිප්ඵත්තියා සමිජ්ඣති යෙව, අථවා ඵලාසාති ආසාඵලං, යථාපඨිතං ඵලං සමිජ්ඣති යෙවාති අත්ථො, විපක්ක බ්‍රහ්මචරියොස්මීති එත්ථ චත්තාරිසඞ්ගහවත්ථූනි යෙට්ඨචරියත්තා බ්‍රහ්මචරියත්තා බ්‍රහ්මචරියං නාම තංව තම්මූලිකාය යසසම්පත්තියා පටිලද්ධත්තා විපක්කන් නාම, යොවාස්ස යසො නිප්ඵන්නො සොපිසෙට්ඨත්ථෙන බ්‍රහ්මචරියං නාම, තෙනාහ විපක්ක බ්‍රහ්මචරියොස්මීති, එවං ජානාහි ගාමිණීති කත්ථචි ගාමික පුරිසොපිගාමජෙට්ඨකොපි ගාමනි ඉධ පන සබ්බජන ජෙට්ඨකං අත්තානං සන්ධායාහ—අමෙහා ගාමනි ත්වං එතංකාරණං, එවං ජානාහි, ආචරියං නිස්සාය භාතිකසතං අතික්කමිත්වා ඉදං මහාරජ්ජං පත්තොස්මීති, උදානං උදානෙසි.

තස්මිං පනරජ්ජං පත්තෙ සත්තට්ඨ දිවසච්චයෙන සබ්බෙපිභාතරො අත්තනොවසනට්ඨානං ගතො—ගාමනිරාජා ධම්මෙන රජ්ජං කාරෙත්වා යථා කම්මං ගතො--බොධිසත්තොපි පුඤ්ඤානිකත්වා යථා කම්මං ගතො—සත්ථා ඉමං ධම්මදෙසනං ආහරිත්වා දසෙසත්වා සච්චානි, පකාසෙසි - සච්චපරියොසානෙ ඔස්සට්ඨ වීරියො භික්ඛු අරහත්තං පතිට්ඨිතොති—සත්ථා වෙ වත්ථූනි කථෙත්වා, අනුසන්ධිං ඝටෙත්වා ජාතකං සමොධානෙසි.

ගාමිනි ජාතකං.

නොව උපාසක්‍රමයෙන් කර්මාන්තයෙහි ප්‍රයුක්තයන්ට ප්‍රප්තවූ ප්‍රයෝජනයෙහි ආසාව සමෘද්ධවේමය, දානාර්ථ ප්‍රියවචන සමානාත්මතායයි කියනලද බ්‍රහ්මචර්‍ය්‍යාව මූලිකවූ සම්පත්තීන්ද මුහුකුරුමා සිටි බැවින් පරිපක්වවූ බ්‍රහ්මචරියාව ඇතිවීම්, ගාමිනිකුමාරයා මෙසේ දැනගනුවයි කියා තමන් සර්ව්ජන ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ බැවින් ආත්මවිත්තියකොට තමන්ට අමත්‍රනයකොට ආචාරින්වහන් වහන්සේ නිසා බෑයන් සියයක් ඉක්මවා මේ මහාරාජ්‍යයට පැමිනියෙමියි ප්‍රීතිවාක්‍ය පැවැත්වූ සේක.

ගාමනි කුමාරයන් රාජ්‍යයට පැමිනි සත්අට දවසක් ඇවෑමෙන් සිය භ්‍රාතෘවූ කුමාරවරහු තමන් වසන තැනට ගියාහුය ගාමනි මහරජතෙම දැහැමින් රාජ්‍යයකොට කම්වූ පරිද්දෙන් මියපරලොව ගියේය, බෝධිසත්වයන් වහන්සේද දානාදිවූ පින්කම්කොට කම්වූපරිද්දෙන් මියපරලොව ගියසේක. සාස්තෲවූ බුදුරජානන්වහන්සේ මේ ධර්මදේසනාව ගෙනහැරදක්වා වදාරා චතුස්සත්‍යය ප්‍රකාසකොට වදාල සේක. චතුස්සත්‍යයාගේ අවසානයෙහි පසුබට වීර්‍ය්‍ය ඇති භික්ෂූන්වහන්සේ අර්හත් ඵලයෙහි පිහිටි සේක. සාස්තෲන් වහන්සේ අතීත කථාව හා වර්ත්තමාන කථාව ගෙණහැරදක්වා වදාරා පූර්ව්වාපර සන්ධිගලපා මේ ගාමිනි ජාතකය වදාලසේක.

APPENDIX V.

The Text of the Játaka Pela Sanne or Játaka Gáthá Sanne (Játakas 1–50), with Notes.—By J. F. Dickson, M.A. (Oxon.).

THIS sanne is attributed to Rájamurári. Who he was and when he lived is not known: but it is generally supposed that this sanne forms part of the great Siṉhalese edition of the Játakas issued about 1307 A.D., in the reign of Parákrama Báhu IV. (surnamed Paṇḍita), who ascended the throne in 1303 A.D. He got a learned Cholian priest to teach him Páli Játakas, and afterwards caused them to be translated into Siṉhalese and read before a learned assembly of priests, who revised the work. He had copies of it distributed all over the Island, and entrusted it specially to a learned Thera called Medhankara, with directions to perpetuate it in his line of pupils. The name of the Cholian priest is not given, but the king treated him with great respect and liberality, and built for him near Ratgama a Vihara and monastery called Sirighanánanda. J. F. D.

The Old Palace,
Kandy, 10th September, 1884.

JATAKA PEḶA SANNE.*

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammá sambuddhassa.

Apaṇṇakaṁ thánaṁ eke dutiyaṁ áhu takkiká,
Etadaññáya medhávi taṁ gaṇhe yad apaṇṇakaṁ.

Eke, bodhisatvádivu samahara paṇḍita vara kenek—apaṇṇakaṁ, avirudddavu—thánam, káraṇaya—áhu, kiyati—takkiká, tamantamange utprekshayen ayuttarátthayen kalpanákaraṇṇavu tarkkayo—dutiyam, sáparádhavu deveni káraṇaya—áhu, kiyati—medhávi, nuvan'ẹtto—etaṁ, me viruddháviruddha vasayen siti káraṇaya—aññáya, dẹna—yaṁ. yamek—apaṇṇakaṁ, aviruddha—taṁgaṇhe, gaṇneyi. (Appaṇṇaka Játakam.)

2.

Akitásuno vaṇṇupathe khaṇantá
Ud'aṉgano tattha papaṁ avinduṁ
Evaṁ muni viriya balúpapaṇṇo
Akilásu vinde hadayassa santiṁ

* [NOTE.—I have corrected the proof according to Mr. Dickson's MS., not attempting to revise the text.—*Ed.*]

Akilásuno, kausídyayen duruva áraddha víryavu uttamayo—udaŋgano, uda yanu nipátaya—aŋgaṇo, manushya sañcáraṇasthánvú anávrata bhúmi pradesa ẹti—vaṇṇupathe, valukápathayehi hevat vẹli ẹti maga—khaṇantá, bhúmiya khaṇanaya karaṇṇáhu—tattha, e váluká pathayehi—papaṁ, píyamánatvayen papayayi kiyanalada jalaya—avinduṁ, ladaha—evaṁ, eparidden—viriya balúpapanno, víryayenhá káya bala ñáṇa balayen yuktavú—akilásu, kausídyayan rahita víryán vitavu—muni, tapasví tema—hadayassa santiṁ, cittayahaṭada hadaya rúpaya haṭada sítala bháva karaṇayen sántanamvú dhyána vidarsaná abhiñá arhat marga saŋkhyáta aryadharmaya—vinde, labanneyi. (Vaṇṇupatha Játakam.)

3.

Idha ce hi naṁ virádhesi saddhammassa niyámataṁ
Ciraṁ tvaṁ anutapessasi Seriváyaṁ va váṇijo.

Saddhammassa, saddharmayaṭa—niyámataṁ, pratiniyatavú srotápattimargaya—idha, mehi—virádhesi ce, idiṁ vírya nokirímen vẹradavínaṁ nopẹminíyéya (vínaṁ?)—ciraṁ, bohokalak—tvaṁ, to—anutapessasi, socanádivasayen tẹvennehi nohot víryanokirímen aryamargayen vẹradi heyin bohokalak narakádiyehi duk anubhavakoṭa tẹveyi kápariddendayat—Seriváyaṁ va váṇijo, seriváṇijo yaṁ va, seriváṇijo yathá seriváni naṁ ẹti váṇijayá yamse lakshayak vaṭaná svarna pátraya ladin pratilábhayaṭa víryanokoṭa eveni vastuyekin pirihinida—tathá, eparidden toda má vẹni víryavatvú budukenekunge ṣásanayehi mahaṇadam purá márga pratilábhayaṭa víryanokoṭa tẹvennehi yanu bhávayi. (Seriváṇija Játakam.)

4.

Appakena pi medhávi pábhatena vicakkhano
Samuṭṭhápeti attánaṁ anuṁ aggíva santhamaṁ.

Medhávi, pranávatvu—vicakkhano, vyavahárayehi dakshavu nuvanẹti purushaya—appakena pi, svalpavu hevat madavu—pábhatena, baḍumilayen—attánaṁ, tamá—samuṭṭhápeti, yaso dhana upadavá aisvaryayehi pihiṭu vanneyi—kumakmendayat—anuṁ, madavú—aggí, vahníya—santhamaṁ iva, gomaya cúrṇádi bahalá dalvá mahat karaṇuvanmen tamá yasasehi pihiṭu vanneyi. (Culla Seṭṭhi Játakam.)

5.

Kiṁ agghati taṇḍulanálíká Báráṇasiṁ
Santarabáhiraṁ agghati taṇḍulanáliká.

Taṇḍulanáliká, sahal nẹliya—kiṁ agghati, kumak agganedayi rajjuruvan visiṁ vicáraṇalada mehi purushayá—taṇḍulanáliká,

sahal nẹliya—santarabáhiraṁ, prákára parikshepa pramánayen dvádasa yojana pramána Báráṇasí saṅkhyáta antarayada triṁsat yọjana pramâna rájya maṇḍalaya saṅkhyáta báhirayadẹyi mese antara báhira sahita—Báránasiṁ, siyalu Báránasí rájjaya—agghati, agganeyayi kí. (Taṇḍulanáli Játakam.)

6.

Hiriottappa sampanná sukkadhamma samâhitá
Santo sappurisá loké devadhammáti vuccare.

Hiriottappa, káya duṣcaritádín saṅkocanayayi kiyanalada hirínda esema káya duscaritádín bhítiyayi kiyanalada apatrapáyenda—sampanná, avikalavú me kiyanalada guṇadvayen samurdhavú—sukkadhamma samáhitá, mehi hiriottappa deka ádikoṭa ẹti cáturbhúmika laukika lokottara saṅkhyáta kusala dharmayen samanvitavú—santo, káya karmádín ṣántavú heyin santanamvú—sappurisá, krataññádí guṇayen yuktavú satpurshayo—lóké, satva lokayehi—devadhammáti, rájádívu saṁvrati dévatávangéda svarga lokotpatti ẹti dévatávangéda kshiṇaṣravavú visuddhi dévatávangéda yana mé trividha dévatávangé dharmayayi—vuccare, kiyanu lẹbet. (Devadhamma Játakam.)

7.

Putto tyáhaṁ mahárája tvaṁ maṁ posa janádhipa
Aññepi devo poseti kinca devo sakaṁ pajanti.

Mahárája, maharaja—te, tége—ahaṁ, mama—putto, átmaja putrayami - janádhipa, jana pradhánaya—tvaṁ, to—maṁ, má—posa, rakshakara—devo, devayo—aññepi, asvabandhádivu manushyayanda hastyasvádivu triyaggatayanda—poseti, posanaya kereti—sakaṁ pajaṁ kiñca, svakíyavú prajávan rakiti kiyayutudẹyi kiñca yana nipátaya nindartha anugrahartha dekhi veṭeyi eseheyin topaṭa putravú má rakshá nokaraṇṇá vádẹyi kiyá nindáva avaṣyayen rakshákaraṇṇá vadeyi kímen anugrahayada prakása kele. (Kaṭṭahári Játakam.)

8.

Api ataramánánaṁ phalása va samijjhati
Vipakkabrahmacariyôsmi, evaṁ jánáhi Gámani.

Ataramánánaṁ, nuvanẹttavunge avavádayehi pihiṭatuvita nova upáyakramayen karmántayehi prayuktayaṇṭa—phalása, prátthitavú prayojanayehi ásá nohot ásáphalaya—samijjhati, eva samurdha vemaya—vipakkabrahma cariyôsmiṁ, dánártha priyavacana samánátmatá saṅkyáta brahmacariyayan múlakavú yasas sampattínda muhukuruva siṭi bẹvin paripakvavú brahmacariyá ẹtivímí—gámanī, grámaniya—evaṁ, mese—jánáhi, danu—grámani ṣabda

grámajeshṭayan kerehidu sabbajana sreshṭayan kerihidu vẹṭayi metẹṇhi gámani yanuyen taman sarva jana jeshṭa heyin átma dvitíyakoṭa tamaṇtama amantranaya kalo. (Gámini Játakam)

9.

Uttamaṇgaruhá mayhaṁ ime játá vayohará
Pátubhútá devadútá pabbajjá samayo mama.

Mayhaṁ, máge—uttamaṇgaruhá, siyalu aṇga pratyaṇgayanṭa uttamayayi kiyanalada sirashi játa heyin uttamaṇgaruha namvu —vayo hará, phalidutpátayen trividha vayasa hẹragannávu—ime, mohu me narakeshu—játá, játayaha—devadútá, mṛityu márayáge dútavú nohot devatávaku vẹni dûtayo—pátubhútá, práturbbhútavúha—ese heyiṁ—mama, máge—pabbajjá, pravrarjjávaṭa—samayo—, kaḷeyi. (Makhádeva Játakam.)

10.

Yañca aññe na rakkhanti yo ca aññe na rakkhati
Sa ve rája sukhaṁ seti kámesu anapekkhavá.

Rája, maharaja—so, putgala tema—kámesu anapekkhavá,vastu káma klesakáma yehi apekshávak nẹtiva—ve, ekántayen—sukhaṁ seti, hudakaláva káya viveka citta viveka sẹpayen yuktava vásayakaraṇṇeya hudek sayanaya karaṇṇe nove mebandu pudgala tema siyalu iriyápatha yehi sẹpase kalyavanneya yanu bhávayi. (Sukhavihári Játakam. Apaṇṇaka Vaggo Pathamo.)

11.

Hoti sílávataṁ attho paṭisanthára vuttinaṁ
Lakkhaṇaṁ passa áyantaṁ ñátisaṇghapurakkhataṁ
Atha passasi maṁ kāḷaṁ, suvihiñaṁ vaṅátihi.

Silavataṁ, silvatvu—paṭisanthára vuttinaṁ, Atha dharmmámisa vasayen dvividavú paṭisanthárayema pravrarttakoṭaẹtavunṭa —attho, abhivraddhi—hoti, vanneya—ñátisaṇgha, bandhusamúhayá visiṁ—purakkhataṁ, puraskratavú—lakkhanaṁ, lakshaṇayá —áyantaṁ, ennahu—passa, bala—atha, ikbitteṁ—ñatihi, nẹyaṁ visiṁ—suvihinaṁ, viṣeshayeṁ hínavú—imaṁ kálaṁ, mekálayá—passasi, bala siládyáneka guṇáṇgayen yukta lakkhaṇayaṇ bandhuvarggayá pirivaráena paridida kisi guṇa viṣeshayak nẹti kálaya bandhuvargga virahitayaṭa pẹmiṇa ekaláva ena paridida balayi Bodhisatvayo mragadhenuvaṭa niyoga keret. (Lakkhaṇa Játakam.)

12.

Nigrodhameva seveyya na sákham upasaṁ vase
Nigrodhasmiṁ mataṁ seyyo yañca sákhasmiṁ jívitaṁ.

Nigrodhameva nigrodhamragayáma — seveyya, sévanayakaraṇṇéya—sákhaṁ, sákhanaṁ mragarájayá—na upasaṁvase,

samípayehi no vasanneyí, sákhasmiṁ, sákhanaṁ mragarájayá svamípayehi—yańca jívitaṁ, yam jívatvímak ẹdda eyaṭa vaḍá—nigrodhasmiṁ, nigrodhamraga rájayá kerehi—matam, maraṇa—seyyo, utum vannéyi. (Nigrodhamiga Játakam.)

13.

Dhiratthu kaṇḍinaṁ sallaṁ purisaṁ gálhavedhinaṁ
Dhiratthu taṁ janapadaṁ yatth'itthi parináyiká
Te cápi dhikkitá sattá ye itthínaṁ vasaṁ gatá.

Kaṇḍinaṁ sallam kiyá, niggahítaya candas pinisayayi gena—kaṇḍina, kaṇḍinayayana nam ẹti—sallaṁ, anupravesanárthayen sallanaṁ sẹraya ẹti nohot kaṇḍinaṁ káṇḍaya ẹti—sallaṁ, salyanamvú sẹraya ẹti—gálha vedhinaṁ dridha koṭa vidhinávu—purisaṁ, purushayáṭa—dhiratthu, nindá vevá—yattha, yam tenekhí—itthi, strí—parináyiká, aisvaryyayehi ṡiṭa pamunuvannída—taṁ janapadaṁ, é janapadayaṭa—dhiratthu,—nindávevá—ye, yamek—itthinaṁ vasaṁ, visibavaṭa—gatá, giyoda—té cápi sattá, é satvayoda—dhikkitá, ninditayaha—me gátháven nindita vastún tundeneku dekvúha yanu abhiprayi. (Kaṇḍina Játakam.)

14.

Nakiratthi rasehi pápiyo
A'vásehi vá santhavẹhi vá
Vátamigaṁ gehanissitaṁ
Vasamánesi raséhi sañjayo.

A'vásehi vá, nirantara vásasthánavú ávásayehida chandarágaya—pápiyo, lámakaya—santhavehi vá, mitrasanthavayehida chandarágaya—pápiyo, lámakaya é detẹṇhi chandarágayaṭa vaḍá—rasehi, madhurámbaládivu jivhá viññeyyavú rasayéhi chandarágayaṭa vaḍá—pápiyo, pápatarayek—naca atthi kira, noma ẹt ḷa esemẹyi—gehanissitaṁ, grahanastbánaya ásrítavú—vátamigaṁ, vátamragayá—sañjayo, sanjayanam udyánapálatema—rasehi, rasayen — vasaṁ, tamáge vasaṇgabavaṭa — ánesi, pẹminaví. (Vátamiga Játakam.)

15.

Aṭṭhakhuraṁ kharádiye migaṁ vaṇkátivaṇkinaṁ
Sattahi kaláha 'tikkantaṁ nanaṁ ovaditumussahe.

Kharádiye, kharádiya nam tẹnẹttiya—aṭṭhakhuraṁ, aṭakurayak ẹti—vaṇkátivaṇkinaṁ, mulinvakvu haṁ ẹti heyiṁ vankátivaṁ kiyayi kiyanalada—sattahi kaláhi, sapta avaváda kaláyen—atikkantaṁ, ikmunu—naṁ migaṁ, é mragayáṭa—ovadituṁ, avavádakarannaṭa ussahe, utsáha nẹttemi. (Kharádiya Játakam.)

[On this, the Bishop of Colombo remarks: " *Sattahi kaláh*

atikh. is no doubt the true reading, but B. has *káláha* and Fausboll *káleki.* This is almost certainly a blunder, but on this blunder the whole story is built. With *kaláhi* the gáthá is sensible, but irrelevant to the story. It is a curious instance of a tale got up by the commentator, and that under a mistake!" (See Note 4.)]

16.

Migaṁ tipallattha maneka máyaṁ aṭṭhakhuraṁ aḍḍharattáva-
páyiṁ
Ekena sotena chamássasanto chahi kaláhatibhoti bhágineyyo.

Tipallatthaṁ, deḷayena induráyayi mese trividhavu sayanaya karaṇṇávú—anekamáyaṁ, boho máya ẹti—aṭṭhakhuraṁ, aṭakurayak ẹti—aḍḍharattávapáyiṁ, maddhyama rátriyehi bonnávu—migaṁ, mragayá yahapatkoṭa mragamáyá igẹnvímí—é kesédayat—ekena sotena, ekyaṭavu násiká srotasiṁ—chamà, polavaṭa—assasanto, svásayaharane—chahi, shaṭkaláyen—bhoti, pinvata—bhágineyyo, ma bẹna—kaláhati, vyádhayá vañcá kere—nohot—chahi kaláhi, mragayá shaṭkaláyen—ati hoti, vẹddá mẹḍí ehi shaṭkalánaṁ pádayan sataradenáge prasáraṇaya koṭa eka pársva sayanayaya khurayen triṇa páṁsu dhúri karaṇaya jivhá nirggamanaya udarayáge sopákratayaṭa pẹmiṇivímaya mutra purísa dedenáge visarggayaya báyha vana vátaya sannirumbhaya yana mé saya ho—nohot—veddá visiṁ alvágena abhimukhava adanákalada, nẹvata obaṭa damá piyanakalada vamlayaṭa damálanakalada dakunẹlayaṭa damálanakalada uḍaṭa nagálanakalada nagá yaṭa helálanakaladẹyi mé satẹṇhi mrata práyava vẹda honakalada he shaṭkalánaṁ vanneyi. (Tipallattha Miga Játakaṁ.)

17.

Káḷe vá yadi vá juṇhe yadá váyati málut,
Vátajánihi sítáni ubhóttha maparájitá.

Káḷe vá, krashna pakshayehida—yadi vá, nohot—juṇhe, sukla pashayehida yana depakshayen—yadá, yam kalekhi—máluto, púrvádi digin yukta márutaya—váyati, hamáda é samayehi síta ve—kumak heyinda yat—yasmá, yam heyakin—sítáni, sítayo—vátajáni, vátajayoda—tasmá, eheyin ettha, mehilá—ubho, siṁha vyágra tepi dedenama—aparájitá, parẹdda vu. (Máluta Játakaṁ.)

18.

Evañ ce sattá jáneyyuṁ dukkháyaṁ játisaṁbhavo
Na páṇo páṇinaṁ haññe páṇaghátihi socati.

Ayaṁ, me—játi, é é tẹṇhi upattiyada—sambhavo, vẹḍímada—

dukkhá, játyádi dukkhayanṭa kárañá heyin dukkhayaheyi—sattá satvayo—ce, idin—evaṁ, mesé—jáneyyuṁ, paravadha karaṇṇe játisambhávayehi vadha labanneyayi dannávunam—páṇo, práṇiyek —páṇinaṁ, práṇiyakhu—nahaññe, hiṁsá nokaraṇṇeyayi—kumak heyinda yat—hiyasmá, yam heyakin—páṇa gháti, práṇavinásaya karaṇṇe—socati, narakádiyehi sóka karaṇṇéda eheyin satvayek satyayakhu divi nogalavanneyi. (Matakabhatta Játakaṁ.)

19.

Sace muñce pecca muñce muncamáno hi bajjhati
Ná hévaṁ dhirá muccanti mutti bálassa bandhanaṁ.

Sace, idin—muñce, tó min midenu kemettehi vínam—pecca, paralovada—muñce, midenaparidden mida—muñcamáno hi, práṇa vadhádi duṣcarita koṭa dẹn midennéda—bajjhati, matupápa pásayen bẹndenneyi—dhírá, nuvanẹtto—evaṁ, matu pápapásayen nomidena paridden—nahi muccanti, nomidet—bálassa, aññáṇayáge—mutti, práṇa vadha koṭa muktiya—bandhanaṁ, bandhanamayi—yamek práṇavadhakoṭa antaráyen mideda he paralova pápapásayen nomidena heyin midunat bẹndunánam veyi yana abhipráyi. (A'yácitabhatta Játakaṁ.)

20.

Disvá padam anuttiṇṇam disvá n'otaritam padam
Naḷena várim pivissáma n'eva maṁ tvaṁ vadhissasi.

Anuttiṇṇaṁ, godaṭa nonẹgi—padaṁ, piyavara—disvá, dẹka—otaritaṁ, diyaṭa baṭa—padaṁ, piyavara—disvána, dẹka—naḷena, baṭa nalin—várim, jalaya—pivissáma, boṁha—tvaṁ, to—maṁ, má—novadhissasi, noma vadhakereyi—viḷa sisárá ẹvida goḍin diyaṭa baṭa piyamut nẹgi piya nẹti heyiṇ yakshá dhisṭita viḷekẹyi dẹna baṭa daṇḍak gena páramitá dharmmayan sihikoṭa pimba gẹṭa nẹtikoṭa vánara senáva há ekva goḍahinda pẹn púha yanu abhipráyi. (Naḷapána Játakaṁ.—Sílavaggo dutiyo, Devana sílavagayi.)

21.

Ñátam etaṁ kuruṇgassa yaṁ tvaṁ sepaṇṇi seyyasi
Aññaṁ sepaṇṇiṁ gaccháma na mete rucate phalaṁ.

Sepaṇṇi, ẹddemaṭa gasa—tvaṁ, to—yaṁ, yam phalayak—seyyasi, isuru vayida yana—etaṁ, mé—kuruṇgassa, kuruṇgayá sambandhava—ñátam, dannálada—nohot—kuruṇgayahaṭa prakaṭaya—aññaṁ, anik—sepaṇṇiṁ, sepaṇṇiyakaṭa—gaccháma, yamha—te, táge—phalaṁ, phalaya—mé, maṭa—na rucate, no rusneyi—mesé vraksha vyájayen vyádhayáṭa kiyá gasaṭa nopẹmina maga kiyaha yanu abhipráyi. (Kuruṇga Miga Játakaṁ.)

22.

Ye kukkurá rájakulasmi vaddhá
Koleyyaká vaṇṇa balúpapanná
Te'me na vajjhá mayam asma vajjhá
Náyaṁ saghaccá dubbala ghátikáyaṁ.

Vaṇṇa, ṣarírа varṇṇayen há—bala, káya balayen—upapanná, yuktavu—koleyyaká, rajakulayehi játavu—rájakulasmiṁ, rajageyi—vaddhá, vęḍiyávu—ye kukkurá, yaṁ balukenek ędda—te'me, te ime, he me sasvámikavu rakshásahita ballo—navajjhá, avadhayayaha vadhayaṭa sudusso noveti—mayaṁ, api—vajjhá asma, vadharhavúṁha—ayaṁ, mé vadhaya—saghaccá na, prabala vadhanam novè—ayaṁ, mé vadhaya—dubbalaghátiká, durvala vadhanam vé. (Kukkura Játakaṁ.)

23.

Api passena semáno sallena sallalíkato
Seyyova vaḷavá bhojjo yuñña maññeva sárathi.

Sallena, serayen—sallalíkato, vidinálada—é heyinma—passena, eka pársvayen—semáno api, honádavu—bhojjo va, bhojájániyya vu játi saindhava yáma—valavá, kaluṇkásvayáṭa vaḍá—seyyo, utuma—sárathi, sárathiya—maññeva, máma—yuñja, yoda—rathácáriya vidká durvalava hottávu mamma ṣreshtayemi tá yodannaṭa paṭangat nohikmunu asvayá hęra máma yuddhayaṭa yódayi yanu abhipráyi. (Bhojájáníya Játakaṁ.)

24.

Yadá yadá yattha yadá yattha yattha yadá yadá
A'jañño kurute vegaṁ háyantí tattha váḷavá.

Yadá yadá, púrváṇhádivu yam yam kalekhi vevayi—yattha, grámádivu yam tęnekhi vevayi—yadá, yam ksheṇayekhi vevayi—yattha yattha, yam yam yuddha maṇḍalayekhi vevayi—yadá yadá, yam yam kalekhi vevayi hevat prahára labdha kálayehida alabdha kálayehida—ájañño, abhiprá danná suluvu utum saindhava yáma—vegaṁ, vyáyámaya—kurute, keréda hevat víryya kirímaṭa prárambha keréda—tattha, ehilá hevat uttuma asvayatnayen prayukta kalhi—váḷavá kaluṇkásvayo—háyanti, pirihet hevat uttumásvayáhá ekdhurayekhi diviya nohet—eheyin máma yodava yanu abhiprayi. (Ajañña Játakaṁ.)

25.

Aññamaññehi titthehi assaṁ páyehi sárathi
Accásanassa puriso páyásassa pi tappati.

Sárathi, ratha padanava—annamaññehi, anik anik—titthehi, toṭakiṇ—assaṁ, asvayá—páyehi, pova—puriso, pursha tema—

accásanassa, atyásanayen adhikakoṭa kẹma karaṇakoṭagena—páyásassapi, sarppiyádín abhisaṁskratavu madhura páyásayenda—tappati, traptave—mehi accásanassa yanu karanátthayehi ṣashtíyi mé tírtthayehi snána pána yehi niyuktavu asvayá dẹn anik asvayekugé snánayen apavitravu tírtthayehi tamáge sriṇgávatvaya hetukoṭagena paricitavu tírtthayehi snánaya nokẹmẹttéya eséheyin aniktoṭaka nahavayi yana abhiprâyi. (Tittha Játakaṁ.)

26.

Puráṇacorána vaco nisamma Mahilámukho pothaya mannucárii
Susaññátánaṁ hi vaco nisamma gajuttamo sabbaguṇésu aṭṭháti.

Mahilámukho, hastinimukha sadrisa heyin nohot abhimukha darṣanayen hobaná heyin hó mahilá mukha naṁ ẹti—puráṇacoránaṁ, puráṇacorayangé—vaco, raudra tepul—nisamma, asá—mannucári, kópayen yuktava hẹsirenné nohot manva cári kiyá páṭha gena—anvacárí, raudravacanayaṭa anuvu pravratti ẹtuva—pothayaṁ, praháraya denné—susaññatánaṁ, káyavák samácárayen susaññatayangé—vaco, tepul—nisamma, paríkshákoṭa asá—gajuttamo, gajóttama tema—subbaguṇésu, purvayéhi tamágé siyalu guṇayehi—aṭṭháti, pihiṭiyéyi. (Mahilámakha Játakaṁ.)

27.

Náḷaṁ kabaḷaṁ padátave
Na ca piṇḍaṁ na kuse na ghaṁsituṁ
Maññámi abhiṇha dassaná
Nágo sineha makási kukkure.

Kabaḷam, devayeni bataṭa palamukoṭa dena kaṭuka bhaisadyayen yukta—kabaḷaṁ, piḍa—padátave, gaṇṇaṭa hevat ánubhava karaṇṇaṭa—náḷaṁ na aḷaṁ, nopohosata—piṇḍaṁ, pinḍukoṭa dena batada—padátavé, gaṇṇaṭa—náḷaṁ, nopohsata—kuse, triṇada—padátave, gaṇṇaṭa hevat anubhava karaṇṇaṭa—náḷaṁ, nopohosata—ghaṁsituṁ, nahavanavélehi ṣaríro dvarttanaya karaṇṇaṭada—náḷaṁ, nopohosata—abhiṇha dassaná, satta ṣatata darshanaya hétukoṭagena—nágo, ẹt tema—kukkuré, ballá kerehi—sinehamakási snéha keleyayi—maññámi, haṇ gimi—é heyin é prémakaḷa ballá genvá sóka pahakaravá yanu abhipráyí. (Abhiṇha Játakaṁ.)

28.

Manuññameva bháseyya námanuññaṁ kudácanaṁ
Manuññaṁ bhásamanassa garuṁ bharaṁ udaddhari
Dhanañ ca naṁ alabbhesi tena c'attamano ahú.

Manuññaṁ eva, pharushádín durukoṭa manogña vacanayakma

—bhaseyya, bananneyi—kudácanaṁ, kisi kalekhidu—amanuññaṁ, amanogñakoṭa—nabháseyya, pharushádín miṣrakoṭa nobananneya eyin prayojanaya kindayat—manuññaṁ, manogñakoṭa hevat premanvitakoṭa bhásamánassa banannáhaṭa—garuṁ, sakaṭa sata pramáṇa vasayen baravu—bháraṁ, mahábháraya—udaddhari, idiriya nohot tubu tẹnin peḷáheḷápiya—naṁ, e bamuṇá—dhanañ ca, vastuvada— alabbhesi, lẹbeviya—tena, e heyin—attamano ca, satuṭuvuyeda—ahu, ví—udaddhari ki tẹna dakáraya saṁhitá seyin ágamavi. (Nandivisála Játakam.)

29.

Yato yato garu dhuraṁ yato gambhíra vattani
Tad'assu kaṇhaṁ yuñjanti svassu taṁ vahatedhuraṁ.

Yato yato, yam yam tẹnekhi—dhuraṁ, dhuraya—garu, barada—sesu bali varddayo osavannaṭa nopohosat huda—yato, yam yam tẹnekhi—gambhíravattani, jaloghádín gambhíranam sakaṭa márgaya gambhíravínam—sesu gon pahakoṭa kaṇha naṁ bali varddayá bhávayaṭa giyávu márgayek ẹdda—tadá, ekalhi—kaṇhaṁ, krashṇa nam vrashabhayá—yuñjanti, yodati—so, he—yodanalada krishṇanaṁ vrashabha rája tema— taṁ dhuraṁ, e yuga dhuraya—vahate, usulanneyi ẹda goḍatabanneyi—assu yanu nipátayi—yam tẹnekhi isuluva maná dhuraya baravínaṁ sakaṭa márgaya gambhíranam sesu gon pahakoṭa kaṇhanam bali varddayá yodati he yuga dhuraya ẹda goḍa tabanneyi yanu bhávayi. (Kanha Jatakam.)

30.

Má Muṇikassa pihayi, áturannáni bhuñjatí
Appossukko bhusaṁ kháda, etaṁ digháyulakkhaṇaṁ.

Muṇikassa, Muṇika nam súkarayáge bhojanaya—má pihayi, nahamak práttanákara kumak heyinda yat e Muṇika nam súkara tema—áturannáni, maraṇáháraya tamahaṭa marana bata—bhuñjati, kayi—appossukko, madhuráhárayaṭa utsáha nokoṭa—bhusaṁ atyárttayen—kháda, taṭa lẹbunu batama ká—etaṁ, me—dígháyulakkhanaṁ, dírggháyuska vímaṭa lakshaṇayi. Munika Játakam. Kuruṇga vaggo tatiyo, Tunvana kurunga vagayi.)

31.

Kulávaká Mátali Simbalismiṁ ísámukhena parivajjayassu
Kámaṁ cajáma asuresu páṇaṁ mayime dvijá vikulává ahesuṁ.

Mátali, Mátali diviyaputraya—simbalismiṁ, himbul venehi—kulávaká, suparṇnapotakayo elihovati ovun—ísámukhena, ratha sírshayen—parivajjayassu, durukara—kámaṁ, ekantayen—asuresu, asurayan kerehi—páṇaṁ, práṇaya—cajáma, haru—ime, me—

dvijá, suparṇṇapotakayo—vikulá, vigatávú kulávaka ęttáhu—má ahesuṁ, nahamak vetvá—asurayan ata miyamo numut apa nisá suparṇṇapotakayo rathayen gęsi nomiyetvayi yana abhipráyi. (Kulávaka Játakam.)

32.

Rudaṁ manuññaṁ rucirá ca piṭṭhi
Veḷuriya vaṇṇúpanibhá ca gívá
Byámamattáni ca pekkhuṇáni
Naccena te dhítaraṁ no dadámi.

Rudaṁ, mayúraya tége ṣabdaya—manuññam, manogñaya—piṭṭhi ca, piṭada—rucirá, sit kaluya—gívá ca, grívávada—veḷuriya, vaiḍhúryya mánikyayehi—vaṇṇúpanibhá, varṇṇahá sadrisaya—pekkhuṇáni ca, tége piñja bhárayoda—byámamattáni vyámamátraya mese rucivuvada—te, tége—naccena, bhayalęjjá nęti nratyaya hetukoṭagena—dhítaraṁ, máge duva—nodadámi, taṭa no demi. (Nacca Jatakam.)

33.

Sammodamáná gacchanti jálamádáya pakkhino
Yadá te vivadissanti tadá ehinti me vasanti.

Pakkhino, vaṭuvaha yana pakshíhu—sammodamána, viváda nokaraṇṇáhu samagava—jálaṁ, dęla—ádáya, nagá ęrageṇa—gacchanti, yeti—te, e pakshíhu—yadá, yam kalekhi—vivadissanti, viváda keredda—tadá, ekalhi—me vasaṁ, máge visíbavaṭa—ehinti, eti—edavas unhęmadená hęra tí satuṭu keravami yana abhipráyi. (Sammodamána Jatakam.)

34.

Na maṁ sítaṁ na maṁ uṇhaṁ na maṁ jálasmiṁ bádhanaṁ
Yañ ca maṁ maññate macchi aññaṁ so ratiyá gato.

Maṁ, má—sítaṁ, sítaya—na, bádhanaya karanne noveyi—maṁ, má—uṇhaṁ, úsnaya—na, bádhanaya karanne noveyi—maṁ, má—jálasmiṁ, dęlehi—bádhanaṁ, bendímada—na, bádhanaya karanne noveyi—vęli píḍánaṁ kindayat—maṁ, má—yañ ca, yam heyakin nohot yambanduvu—macchi, máge męsini—so, he máge matsyayá—aññaṁ, anit, męsinnaka samípayaṭa—ratiyá, rati piṇisa—gato, giyeyayi—maññate, sitáda—heme siyalu dukaṭa vaḍa pelenneya yanu abhipráyi. (Maccha Játakam.)

35.

Santi pakkhá apataná, santi pádá avañcaná
Mátá pitá ca nikkhantá, játaveda paṭikkamá.

Pakkhá, máge pakshayo—santi, vidyamánayaka—apataná

ákása gamanayaṭa asakyayaha—pádá, pádayo—santi, ẹttáha—avañcaná, vañcanayakoṭa yannaṭa ayogyayaha—mátá, ma mẹniyo da—pitá ca, ma piyáno da—nikkhantá, má hẹra giyaha—játaveda, játavedaya—paṭikkamá, nẹvata—nẹgiyayi játavedayáṭa niyoga kolo. (Vaṭṭaka Játakam.)

36

Yaṁ nissitá jagatiruhaṁ vihaṇgamá sváyaṁ aggiṁ pamuñcati
Disá bhajatha vakkaṇgá, játaṁ saraṇato bhayaṁ.

Yaṁ, yam—jagatiruhaṁ, vrakshayak—vihaṇgamá, pakshíhu—nissitá, ásraya kaloda—sváyaṁ, e me vrakshaya—aggi, gini—pamañcati, haraṇeya—vakkaṇgá, vakravu grivháhá paksha ẹti heyin vakkaṇga nam lada pakshíni—disá, digun—bhajatha, sevu—saraṇato, saraṇa sthánayen—bhayaṁ, bhaya—játaṁ, upaní—yam heyakiṇ saraṇasthánavu vrakshayen gini heda eheyin nẹgi yava yanu abhiprâyi. (Sakuṇa Játakam.)

37

Ye vaddhama pacáyanti nará dhammassa kovidá
Diṭṭhe va dhamme pásaṁsá samparáyeca suggati.

Dhammassa, vraddhápacayana darmmayehi—kovidá, dakshavú ye nará, yam manushakenek—vaddhaṁ, kulavraddha guṇavraddha vayovraddha tundená keren guṇavraddha vayovraddha dedená-haṭa—apacáyanti, pújákeredda, ohu—diṭṭhe va dhamme, mema átma bhávayehi—pásaṁsá, prasaṁsá vahaveti—samparáye ca, melova hẹra yá yutu paralevu hudu—suggati, suggatiyaṭa yannáhuyi. (Tittara Játakam.)

38.

Náccantaṁ nikatippañño nikatyá sukhamedhati
A'rádhe nikatippañño bako kakkaṭaká miva.

Nikatippañño, vañcábuddhi ẹtte—nikatyá, tamáge vañcávenaccantaṁ, atyantayen—sukhaṁ, suva—na edhati—novaḍá hevat nityayen kisi suvayekhi nopihiṭá—nikatippañño, kairáṭika bhávayen hikmunu pragñá ẹti purshatema—árádhe, tamahaṭa bhayak árádhanákaranneyi hevat labanneyi kesedayat—kakkaṭaká, kakuluvá keren grívácceedayaṭa pẹmiṇí—bako iva, koku meni—yamse bakayá tamáge vañcábuddhín karkkaṭakayá keren grívácceedayaṭa pẹmiṇa viṇásayaṭa giyada ohu men yamek satha-pravatti ẹttevínaṁ e viṇásayaṭa pẹmiṇeyi seyi. (Baka Játakam.)

39.

Maññe sovaṇṇayo rási sovaññamálá ca Nandako
Yattha dáso ámajáto ṭhito phulláni gajjati.

A'majáto, kulajátidásiyage putvu—Nandako, Nandaka nam—

dáso, dásatema—yattha, yam tẹnekhi—ṭhito, siṭiye—phulláni, pharushakoṭa—gajjati, garjjaná kereda hevat beneda—sovaṇṇayo, sobhaṇavu varṇṇa sámányayen svarṇarajatádin nivrattavú—rási, rásiyada—sovaṇṇa málá ca, svarṇa máláda—ettha, metẹnhiyayi—maññe, haṇgim—yattha, yanu balá ettha yanu áddhyáhárayi. (Nanda Játakam.)

40.

Kámaṁpatámi nirayaṁ uddhapádo avaṁsiro
Nánariyaṁ karissámi, handa piṇḍaṁ paṭiggaha.

Uddhapádo, úrddhapáda vúyem—avaṁsiro, avaṁkratavú his ẹttem—kámaṁ, ekántayen—nirayaṁ, aṇgárakásu saṁkhyatavú narakayẹhi—patámi, hemi—etakudu vuva—anariyaṁ, áryyayan visin nokaraṇalada adána asíládi anaryyakriyávan—nakarissámi nokaremi—handa, ebẹvin—piṇḍaṁ, piḍukoṭa kẹma hetukoṭagena piṇḍayayi kiyanalada bata—patiggaha, piliganu. (Khadiraṇgára Játakam.—Kulávaka vaggo catuttho, Ṣataravana kulávaka vagayi.)

41.

Yo atthakámassa hitánukampino
Ovajjamáno na karoti sásanaṁ
Ajiyá pádamolubbha Mittako viya socati.

Atthakámassa, abhivraddhikẹmẹttávu—hitánukampino, hitayen anukampá karaṇṇahuge—sásanaṁ, anusẹsanaya — ovajjamáno, avaváda karaṇu labannávu—yo, yamek—na karoti, no kareda esevu purushatema — ajiyá, eliyage—pádaṁ, paya—olubbha, eliya gena—Mittako viya, Mitravindakayá paridden—socati, soka karanneyi. (Losaka Játakam.)

42,

Yo atthakámassa hitánukampino
Ovajjamáno na karoti sásanaṁ
Kapotakassa vacanaṁ akatvá
Amittahatthattha gatóva seti.

Púrvárddhaya yaṭákí árthamaya.

Kapotakassa, kapotakayáge—vacanaṁ, avaváda vacanaya—akatvá, nokoṭa—amitta, amitravu súdayáge—hatthattha, hastastha bavaṭa—gatóva, giyávu kákayámen—seti, vyasana práptava honeyi. (Kapota Játakam.)

43.

Yo atthakámassa hitánukampino
Ovajjamáno na karoti sásanaṁ
Evaṁ so nihato seti Veḷukassa yathá pitá.

Mehi púrvárddhaya yaṭákí àrttha ẹtteya yamek me kiyana

paridden avavádaka katrúnge vacanayehi nohikminida esevu purshatema—Veḷukassa, Velukanam sarppayáge—pitá, piyo—yathá, yamseda—evaṁ, e paridden—nihato, nashṭavúye—seti honeyi. (Veḷuka Játakam.)

44.

Seyyo amitto matiyá upeto
Natveva mitto mativippahíno
Makasaṁ vadhissanti hi elamúgo
Putto pitu abbhidá uttamaṅgaṁ.

Matiyá, pragñáven—upeto, yuktavu—amitto, amitra tema—seyyo, uttamaya—mati, pragñáven—vippahíno, viprahínavu—mitto, mitra tema—natu eva seyyo, noma utumi—kumakheyinda yat—elamúgo, elmúgavú hevat jaḍavú putto, pit—makasaṁ, maduruvú—vadhissanti, maramiyi—pitu, piyáge—uttamaṅgaṁ, uttamáṅgaya—abhidá peḷi. (Makása Játakam.)

45.

Seyyo amitto medhávi yañ ce bálánukampako
Passa Rohinikaṁ jammiṁ mátaraṁ hantvána socati.

Anukampako, karuṇá ettávu—yañ ce bálo, yo náma bálo yantaṁ bálayek edda, úṭa vaḍá—medhávi, nuvanettávu—amitto, amitrayáma—seyyo, uttamaya—jammiṁ, jaghanyavú hevat bâlavu—Rohinikaṁ, Rohininam nuvananettiya—passa, bala—mátaraṁ, mava—hantvàna, messan maramiyi—musala prahárayen mará—socati, soka keremeyi—yaṁ, yanu yoyi kiyá liṅga viparyyásayen gena—ce, yanu námartthayayi gena arttha kiyanu. (Rohini Játakam.)

46.

Na ve anatthakusalena atthacariyá sukhávahá
Hápeti atthaṁ dummedho kapi árámiko yathá.

Anatthakusaleno, anartthayehi dakshayá visin—atthacariyá, artthacaryyatomo—sukhávahá na, suva elavanni nova suva no elavanníyayi seyi—ve yanu nipátayi—dummedho, durmmedha tema—atthaṁ, veḍa—hápeti, pirihelâ—kumak heyinda yat—árámiko, udyána prayuktavú, kapi yathá, vánarayá weni—duṁmedhassu veḍaṭa karaṇa yamek aveḍama elavanneyayi seyi. (A'rámadúsa Játakam.)

47.

Na ve anatthakusalena atthacariyá sukhávahá
Hápeti atthaṁ dummedho Koṇḍañño váruniṁ yathá.

Anatthakusalena, anartthayehi dakshayá visin karaṇálada—atthacariyá, artthacariyá tomo—sukhávahána, suva elavanni nova—mehidu ve yanu nipátayi—dummedho, nuvana nette—

atthaṁ, tamahaṭa vana vẹḍa—hápeti, piriheda—kámendayat—váruṇi, surávan ẹsu—Koṇḍañño yathá Koṇḍañña nam ṣishyayá meni yamse he suráva yahapat keremi lunalá nesída eparidden dúrvaddhín yahapat keremi, napurama kereyi yanu abhiprayayi. (Váruṇisurá dúsá Játakam.)

48.

Anupáyena yo atthaṁ icchati so vihaññati
Cetá haniṁsu Vedabbhaṁ sabbe te vyasanamajjhagu.

Yo, yamek—anupáyena, anupáyen—atthaṁ, abivraddhi—icchati, kẹmati veda—so, hetema—vihaññati, nassí—Cetá, Ceta nam raṭa vẹsi Caurayo—Vedabbhaṁ, Vaidarbbha nam mantraya hetukoṭagena Vedabbha nam bráhmaṇayá haniṁsu, vinásakaḷaha—te sabbe, e siyalu Caurayoda—vyasanaṁ, vyasanayaṭa—ajjhagu, pẹmiṇiyo. (Vedabbha Játakam.)

49.

Nakkhattaṁ patimánentaṁ attho bálaṁ upaccagá
Attho atthassa nakkhattaṁ, kiṁ karissanti táraká.

Nakkhattaṁ, nakat—patimánentaṁ, balannávu—bálaṁ, agñáṇayáge—attho, artthaya—upaccagá, ikmaye—atthassa, artthayaṭa—attho, abhishṭa arttha pratilábhayaṭa ma—nakkhattaṁ nakshatra nama—táraká, táraka rúpayo—kiṁ karissanti, kavara nam artthayak sádadda no sádatiyi seyí. (Nakkhatta Játakam.)

50.

Dummedhánam sahassena yañño me upayácito
Idáni kho'haṁ yajissámi, bahú adhammiko jano.

Dummedhá naṁ, durmmedha minisunge—sahassena, sahasrayakin—yañño, yágaya—me, má visin—upayácito, árádhaná karanalada—ahaṁ, mama—idánikho, dẹn vanáhi—yajissámi, yágakeremiyi—adhammiko, pránátipátádiyehi niyukta adharmmikavú—jano, janayo, bahu, boho denayi. (Dummedha Játakam.—Atthakáma vaggo pañcamo, Pasvana artthakáma vagayi.)

In the preparation of this text I have had the use of three MSS.—one belonging to the Malwatte Monastery in Kandy, one to the Hanguranketa Potgula, one lent me by the Atapattu Mudaliyár of Galle, Mr. E. R. Gunaratna. They are referred to as (M)., (H)., and (G).

1. Read Idha cehi naṁ with Fausböll and (M). (H) and (G) give Idha ce na virádhesi.

2. Fausböll gives no stanza nor do (H) or (G), but they give the same. (M) gives

Kiṁ agghati taṇḍula nálika Baránasiṁ
Santara báhiram agghati taṇḍula náliká.

Fausbäll gives in "Corrections" quoting Feer in J. As., 1876.

Kiṁ agghati taṇḍula náliká ca
Báránasí antara bahiránaṁ
Assapancasatehi táni ca
Eká taṇḍula náliká ti.

Vij., suggests comparing Feer and (M) with the text of the Commentary:—

Kiṁ agghati taṇḍula náliká
Báránasiṁ santara bahiránaṁ
Assapancasatáni ca
Eká taṇḍula náliká.

What is a measure of rice worth ?
The inner and outer city of Benares
And (what) four hundred horses ?
One measure of rice.

The first two lines are in one prosodial measure ; the last two in another.

3. This verse is a memorial stanza, and hardly admits of literal translation. It means:—

I have taught the deer many devices, viz., the three postures, the use of the eight hoofs, the habit of drinking at midnight, lying on the ground to breathe through only one nostril. By means of these six accomplishments, my good friend, will my nephew outdo the hunter ?

The six accomplishments or devices are—(1–3) the three postures—*i.e.*, to lie on its back or on either side ; (4) the perfect use of the eight hoofs ; (5) drinking at midnight ; (6) to lie on the ground suppressing the breath of the upper, and breathing only through the lower nostril.

The sanne gives the six devices in two ways, as follows :—(1) lying on one side with the four legs stretched out ; (2) having kicked up the grass and earth, as in the agony of death ; (3) with tongue out ; (4) belly puffed out ; (5) having voided urine and excrement ; (6) concealing all appearance of breathing.

Or, (1) by falling as dead when the hunter draws him to and fro ; (2) or pushes him aside ; (3) or puts him down on the left ; (4) or on the right ; (5) or lifts him up ; (6) or lifts him up and puts him down again.

Aṭṭhakhuraṁ does not necessarily mean swift, as rendered by Davids ; nor do the qualities of the trained deer, except the habit of obedience, refer to the obedient learner.

4. Fausböll supplies from the commencement the second line

of this stanza. His three MSS. omit it; my three MSS. confirm his conjecture; they give the stanza as he prints it.

5. Rájakulasmi: read this with Fausböll, following one MS. out of three of his; my three MSS. give rájakulasmiṁ, but kulasmi is to be preferred for sake of metre, on which account the niggahítalopaṁ is admissible.

6. Sallena: my three MSS. read this, which is to be preferred to Fausböll's sallehi.

7. Puránacorána: read thus. See above, Note 5.

8. Fausböll reads náccanta: prefer náccantaṁ, following my three MSS.

Taṇḍula Náliká Játakam (5).

Varabhattaṁ pana asuka vassagge ṭhitaṁ lámaka—bhattaṁ asuka vassagge—Davids translates,

"The good rice is in such a storehouse, the inferior rice in such a storehouse."

This is erroneous: Vassagga does not mean storehouse. It is a well-known term. In a foot-note Davids says it is of doubtful derivation, and only found in this passage. But he gets nearer the meaning by translating:—"The turn for the better rice has come to the monk whose seniority dates from such and such a year, and the turn for the inferior kind to the monk whose seniority dates from such and such a year."

Vassagga means "order of seniority," dating from the year and hour of seniority. The issue of tickets (saláka) is regulated by the vassagga. Ṭhitika is the roster according to seniority. The roster is regularly kept in the Malwatte Viháre and other monasteries in Ceylon, as directed in the Commentary to the Cúlavagga, to this day.

In the Cúlavagga and Sámanta-pásádiká (Vinaya Commentary), under Senásanak-khandaka, we find the following:—

C. VI. 11. 3, *Old p.* 167.

Atha kho senásanagáhápakánaṁ bhikkhúnaṁ etadahosi; kathan nu kho senásanaṁ gáhetabbanti—bhagavato etam atthaṁ árocesuṁ Anujánámi bhikkhave paṭhamaṁ bhikkhú gaṇetuṁ, bhikkhú gaṇetvá seyyá gaṇetuṁ, seyyágaṇetvá seyyaggena gáhetunti—seyyaggena gáhentá seyyá ussádiyiṁsu—anujánámi bhikkhave viháraggena gáhetunti—vihaggena gáhentá vihárá ussádiyiṁsu—anujánámi bhikkhave parivenaggena gáhetunti—pariveṇaggena gáhentá pariveṇá ussadayiṁsu—anujánámi bhikkhave anubhágam pi dátum.

On this Samanta pásádiká gives:—

Paññávarájamahá mattenava saṁghato uddisetvá ettake bhikkhu

ánetháti pahite káḷaṁ ghosetvá ṭhitiká pucchitabbá sace atthi tato paṭṭháya gahetabbaṁ, no ce therásanato paṭṭháya gáhetabbaṁ—uddesakena piṇḍapáti kánampi na atikka metabbaṁ tepana dhutangaṁ rakkhantá sayameva atikkamessanti evaṁ gáhiyamáne alasajátiká mahátherá paccá ágacchanti bhante vísati vassána ṁ gáhiyati tumhákaṁ ṭhitiká atikkantáti navatabbaṁ ṭhitikam ṭhapetvá tesaṁ gáhetvá paccá ṭhitikaṁ gáhetabbá—saṇghunavakassa dinnepi paccá ágatánaṁ gáhetabbameva dutiyabhráge pana therásanaṁ árulhe puna ágatánam paṭhama bhágo na pápuṇáti dutiyabhágato vasaggena gáhetabbaṁ.

Uddesako panettha pesalo lajji medhávi icchitabbo—tena tikkhattaṁ ṭhitikáya pucchitvá sace koci ṭhitikaṁ jánanto natthi therásano gáhetabbo sace pana ahaṁ jánámi dasavassena laddhanti koci bhanati atthávuso dasavassá bhikkhúti puccitabbaṁ—sace tassa sutvá dasvassaṁhá dasavassamháti bahu ágacchanti tuyhaṁ pápuṇáti tuyhaṁ pápuṇátíti avatvá sabbe appasaddá hotháti vatvá paṭipaṭiyá ṭhapetabbá ṭhapetvá katibhikkú icchaṭháti upásako pucchitabbó—ettakenáma bhanteti vutte tuyhaṁ tuyhaṁ pápuṇátíti vatvá sabba navakassa vassagganca utuca divasa bhágoca cháyáca pucchitabbá—sace cháyáyapi pucchiyamánáya añño buḍḍhataro ágacchati tassa dátabbaṁ—atha cháyaṁ pucchitvá tuyhaṁ pápuṇátíti vutte buḍḍha taro ágacchati nalabhati.

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BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

1904. A.

JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1884.

VOL. VIII.

No. 29.

BRITISH MUSEUM NATURAL HISTORY

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

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COLOMBO:

GEORGE J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON.

1886.

C. A. S. JOURNAL,

Vol. VIII., No. 29, 1884.

By an oversight, the pagination was not run on from "Journal, Vol. VIII., No. 26, 1883," No. 27, 1884, and No. 28, 1884.

It is not possible to correct the paging neatly, except in manuscript. Members are requested to do this for themselves.

The pages should run from 297—488.

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ERRATA.

JOURNAL, Vol. VIII., No. 28, 1884 :—

Page 242, line 8 from bottom, *for* "Sumaṇgala Unnánsé" *read* "Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha."

JOURNAL, Vol. VIII., No. 29, 1884 :—

Pages 331, 333, 335, 337, 339, 341, 343—head-line should read "Threshing-floor Language."

Pages 393, 395, 397, in head-line, *for* "Balaṇgoḍa" *read* "Bogawantaláwa."

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CEYLON BRANCH.

NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF BUDDHISM AS THE DAILY RELIGION OF THE BUDDHISTS OF CEYLON, AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THEIR CEREMONIES BEFORE AND AFTER DEATH.*

By J. F. Dickson, M.A.Oxon.

(*Read 20th December*, 1883.)

PINKAMA.

Dánaṁ sílañ ca bhávaná
Patti pattánumodaná
Veyyávacca-apacáyañ ca
Desaná sútti diṭṭhi-jú.

1. Charity	6. Helping the helpless
2. Piety	7. Showing respect
3. Meditation	8. Preaching
4. The giving of merit	9. Listening
5. Sharing in the merits of another	10. Rejection of heresy.

In this stanza are enumerated the ten modes [*dasa kusala karma*] in which *puñña kammaṁ* or *pinkama* [a meritorious act] may be performed. They are sub-divided, in some cases, with great minuteness with many cross divisions, which it

* The system of transliteration employed in this Paper differs from that of the Ceylon Government (usually followed in the C. A. S. publications) as follows :—*ṁ* is used for ṇ; c for *ch.*—*Hon. Sec.*

would be of no general interest to detail. The following account, it is hoped, will be thought sufficient :—

1. *Charity*, or giving.—There are two dánas, *ámisadánaṁ* and *dhammadánaṁ*, the gift of temporal and the gift of spiritual blessings. The former is giving any of the four priestly-requisites: clothing, food, dwelling-place, medicine, and the like. It includes, for example, building places of shelter for pilgrims and travellers; maintaining hospitals for the sick; offering robes, beds, chairs, carpets, palanquins, &c., to the priests; offering flowers, whether made into garlands or not, camphor, sandal-wood, &c., before the image of Buddha. The latter is the recital of the sayings of Buddha. A layman is said to perform it either by preaching himself, or by getting a priest or priests to preach, and incurring all the necessary expenses, or by receiving into his heart the words of Buddha when preached by the priests. The priesthood perform it by teaching and preaching the doctrines of Buddha.

2. *Piety*, or observance of the commandments of Buddha.—The laity are bound always to keep the *pañca sil*, or five chief commandments: not to kill, nor steal, nor commit adultery, nor lie, nor drink fermented liquor; this is the ordinary mode of performing this act of merit. The pious, however, frequently keep the *aṭa sil*, or eight commandments, for the space of twenty-four hours on the four days of the quarters of the moon. The eight commandments are the above five and the next four (which are reckoned, for this purpose, as three), namely, not to take solid food after mid-day; not to go to places of amusement, with which is joined the command to abstain from the use of unguents and gay clothes; and not to use a high or large couch, by which apparently is meant to mortify the flesh by sleeping on the floor or on a hard bed, or the like. And for the time that the *aṭa sil* are observed, a man does not sleep with his wife, nor a woman with her husband. On these days they wear only white clothes, and leave their right shoulder bare. Deacons perform this act by keeping the ten commandments; priests perform it by keeping all

the ten commandments of Buddha, which are spoken of as the *kóṭiya saṁvara sílaya*—*i.e.* the ten million precepts, or one hundred láks of precepts. The chief of these are contained in Pátimokkha, which in fact sets forth all that is necessary. But it has been the delight of the priesthood to sub-divide the 227 precepts, and to refine upon them until the various sub-heads are of almost infinite number, and have come to be proverbially known as the ten millions.

3. *Meditation.*—It is of five kinds: (*a*) *mettá*, (*b*) *karuṇá*, (*c*) *muditá*, (*d*) *upekká*, (*e*) *asubhá*—the perfect exercise of (*a*) friendliness, (*b*) compassion, (*c*) goodwill, (*d*) equanimity, and (*e*) the practice of indifference. The end of this, as of all other forms of Buddhist meditation, is to realise the impermanency and vanity of all things, the decay and misery which are the lot of all things that are born, to cast off all desires, and to look only to *Nirvána*, which alone is permanent, where there is no birth, and therefore neither decay nor misery. There is an excellent account of *Bhávaná* in Hardy's "Eastern Monachism" pp. 243-252.

4. *The giving of merit.*—Giving to others to share in the merit acquired by one's own acts. The original merit is not thus diminished to the giver; the sharer partakes of it, but in a lesser degree. The share of merit he obtains depends on the spirit in which he takes part in the particular act of merit. The original merit remains, as has been said, undiminished, just as a lamp from which a hundred other lamps have been lighted continues to burn with undiminished lustre. A Buddhist mother will take her child by the hand when she goes with her humble offering of food to a Buddhist monastery, and will tell him to share in the merit in full faith in this touching doctrine, and not only to train him up in the path of love and charity. So, when a man goes on a pilgrimage, he will call together his friends and bid them share in the merit. Their good wishes will attend him, returning to them as reflected merit, the result of the merit acquired by the endurance of toil, and pain, and suffering, in his pious journey.

5. *The sharing in the merits of another.*—As explained

under the last head, the merit of the giver is not diminished, but a reflected light of merit, as it were, is shed on all who join, in true heart and mind, either in deed or in spirit, in the pious act, from the doing of which the merit is acquired. An invitation to take part in the merit is not necessary; for example, if a passer-by falls in with a procession which is conducting an offering to a shrine, and goes along with it with the wish to take part in it as a meritorious act, he shares in the merit.

6. *Helping the helpless.*—The duty of rendering assistance to the sick and infirm, to one's parents, to one's teachers, and others.

7. *Showing respect.*—The maintenance of a reverential spirit, of which the outward manifestation is found at the present day in offerings of flowers, perfumes, food, &c., at the sacred bó tree, at the dágobas or relic-mounds [*thúpa*], and in front of the images of Buddha.

8. *Preaching.*—It does not differ from *dhammadánaṁ*, already explained under the first head. The merit is obtained in three ways: by preaching, by getting a priest to preach, and by listening.

9. *Listening.*—Listening with an attentive mind, and performing the part of a good listener, in repeating frequently "*Sádhu! sádhu!*" ["It is good! it is good!"], which resembles the "amen" of the Christian Church.

10. *Rejection of heresy.*—This includes more than is generally comprehended by the word heresy. When a man listens to the doctrines of Buddha, he must not only believe in them with an unwavering faith in the Three Gems; he must examine himself and put out from his heart all desire, hate, ignorance, vanity, heresy, doubt, sloth, arrogance, shamelessness, hardness of heart—*lobho, doso, moho, máno, diṭṭhi, vicikicchá, thinaṁ, uddhaccaṁ, ahiriká, anottappaṁ.* Compare the English Communion Service.

The above is briefly a list of virtues which every Buddhist may practise more or less in secret, but there are many occasions on which a *pinkama* is publicly performed; and at the present day the word is generally applied to these

public performances. If a man goes on a pilgrimage by himself or with one or two others, people will say "He is going a pilgrimage"; but if a number of people join together and go in a procession with flags and music, &c., it is said "They go for a *pinkama*."

The religious act in both cases is the same, but *pinkama* has come popularly to mean a religious procession rather than the religious act of which the procession is only an outward sign.

The ordinary *pinkam* are those performed (1) at the commencement of *was*, (2) before death, (3) after a death, (4) when making offerings at a shrine or to the priesthood.

1.—*The "Was" Pinkama.*

The *was* season, or, as some erroneously call it, Buddhist Lent, commences on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, *i.e.* on the full moon day in A′sáḷhi-máso [June–July].

It is customary for the inhabitants of a village, or of two or three adjoining villages, to agree to invite a certain priest to reside in their village for the *was* season, and they send a deputation of the principal villagers to present an offering of betel leaves* and give the invitation. If it is accepted, they prepare a lodging for the priest, with a refectory, a chamber for the image of Buddha, the relic-casket and the sacred books, and a preaching hall. On the first day of the *was* season, the villagers turn out in holiday attire and go with music, and dancers, and singers, and flags, to the monastery where the priest resides, and they conduct him thence, in procession, to the lodging prepared for him. The flag-bearers head the procession, and are followed by drummers and other musicians, with dancers and singers Under a canopy is borne on a litter, or on an elephant, a relic-casket or an image of Buddha; next are borne in the same way the sacred books which the priest requires, and then come

* Betel leaves are the leaves of a vine which the Sinhalese chew with lime and the nuts of the areca palm. An offering of forty betel leaves is always made as a mark of respect on the occasion of a visit to a priest or nobleman.

the priest, carried in a palanquin with the sides open. The three gems—Buddha, the Law, and the Church–are here represented, and devotees go by the side shouting "*Sádhu! sádhu!*" The women, with their children, await the arrival of the procession at the place prepared for the priest, who, on his arrival, arranges the relic-casket, and the image of Buddha, and the sacred books, in the temporary chamber which is to serve the purpose of a chapel: an altar is placed in front of the image, and on it all the assembled people make their offerings of flowers and perfumes.

A small portion of the evening meal about to be offered to the priest is now placed on the altar, as an offering to Buddha. Sometimes the people ask the priest to place it on the altar; otherwise it is placed there by a deacon, or a devotee, or an ordinary layman. The food thus offered is taken by the deacons, attendants, or others, but not by the priest.

The offering of the priest's evening meal is then made in the refectory. In this offering all the assembled multitude take part; every one contributes something, such as tea, sugar, honeycomb, orange-juice, and the like.

According to the Pálimuttakavinicchayo, the offerings may be of eight kinds, known as the *aṭṭhapánaṁ*, viz., *ambapánaṁ*, *jambupánaṁ*, *cocapánaṁ*, *mccapánaṁ*, *phárusakapánaṁ*, *madhupánaṁ*, *muddikapánaṁ*, *sálukapánaṁ*—the juice of the mango, of the rose-apple, of the wild plantain, of the banana, of the *ugurẹssa*, the pure juice of the grape, a drink made of grape juice with sugar and water, and a drink made of the fruit of a kind of water-lily mixed with water and sugar.

The offerings are collected together and are placed on trays or baskets covered with snow-white napkins. The principal villagers, on behalf of the multitude, then carry the trays on their heads to the top of the hall where the priest is seated, and placing the trays on the ground, give the offerings one by one in saucers, or on mats or leaves, into the hands of the priest, who receives them and places them on his mat or carpet.

The whole multitude then fall on their knees in adoration, and the priest gives the benediction (Sin. "gives merit") in Páli, in the following sense, saying :—

Icchitaṁ patthitaṁ tuyhaṁ
Khippaṁ eva samijjhatu
Púrentu cittasaṁkappá
Cando pannarasi yathá

[May your desire and your happiness
Soon be accomplished !
May your hopes be fulfilled
Like as the moon becomes round !]

According to the ancient ritual no more is required ; but as the people do not know Páli, the priest adds in Sinhalese :—

"By virtue of the offerings now made for the sake of the Blessed One, who is like unto the sun of the worlds of gods and men, the omniscient Buddha, and of this second offering made to the priesthood, which is like a field of merit, henceforth, freed from the dangers of birth in the place of torment, or in the world of beasts, or in the world of sprites, or in the world of the fallen angels, may you inherit the bliss of those who ascend and descend through the worlds of gods till you are born again in the world of men. Here may you possess wealth and riches, flocks and herds, servants and horses, and enjoy to your full content the prosperity of a universal monarch, or a king, or some great noble, free from the exactions of kings and the dangers of flood and fire, the attacks of thieves and the ravages of rats and insects, till the coming of Maitri Buddha, by whose blessed teaching you will be brought to walk in the way that leads to Nirvána, the eternal repose of the righteous who have seen Buddha."

The people then respond with one accord "*Sádhu ! sádhu!*" ["It is good ! it is good !"], and rising from their knees, depart, leaving the priest to his meal.

If one priest only is present, nothing is said by the people who make the offerings ; but if five or more are present they say :—

Imaṁ bhesajjadánaṁ imáya sáláya nisinnassa buddha pamukassa sakalassa bhikkhu saṅghassa dema.

[We give this evening meal to all the priests of Buddha who are sitting in this hall.]

This is repeated three times. The relic-casket on such occasions is placed at the top of the hall, on a raised platform, with a table to serve as an altar in front.

One of the priests rises up and makes an offering of part of the food, and pours some water from a flagon into a chalice, repeating the following ancient stanzas, which, however, are not found in the Tripiṭakam (Buddhist Scriptures):—

Adhivásetu no bhante
Bhesajjaṁ parikappitaṁ
Anukampaṁ upádáya
Patigaṇhátu muttamaṁ
Sugandhaṁ ítalaṁ kappaṁ
Pasannamadhuraṁ subhaṁ
Páníyaṁ etaṁ bhagavá
Patigaṇhátu náyako.

[Let our Lord favourably receive
This well-prepared meal:
Let him graciously
Accept this excellent offering:
This water, sweetly-scented, cool, and good,
Clear, and sweet, and bright,
Let the Blessed One,
The chief (of the worlds), accept!]

He then turns from the altar, and kneeling down close to the food which has been offered to the priesthood, proceeds to allot it to the assembled priests, who are seated on either side of the altar, saying, as he sets apart a portion for the senior of the priests present:—

Ayaṁ paṭhamabhágo mahatherassa pápunáti avasesá bhágá amhákaṁ pápunantí.

[This first portion belongs to the Mahathero, the remaining portions belong to us.]

This is repeated three times. It is an ecclesiastical act, which can only be performed by priests who are pure, *i.e.* who at the time are not liable to censure for any offence against the laws of the priesthood. If any one liable to such censure is present, he must retire, in which case a portion of the food will be given him apart. The priests' servants, or some of the principal villagers, now come and give the

priests their food. The portion set apart for the senior priest is handed to him, and of the remainder sufficient is given to the other priests, who leave in their bowls enough for their servants. What is over after the priests bowls are filled is given to the dancers and musicians, and to the poor. The priests take their food in silence, repeating to themselves the usual grace.*

After the evening meal the priests chew their betel, which serves the purpose of the after-dinner cigar in the West.

The priest who is to remain in *was* then adjourns to the preaching-hall [*dhammasálá*], to preach to the assembled multitude the thanksgiving sermon [*anumodanadhammá*]. In the middle of the hall is placed a chair with a cushion, on which the priest takes his seat, holding before his face a sort of fan, like a hand fire-screen, to prevent his attention being distracted. The people are seated on the floor, the men on one side, the women and children on the other. There is a tendency to break this rule: influential families will be seen, the men and women together, sitting in a place apart from the crowd. When the priest has taken his seat, the people say:—

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammá sambuddhassa.

[Praise be to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Author of all Truth.]

The priest then gives the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments [*pañca sílaṁ*], the people repeating them after him, sentence by sentence, as follows:—

The Three Refuges.

I put my trust in Buddha,
I put my trust in the Law,
I put my trust in the Church.

The Five Commandments.

Refrain from taking life,
Refrain from stealing,
Refrain from fornication,
Refrain from lying,
Refrain from using strong drinks.

---

* See Note supra *Sakkaccam*.

The priest then says :—

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammá sambuddhassa.

[Praise be to the Blessed One, the Holy One, the Author of all Truth.]

This he says three times, and then recites some favourite passage from the sayings of Buddha. The one generally selected is the

Nidhikaṇḍa Suttaṁ.

1. Nidhiṁ nidheti puriso gambhíre odakantike
Atthe kicce samuppanne attháya me bhavissati.
2. Rájato vá duruttassa corato pílitassa vá
Iṇassa vá pamokkháya dubbhikkhe ápadásu vá
Etadattháya lokasmiṁ nidhí náma nidhíyate
3. Táva sunihito santo gambhíre odakantike
Na sabbo sabbadá eva tassa taṁ upakappati.
4. Nidhí vá ṭháná cavatí saññá vássa vimuyhati
Nágá vá apanámenti yakkhá vá pi haranti naṁ.
5. Appiyá vá pi dáyádá uddharanti apassato
Yadá puññakkayo hoti sabbaṁ etaṁ vinassati.
6. Yassa dánena sílena saṁyamena damena ca
Nidhi sunihito hoti itthiyá purisassa vá.
7. Cetiyaṁhi ca saṅghe vá puggale atitísu vá
Mátari pitari vá pi atho jeṭṭhamhi bhátari.
8. Eso nidhi sunihito ajeyyo anugámiko
Pahàya gamaníyesu etaṁ ádáya gacchati.
9. Asádháraṇaṁ aññesaṁ acoraharaṇo nidhí
Kayirátha dhíro puññáni yo nidhí anugámiko.
10. Esa devamanussánaṁ sabbakámadado nidhi
Yaṁ yad evábhipatthenti sabbaṁ etena labbhati.
11. Suvaṇṇatá sussaratá susaṇṭháṇasurúpatá
A'dhipaccaparivárá sabbaṁ etena labbhati.
12. Padesarajjaṁ issariyaṁ cakkavattisukhaṁ piyaṁ
Devarajjaṁ pi dibbesu sabbaṁ etena labbhati.
13. Manussiká ca sampatti devaloke ca yá rati
Yá ca nibbánasampatti sabbaṁ etena labbhati.
14. Mittasampadaṁ ágamma yoniso ve payuñjato
Vijjá vimuttí vasíbhávo sabbaṁ etena labbhati.
15. Paṭisambhidá vimokkhá ca yá ca sávakapáramí
Paccekabodhi buddhabhúmi sabbaṁ etena labbhati.
16. Evaṁ mahiddhiká esá yadidaṁ puññasampadá
Tasmá dhírá pasaṁsanti paṇḍitá katapuññatá.

[*The Hidden Treasure.**

A man buries a treasure in a deep pit, reasoning thus within himself: "When occasion arises this treasure will be of use to me,—if I am accused by the king, or plundered by robbers, or for release from debt, or in famine, or in misfortune." Such are the reasons for which men conceal what in this world is called treasure.

Meanwhile all this treasure, lying day after day concealed in a deep pit, profits him nothing.

Either the treasure vanishes from its resting place, or its owner's sense becomes distracted with care, or Nágas remove it, or malignant spirits convey it away, or his enemies or his kinsmen dig it up in his absence. The treasure is gone when the merit that produced it is exhausted.

There is a treasure that man or woman may posssess, a treasure laid up in the heart, a treasure of charity, piety, temperance, soberness.

It is found in the sacred shrine, in the priestly assembly, in the individual man, in the stranger and sojourner, in the father, the mother, the elder brother.

A treasure secure, impregnable, that cannot pass away. When a man leaves the fleeting riches of this world, this he takes with him after death.

A treasure unshared with others, a treasure that no thief can steal. Let the wise man practise virtue: this is a treasure that follows him after death.

A treasure that gives every delight to gods and men; for whatsoever they desire with this treasure it may be bought.

Bloom, a sweet voice, grace and beauty, power and pomp; all these this treasure can procure.

Sovereignty and lordship, the loved bliss of universal empire, yea, celestial rule among the gods; all these this treasure can procure.

All human prosperity, every pleasure in celestial abodes, the full attainment of Nirvána; all these this treasure can procure.

Wisdom, enlightenment, tranquillity, in one who lives wisely for the sake of virtuous friends; all these this treasure can procure.

Universal science, the eight emancipations of the mind, all the

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* For this translation I am indebted to Mr. Childers' beautiful rendering in his "Khuddaka Páṭha," pp. 13 and 14.

perfections of the disciple of Buddha, supernatural knowledge, supreme Buddhaship itself; all these this treasure can procure.

Thus this possession of merit is of great and magical effect; therefore are good works praised by the wise and learned.]

The priest simply recites these stanzas once, and then one of the assembled multitude is put forward as the respondent [*paṭivacanadáyako;* Sin. *pratiuttaradenná*] or clerk who makes the responses. He sits or stands in a posture of adoration in front of the priest, who then proceeds to explain each stanza in clear and simple Sinhalese. He repeats the stanza in Páli, and then explains it; and after each sentence the respondent answers in Sinhalese "*A'ma bhante*" ["It is so, lord"]. Or, if he does not quite understand, he sometimes replies, "Pardon me, lord, I do not quite understand," or any of the listeners can ask him to say that they do not understand; and the priest proceeds to explain the meaning more fully. Whenever Nirvána is mentioned, all the people raise their hands above their heads and shout "*Sádhu! sádhu!*"

This service occupies about two hours. It is closed with a benediction in Sinhalese to the following effect:—

By virtue of the doctrines of Buddha, to which you have been listening, may you be born in the worlds of Brahma and of the gods, and finally attain Nirvána! May you all share in the merit of this preaching of Buddha's holy word!

The people then make obeisance and depart.

The priest retires to his chamber and says to himself the appointed *pirit* [or devotions] for the first day of *was*, namely, the *Maṁgalasuttaṁ* [sources of happiness], *Ratanasuttaṁ* [the three jewels], *Karaniyamettasuttaṁ* [good will to all]. The translation of these devotional hymns, by Mr. Childers, is as follows:—

The Sources of Happiness.

Thus I have heard. On a certain day dwelt Buddha at Ṣrávasti, at the Jetavana monastery, in the garden of Anáthapiṇḍaka. And when the night was far advanced, a certain radiant celestial being, illuminating the whole of Jetavana, approached

the Blessed One, and saluted him and stood aside. And standing aside addressed him with this verse :—

Many gods and men, yearning after good, have held divers things to be blessings ; say thou, what is the greatest blessing ?

Buddha: To serve wise men and not serve fools, to give honour to whom honour is due ; this is the greatest blessing.

To dwell in a pleasant land, to have done good deeds in a former existence, to have a soul filled with right desires ; this is the greatest blessing.

Much knowledge and much science, the discipline of a well-trained mind, and a word well spoken ; this is the greatest blessing.

To succour father and mother, to cherish wife and child, to follow a peaceful calling ; this is the greatest blessing.

To give alms, to live religiously, to give help to relatives, to do blameless deeds ; this is the greatest blessing.

To cease and abstain from sin, to eschew strong drink, to be diligent in good deeds ; this is the greatest blessing.

Reverence and lowliness, contentment and gratitude, to receive religious teaching at due seasons ; this is the greatest blessing.

To be long-suffering and meek, to associate with the priests of Buddha, to hold religious discourses at due seasons ; this is the greatest blessing.

Temperance and chastity, discernment of the four great truths, the prospect of Nirvâna ; this is the greatest blessing.

The soul of one unshaken by the changes of this life, a soul inaccessible to sorrow, passionless, secure ; this is the greatest blessing.

They that do these things are invincible on every side—on every side they walk in safety ; yea, theirs is the greatest blessing.

The Three Jewels.

All spirits here assembled,—those of earth and those of air,—let all such be joyful ; let them listen attentively to my words.

Therefore hear me, O ye spirits ; be friendly to the race of men, for day and night they bring you their offerings, therefore keep diligent watch over them.

Whatsoever treasure there be here or in other worlds, whatsoever glorious jewels in the heavens, there is none like Buddha. Buddha is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Did the tranquil sage of the race of Sakya attain to the

knowledge of Nirvâna,—Nirvâna, sin-destroying, passionless, immortal, transcendent? There is nought like this doctrine. The Law is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Did supreme Buddha extol a pure doctrine? Have holy men told of an unceasing meditation? There is nought like this doctrine. The Law is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

There are eight orders of men praised by the righteous—four that walk in the paths of holiness and four that enjoy the fruits thereof. They are the disciples of Buddha, worthy to receive gifts; in them charity obtains an abundant reward. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Who are they that with steadfast mind, exempt from evil desire, are firmly established in the religion of Gautama? They have entered on the way of Nirvâna, they have bought it without price, they enjoy perfect tranquillity, they have obtained the greatest gain. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

As the pillar of a city gate resting on the earth is unmoved by the four winds of heaven, so declare I the righteous man to be he who has learnt and gazes on the four great truths. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

They that clearly understand the four great truths, wellpreached by the profoundly wise Being, however much they be distracted by the temptations of this world, they shall not again receive eight births. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

He who is blest with the knowledge of Nirvâna, and has cast off these three sins—vanity, and doubt, and the practice of vain ceremonies, the same is delivered from the four states of punishment, and cannot commit the six deadly sins. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

If a priest commit sin in deed, or in word, or in thought, he is wrong to conceal it, for concealment of sin is declared to be evil in one who has gained a knowledge of Nirvâna. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

As the tree-tops bloom in grove and forest in the first hot month of summer, so did Buddha preach for the chief good of men his glorious doctrine that leads to Nirvâna. Buddha is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

The noblest, the greatest of men, the finder of Nirvâna, the

giver of Nirvána, the bringer of Nirvána, preached his glorious Law. Buddha is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Their old karma is destroyed, no new karma is produced. Their hearts no longer cleaving to future life, their seed of existence destroyed, their desires quenched, the righteous are extinguished like this lamp. The priesthood is this glorious jewel. May this truth bring prosperity.

Ye spirits here assembled,—those of earth and those of air,—let us bow before Buddha, the Tathágata revered by gods and men. May there be prosperity.

Ye spirits here assembled,—those of earth and those of air,—let us bow before the Law, the Tathágata revered by gods and men. May there be prosperity.

Ye spirits here assembled,—those of earth and those of air,—let us bow before the Church, the Tathágata revered by gods and men. May there be prosperity.

Good Will to All.

This is what should be done by him who is wise in seeking his own good, who has gained a knowledge of the tranquil lot of Nirvána. Let him be diligent, upright, and conscientious; meek, gentle, not vainglorious.

Contended and cheerful, not oppressed with the cares of this world, not burdened with riches; tranquil, discreet, not arrogant, not greedy for gifts.

Let him not do any mean action for which others who are wise might reprove him.

Let all creatures be happy and prosperous, let them be of joyful mind.

All beings that have life, be they feeble or strong, be they tall or of middle stature or short, be they minute or vast;

Seen or unseen, dwelling afar or near at hand, born or seeking birth; let all creatures be joyful.

Let no man in any place deceive another, nor let him be harsh towards my one; let him not out of anger or resentment wish ill to his neighbour.

As a mother, so long as she lives, watches over her child, her only child, so among all beings let boundless goodwill prevail.

Let goodwill without measure, impartial, unmixed with enmity, prevail throughout the world, above, below, around.

If a man be of this mind so long as he be awake, whether standing or walking, or sitting or lying, then is come to pass the saying, "This place is the abode of holiness."

He who has not embraced false doctrine, the pious man endowed with a knowledge of Nirvána, if he conquers the love of pleasure he shall never again be born in the womb.

When the priest has finished his devotions he enters upon the period of *was* with these words :—

> Imasmiṁ viháre imaṁ temásaṁ vassaṁ upemi idha vassaṁ upemi.
>
> [In this abode for three months will I dwell ; here will I have my dwelling.]

Having said this he is not at liberty to sleep during the ensuing three months in any other place, except under special circumstances, such as having to attend a distant ecclesiastical meeting ; and under no circumstances can he be away for more than six nights.

He now retires to rest for a few hours, and rises before daybreak. He meditates on the virtues of Buddha on the development of friendliness and goodwill towards all living beings, on the impurity of the body, and on death. The manual for these meditations is called the *Cattárokammaṭṭhána.** He performs his meditations walking up and down in his own chamber or in a cloister [*cankamo*], and when his meditation is over he washes his face, &c., and taking with him his rug [*cammakhaṇḍo;* Sin. *patkaḍa*] or kneeling-skin (lit., strip of skin) he goes to the building or chamber which for the time serves the purpose of the shrine of Buddha. As already explained, a figure of Buddha or a relic-casket is kept in this place : here he worships Buddha, kneeling on his rug, and prostrating himself in front of the shrine, and says :

> Vandámi Buddhaṁ bhavapáratinnaṁ
> Tilokaketuṁ tibhavekanáthaṁ
> Yo lokaseṭṭho sakalaṁ kilesaṁ
> Chetvána bodhesi janaṁ anantaṁ.

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* Hardy is in error when he says ("Eastern Monachism" p. 28) that this book is a manual of meditation on "Buddha, kindness, *evil desire*, and death."

Yaṁ nammadáya nadiyá puline ca thíre
Yaṁ saccabaddhagirike sumanecalagge
Yaṁ tattha yonakapure munino ca pádaṁ
Taṁ pádaláñcana mahaṁ sirasá namámi.

Suvaṇṇamálike suvaṇṇapabbate sumanakúṭe yonakapure nammadáya nadiyá tañ ca pádavaraṁ ṭhánam ahaṁ vandámi dúrato ahaṁ vandámi dhátuyo, ahaṁ vandámi sabbaso.

Vandámi cetiyaṁ sabbaṁ
Sabbaṭhánesu patiṭṭhitaṁ
Sáríríkadhátumahá bodhiṁ
Buddharúpaṁ sakalaṁ sadá.
Icc-evam accantanamassaṇíyyam
Namassamáno ratanattayaṁ yaṁ
Puññábhisandaṁ vipulaṁ aladhaṁ
Tass-ánubhávena hatantaráyo.
Buddhe cittappasádena
Dhamme saṅghe ca yo naro
Kappáni satasahassáni
Duggatiṁ so nagaccati.

[Worship Buddha who has passed beyond the regions of existence,
Who is like a banner to the three worlds—their noblest chief,
The saviour who, by overcoming all sin,
Has been the teacher of countless men.
In reverence of the foot-print of the holy sage,
In the sandy desert of the Yon country on the banks of the Nerbudda,
On the rock in Siam, on Adam's Peak,
Do I bow my forehead to the ground.

That spot made sacred by the holy footstep on the Yavana's golden sands by Nerbudda's banks, on the gilded rock, on the bank of Sumana, I worship from afar. I worship the relics; I worship in every way.

I worship continually all the relic-shrines,
Whatever they may be—
The relics of his body, the sacred Bó-tree,
And all the images of Buddha.
Thus exceedingly in all fitting ways
I show reverence for the three jewels.

By the greatness of the merit thus acquired—
By the wondrous power of such merit—all dangers
are removed.
If any man will purify his thoughts
And think on Buddha, the Law, and the Church,
In thousands and thousands of years,
The lot of sin shall not be his.]

The priest now rises from his knees, and tastefully arranges his offering of flowers on the altar, saying—

Vaṇṇagandha guṇúpetaṁ
Etaṁ kusuma santatiṁ
Pújayámi munindassa
Siripádasaroruhe.

[These fresh flowers,
Endued with colour and perfume,
I offer at the lotus feet
Of the Lord of Sages.]

One of the villagers now brings him in a bowl a small portion of the morning meal, which he places on the altar. The offering is made in the same way as the evening meal, except that *bhojanaṁ* is substituted for *bhesájjaṁ* in the stanza *Adhivásetu*, &c. This being concluded, the priest proceeds to the refectory, where he is served with his morning meal. He gives the benediction in Páli and in Sinhalese, as at the evening meal. He takes this meal also in silence, repeating to himself the grace (*Piṇḍapátaṁ*, &c.) for food.

After this meal he devotes himself to instruction or study. If he has any pupils he reads with them, or teaches the children of the villagers, or he prepares for preaching *bana* in the evening.

Before mid-day he proceeds to the image-house, and there offers a portion of the mid-day meal in the same way as the morning meal was offered, and his meal is then served to him in the refectory in the manner already described.

After this meal he goes to the image-house to worship, repeating the stanzas "I worship Buddha," &c. ["*Vandámi Buddhaṁ*," &c.], but on this occasion he makes no offering

of flowers. He then meditates on the ten objects (*Dasa Dhammá*), by aid of the *Dasa Dhamma suttaṁ*, which is as follows :—

Evaṁ me sutaṁ. Ekaṁ samayaṁ Bhagavá Sávatthiyaṁ viharati Jetavane Anáthapiṇḍikassa áráme. Tatra kho Bhagavá bhikkhú ámantesi bhikkhavo ti bhadante ti te bhikkhú bhagavato paccassosuṁ Bhagava etad avoca. Dasa ime bhikkhave dhammá pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbá katame dasa.

1. Vevanniyamhi ajjhúpagato ti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
2. Parapaṭibaddhá me jíviká ti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
3. Añño me ákappo karaṇí yo ti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
4. Kacci nu kho me attá sílato n'upavadatîtí
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
5. Kacci nu kho maṁ anuvicca viññú
Sabrahmacárí sílato n'upavadantîti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
6. Sabbehi me piyehi manápehi
Náná bhávo viná bhávo ti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
7. Kammassa ko'mhi kammadáyádo
Kammayoni kammabandhu
Kammapaṭisarano yaṁ kammaṁ karissámi
Kalyánaṁ vá pápakaṁ vá tassa
Dáyádo bhavissámîti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
8. Katham bhútassa me rattiṁdivá vítípatantíti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
9. Kacci nu kho'haṁ suññágáre abhiramámíti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.
10. Atthi nu kho me uttarimanussadhammá
Alamariyañanadassanu viseso adhigato
So'haṁ paccime kále sabrahmacáríhi puṭṭho na maṅku bhavissámíti
Pabbajitena abhiṇhaṁ paccavekkhitabbaṁ.

Ime kho bhikkhave dasadhammá pabbajitena abhiṇham paccavekkhitabbá ti. Idaṁ avoca bhagavá. Attamaná te bhikkú bhagavato bhásitaṁ abhinandun ti.

[*The Ten Objects.*

Thus I have heard. On a certain day Buddha dwelt at Ṣrávasti, in the Jétavana monastery, in the garden of Anátha-piṇḍika. On that occasion Buddha called the priests, and they answered "Lord"; and the Blessed One thus spoke:—

These, my priests, are the ten objects which must be continually kept in view by an ordained priest:—

1. Beauty is nothing to me,—neither the beauty of the body nor that that comes of dress.
2. My very existence is dependent on the bounty of others.
3. My way must be different from that of others.
4. Shall not my conscience be my accuser for neglect of the precepts?
5. Will not learned and pious followers of Buddha, after questioning me, blame me for neglect of the precepts?
6. By repeated births I shall be separated from all whom I love, from all who are dear to me.
7. I am bound up with karma. I am the heir of karma. I am born of karma. I am karma's close relation. Karma is my helper. I inherit the fruit of my every action, whether good or bad.
8. How shall I pass my days and nights in this mortal life?
9. How comes it that I delight in abodes removed from the haunts of men?
10. Have I attained to more than human perfection? If I attain to the full or perfect knowledge of sublime wisdom, in my last moments I shall be able to say, in answer to the inquiries of the righteous, that I die contented.

These, my priests, are the ten objects on which the thoughts of an ordained priest should dwell.

Thus spake the Blessed One. Those priests greatly rejoiced at the words of Buddha.]

Having finished his devotions he retires to his chamber and rests.

If any villagers desire to hear portions of the historical chronicles, or of the stories of the births of Buddha, or of the Three Piṭakas, the priest is now ready to read to them. This is called the mid-day *bana*. He then gives his pupils

further instructions, or devotes himself to study. Before sunset he again goes to worship at the image-house, and makes an offering of flowers. An Upasampadá priest cannot pluck the flowers for himself; they must be provided for him. After making his offering, or if he is not provided with flowers, after the prayer *Vandámi Buddhaṁ*, &c., he repeats the three sutras—*Maṁgala suttaṁ*, *Ratana suttaṁ*, *Karaníyametta suttaṁ*. He then offers a small portion of the evening meal, and after his meal is finished he goes to the preaching hall, and if any people are assembled he preaches *bana* in the same way as on the previous night. It is, however, only called *Anumodana bana* on the first night. Sometimes there are no attendants at this evening *bana*, but the villagers never fail to attend on the evenings of the four *póya* days, which hold in the Buddhist system very much the same place as the Sabbath in the Jewish Church. Before going to bed he meditates on the virtues of Buddha, and says the grace *Senásanam*, &c., as he lies down.

This is an example of the way every day is spent during the three months of *was*. The villagers arrange amongst themselves how the priest's wants shall be supplied during this period. It is usual for the householders to take the duty in turn, a day at a time. It is the duty of the householder for the day to provide all the meals, flowers for offerings, oil for the lamps, &c. There is often a little generous rivalry in providing for the priest's comfort, and no one is ever known to avoid his turn. It is in a way a high festival for the priest.

On the new moon and full moon days, the priest must go to the nearest *símaṁ* [consecrated place] to join in the *pátimokkho*. If he cannot return the same night, before he leaves the place he must give notice that he will not return that night in these words (repeated thrice):—

Sace me antaráyo n'atthi sattáh' abbhantare puna nivattissámi·

[If no accident happens within the next seven days I shall again stay here.]

If from any cause he is prevented from returning before

seven nights have elapsed, the *was* is broken, and cannot be resumed.

After three months have passed, the *was* season comes to an end. This is on the full moon day of *A'ssayujo* [September—October], on which the priest attends the fortnightly chapter as usual, and after the *Prátimoksha* has been read as far as the end of the section *Aniyatádhammu*, a midnight service is usually held.

He kneels down and says :—

Namo tassa, &c. Sangham bhante paváremi. Diṭṭána vá Suttena vá parísankáya vá vadanta mam ayasmanto anukampam upádáya.

[Lords, I have finished the *was*. Venerable Sirs, if you have any doubt from what you have heard or seen, in mercy to me speak (and say in what I have offended).]

This is repeated three times.

If no one speaks he is free from blame and returns to the place where he was in *was* to take part in the midnight service, which is usually held on this day. These midnight services are called by the Sinhalese *rátri bana* [night-preaching], and are the services generally known by Europeans under the name of *Bana*.

On these occasions, the people from the neighbouring villages, dressed in their holiday attire, attend in great numbers. The priest invites another priest to join him, as two are required for this service. After their evening meal, each is presented with a robe which he puts on, and they are then conducted under a canopy, with music and flags, from their lodgings to the preaching hall, in the middle of which two pulpits are prepared for them. The pulpit is made of four upright posts supporting a platform about four feet square, and a canopy above. The platform is hip-high from the ground. Cushions are placed on the platform. The pulpits and the hall are tastefully decorated with flags, palms, ferns, and flowers. The priests take their places in front of the pulpits, holding their hand-screens before their faces, while the people make obeisance and say, "*Sádhu! sádhu! sádhu!*" The priests then say :—

Icchitaṁ patthitaṁ tuyhaṁ
Khippaṁ eva samijjhatu
Purentu cittasaṁkappá
Cando pannarasi yathá.

[May your desire and your happiness
Soon be accomplished,
May your hopes be fulfilled
Like as the moon becomes round.]

They are then lifted into their pulpits, on which they sit cross-legged. One priest has with him a copy of a portion of the *Sutta piṭakaṁ*, from which he reads, while the other expounds it to the people in Sinhalese. The reader recites the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments, which the people repeat after him, and he then summons the gods to attend and hear the words of Buddha :—

Sagge káme ca rúpe girisikhara taṭe cántalikkhe vimáne
Dípe raṭṭhe ca gáme taruvana gahane gehavaṭṭhamhi khette.
Bhumyá c'áyantu devá jalathala visame yakkha gandhabbanága
Jiṭṭhantá santike 'dam munivaravacanaṁ sádhavo me sunantu.

[Let the gods of heaven and of earth, those that dwell in the Brahma world, the deities that keep guard over mountain tops, and lakes, and ponds, and those who have their mansions in the sky, and the tutelar deities of the countries of India, of our villages, our trees, our forests, our houses, our gardens, our fields, and the earth-born, the dwelling in swamps, malignant spirits, the dancers of the god-world, and dragons,—let all draw near and listen with pious reverence to these words of the renowned sage.]

The expounder or preacher then says, "*Namo tassa,*" &c. ["Praise be," &c.], and recites some stanzas in praise of the Three Jewels. He either selects stanzas from Buddhaghosa's or other Commentaries, or sometimes he recites stanzas of his own composition. The reader then reads a few stanzas, and the preacher explains them sentence by sentence in Sinhalese, but in learned language which only a few understand.

This is continued for about five hours, and the reading comes to an end. The respondent [*paṭivacana dáyako*] now comes forward, and the preacher preaches to the people in

plain and simple language, taking the *sutra* that has been read as his text. The people are at liberty to seek explanations of any difficulty, as at the *Anumodana bana*. This continues till the preacher has gone through the whole of the matter suggested by the passage which has been read, and the reading and expounding begin again as before, and are followed as before by a popular sermon. The service ends at daybreak, and is closed with a benediction as in the *Anumodana bana*.

The *Kattiko*, called in Sinhalese the robe month (October —November), has now begun, and on some convenient day the material for the *kaṭhinaṁ* is presented. The people ascertain beforehand which of the three robes the priest is in need of, and they subscribe, everyone giving something, to purchase the required calico or linen.

A chapter is summoned for the appointed day, and early in the morning the people bring their offering of cloth for the *kaṭhinaṁ (kaṭhina dussaṁ)*, with a procession of flags and musicians, and present it to the priests in chapter assembled, saying, "*Imaṁ kaṭhina dussaṁ saṅghassa dema*" [" We present this robe cloth to the priesthood"].

The priests receive it, and consult together to determine to whom it shall be given. It should be given to the one who is most in want of it, but in practice it is always given to the one who has been in *was* at the place where it is presented. The question, however, is regularly put to the chapter, and a resolution [*ñatti*] is passed allotting it to him. On these occasions it is necessary that eight or ten priests should assemble, as the robe must be dyed and completed before sunset, and only ordained priests can be engaged on the work. The laity supply everything that is required—dye, scissors, thread, needles, &c.

After the resolution has been passed, the priests proceed to make the robe. The cloth is cut, if for the outer robe [*saṅgháṭi*] into thirty pieces, if for the upper robe [*uttarasaṁgo*] into fifteen pieces, if for the under robe [*antaravásako*] into fifteen pieces—and the pieces are sewn together into the proper shape. The robe is then washed

and dyed yellow, and, if practicable, dried in the sun. When this is done, the priests resume their seats in chapter, and the priest to whom the robe has been allotted takes it, and kneeling, says, "*Imaṁ saṅghâṭiṁ adhiṭṭhámi*" ["I appropriate this robe"], and he proceeds to mark it, saying, "*Imaṁ kappabindum karomi*" ["I put this mark upon it"]; he then puts it over his knee, saying, "*Imaṁ saṅghâṭiṁ attharámi*" ["I spread out this robe"].

It is now a *kaṭhinaṁ*—a robe made by a chapter of priests in a single day from cloth presented to the chapter in the morning, and publicly appropriated to the sole use of one of their body before sunset. The practice is to finish before sunset; the ordinances of Buddha allow one day—*i. e.*, from sunrise to sunrise. In ancient times, lands and other valuable presents were given on these occasions; all such presents went to the priest to whom the *kaṭhinaṁ* was assigned.

The priests who assembled for the occasion return to their respective monasteries, and the priest who was in *was* preaches a thanksgiving sermon called *Kaṭhinánisaṁso*. The subject, of course, is the benefits which the faithful derive from the *kaṭhina* offering. The order of proceeding does not differ in any material respect from that observed at the *Anumodana dhammá* at the beginning of *was*.

Before the priest is conducted back to his monastery, it is necessary that he should be presented with the eight requisites of a priest [*aṭṭhaparikkháro*], viz., the three robes, a waist-belt, an alms-bowl, a razor, a water-strainer, and a needle.

Before these necessaries are presented, it is customary, if the people can afford it, to close the priest's stay in the village by a religious exercise, lasting seven days and seven nights, called in Sinhalese the *Mahá bana pirit*, or the Seven days' *pirit*.

Great preparations are made for this ceremony. The priest sends invitations to the more learned priests in the neighbourhood, to the number of twenty-five or thirty; not less than twenty-four are required. The preaching hall is,

decorated for the occasion, and a gorgeous canopy, in the shape of a Chinese pagoda, is erected over the pulpits, which are placed on a raised platform. Temporary lodgings for the invited priests are put up round the preaching hall.

The invited priests are told to assemble at some convenient place in the afternoon, where the people go out to meet them. They are brought in procession, preceded by musicians and dancers, and are conducted to the refectory, where the evening meal is served with the same formalities as are observed, where several priests are assembled, at the beginning of *was*. They are then conducted in procession to the preaching hall, with the *pirit* book and a relic-casket. The priests go in single file, each priest holding his hand-screen before his face. When the procession has reached the hall, some of the leading laymen place the book and the relic-casket on a raised platform in front of the pulpit, and the priests then take their seats on the platform round the pulpits. No deacon or layman is allowed on the platform, which is made only of sufficient size to accommodate the number of priests who are invited.

The priests being seated, a layman standing near the principal entrance says, addressing the priests on behalf of the people :—

Vipatti paṭibáháya
Sabbasampatti siddhiyá
Sabbadukkhavinásáya
Parittaṁ brúṭha maṇgalaṁ.

This is repeated three times, substituting for *dukkha* in line 3, *bhaya* the second time, and *roga* the third time.

[To keep misfortune far away,
To bring us all good fortune,
To destroy all disease, fear, sorrow,
Recite the glorious *pirit*.]

One of the priests then gives the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments. When this is over some of the laymen burn incense round the platform, and the musicians who are kept outside the hall strike up an inspiriting air.

One of the assembled priests now summons the gods to attend, using the formula already given above (*Sagge náme ca, &c.*), after the usual formula of adoration—

Namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammá sambuddhassa.

[Praise be to the blessed one, the holy one, the author of all truth.]

All the priests chaunt the *Paṭiccasamuppáda*, or the doctrine of the production of the successive causes of existence:—

Avijjá paccayá saṅkhárá saṅkhárapaccayá viññáṇaṁ viññáṇapaccayá námarupaṁ, námarúpapaccayá saláyatanaṁ, saláyatanapaccayá phasso, phassapaccayá vedaná, vedanápaccayá taṇhá, taṇhápaccayá upádánaṁ, upádánapaccayá bhavo bhavapaccayá játi, játipaccayá jarámaraṇaṁ, soka—parideva—dukkha—domanassupáyásá sambhavanti—evaṁ etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti. Avijjáyatveva asesaviráganirodhá saṅkhára nirodho, saṅkháranirodhá viññáṇanirodho, viññáṇanirodhá námarúpanirodho, námarúpanirodhá saláyatananirodho, saláyatananirodhá phassanirodho, phassanirodhá vedananirodho, vedananirodhá taṇhanirodho, taṇhanirodhá upádánanirodho, upádánanirodhá bhavanirodho, bhavanirodhá játinirodho, játinirodhá jarámaranaṁ sokaparideva dukkha domanassupáyásá nirujjhanti. Evaṁ etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandassa nirodho hoti.

[Of ignorance, ignorance that is of suffering, its origin, its destruction, and the road leading to its destruction, come accumulations of merit and demerit by deed and word, and thought of these accumulations of merit and demerit comes consciousness, which has its birth by means of the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind ; of this consciousness comes mind and body ; of the mind and body come the six organs of sense, namely, those of the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind ; of these six organs come the six modes of contact; of contact comes sensation ; of sensation comes evil desire ; of evil desire comes attachment to sensible objects ; of this attachment to sensible objects comes existence ; of existence comes birth ; of birth comes decay and death, sorrow and weeping, suffering and grief, and prostration. Such is the origin of this whole aggregation of sufferings.

By the destruction of all lusts which arise on account of ignorance, the accumulations of merit and demerit are destroyed,

by the destruction of these accumulations of merit and demerit consciousness is destroyed, by the destruction of consciousness the mind and body are destroyed, by the destruction of the mind and body the six organs of sense are destroyed, by the destruction of the six organs of sense contact is destroyed, by the destruction of contact sensation is destroyed, by the destruction of sensation evil desire is destroyed, by the destruction of evil desire attachment to sensible objects is destroyed, by the destruction of attachment to sensible objects existence is destroyed, by the destruction of existence birth is destroyed, by the destruction of birth, decay and death, sorrow and weeping, suffering and grief, and prostration are destroyed. Such is the destruction of this whole aggregation of sufferings.]

A hymn of victory is then chaunted, and the service is closed by all the priests together chaunting the *Ratana suttaṁ* and the *Karaniyametta suttaṁ*. This is the end of the service on the eve of the *pirit* festival.

Next morning, at daybreak, all the priests assemble in the preaching hall, and two of them take their seats on the pulpits. Of these two, one reads the first portion of the *pirit* book to the end of the *Dasadhamma suttaṁ*. They then descend from the pulpits and take their places with the other priests on the platform, and all chaunt together the *Maṁgala suttaṁ*, *Ratana suttaṁ*, and *Karaniyametta suttaṁ*. Two other priests then take their places in the pulpits, and continue the reading of the *pirit*. The other priests return to their lodgings. The reading of *pirit* is continued day and night, interrupted only by the assembling of all the priests three times a day to chaunt the three *sutras*, and by the relief of the readers every three Sinhalese *pẹ́yas* (equal to about two and a quarter English hours). The two read the *pirit* together in Páli ; no explanation of the meaning is given. During the *pirit* week the congregation is, of course, constantly changing. The people come and go as they please. The largest attendance is in the morning, at noon, in the evening,—when the priests assemble to chaunt the three *sutras*.

The first portion of the *pirit* book is read through from end to end over and over again, till the night of the sixth

day, when the second portion, containing seven *sutras*, comes into reading.

On the morning of the seventh day a procession is formed, and a written invitation is sent by a special messenger, who accompanies the procession to one of the temples of the gods [*deviyó*], inviting the gods and the four guardian deities of Ceylon to attend. On the return of the procession, the messenger reports that the gods are in attendance, and one of god's priests utters a benediction. After this the *A'ṭánáṭiya suttaṁ* is read by the priests, four and four at a time, again and again till daybreak on the eighth day. The *Ratana suttaṁ* and the *Karaniyametta suttaṁ* are chaunted, the benediction is given, and the *pirit* service is ended. The priests who took part in the service receive presents, each a robe or twenty cubits of cloth, and depart to their respective monasteries.

The priest who was in *was* receives the eight requisites, and is conducted in procession with the relic-casket and his books back to his monastery with the same marks of respects as were shown when he was brought down to the village.

2.—*The "Jivadánaṁ," or Pinkama by a man whose end is approaching.*

This *pinkama*, called in Sinhalese *godáne*, takes place when a man thinks himself soon about to die. The priest of the village *viháré* [temple] officiates. A few days' notice is usually given, and on the appointed day the man's sons and relations go in the evening to the *viháré* with an offering of flowers, oil, and necessaries for the evening meal. After making their offering at the *viháré* they go to the priest's residence, and thence conduct the priest with his *bana* book to the house, where a temporary preaching hall is made ready. After the priest has finished his evening meal, the sick man and his relations assemble to hear *bana*. On these occasions the priest reads and explains some portions of a Sinhalese book, such as the *Ratanávaliya*. This lasts for about six English hours. If the priest's residence is near he returns to it, if not he retires to rest at the house.

Next morning the priest is supplied with his morning meal. His mid-day meal is made ready with great ceremony, and when it is over the following offerings are made : a brass water-pot, a lamp, a spitting pot, a bill-hook, a mammoty, an adze, an axe, a chisel, a mat and a pillow, a basin and a plate, some fruit and some cooked food, and the usual small boxes in which the articles used by betel-chewers are carried —in short, all the ordinary articles of daily use. They are put down in front of the priest, and a piece of calico 16 or 20 cubits long is brought out ; one end of it is given to the priest, and the sick man's relations hold on to the other end. The relations then say :—

To the venerable priest who is here present as the representative of the holy succession of priests who have received ordination uninterruptedly from the times of Sáriputto Maha Moggaláno, we make this offering in behalf of our father Punchirála in order that he may be born in the world of gods, and finally attain the eternal rest of Nirvána.

The cloth is put down with the offerings, and the priest says "*Ichchitaṁ patthitaṁ,*" &c.

May your desire and your happiness
Soon be accomplished,
May your hopes be fulfilled
Like as the moon becomes round.

Panámena sáraṁ sarírassa dhírá
Padánena dánaṁ dhananaṁ sapañño
Susílena sáraṁ sadá jívitassa
Gahetúna viññú na socanti paccá.

[By reverence do the wise secure health for their bodies,
By almsgiving do they lay up treasures for themselves,
By piety do they secure for ever prosperity of life ;
The wise have not sorrow at their death.]

After giving the benediction the priest rises to depart, and is conducted back to his residence with the offerings he has received, which are borne in procession, accompanied by music and dancers.

When a man is at the point of death he generally sends for the priest, who, after repeating the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments, reads to him that portion of the

Satipaṭṭhána suttaṁ which sets forth the unprofitableness of having regard for the body.

3.—*The "Mataka-dánaṁ."*

When a man dies he is buried by his friends quietly; a priest awaits the arrival of the body at the grave; the body is dressed in the ordinary dress of the deceased, and is placed on sticks at the top of the grave. The cloth which covers it is removed and presented to the priest, who says :—

Aniccá vata saṅkhárá,
Uppádavayadhammino,
Uppajjitvá nirujjhanti
Tesaṁ vúpasamo sukho.

[Assuredly all that are born
Decay and pass away,
They are born and they cease to exist,
Their rest is happiness.]

The priest departs, taking with him the cloth; the friends of the deceased remain to bury the body. The important ceremony after a death is the *Mataka-dánaṁ*, or *pinkama*, for the release of the spirit of the departed from purgatory. A man after death may be born again: (*a*) in the world of gods; or (*b*) as man or an animal; or (*c*) in one of the places of torment; or (*d*) as a sprite or kind of hobgoblin [*peto*]. These sprites are of four kinds: (i) *Vananásiko*, who live on loathsome and disgusting food; (ii) *Khuppipásiko*, who are never able to relieve the cravings of thirst and hunger; (iii) *Nijjhámataṇhiko*, whose bellies are always burning like a hollow tree which has been set on fire; (iv) *Paradattúpiko*, who derive benefit from offerings made in their behalf. It is this class only which can be benefited by the *Mataka-dánaṁ*. In all other cases the merit of the offerings benefits the givers. If a relative has been as a *Paradattúpikapeto*, by the merit of this ceremony he is speedily released from his birth as a sprite, and is born again in the world of gods or the world of men.

4.

About a month or six weeks after a man's death his

relatives generally perform this *pinkama*. The preliminaries are the same as in the *Jivadánám* already described. The priest brings with him a Sinhalese book, called the *Preta-katháwastu-pota*, from which he reads after the evening meal. One of the most striking passages in this book is the Sinhalese transalation of the *Tirokuḍḍa sutta.*

The Spirits of the Departed.

They stand outside our dwellings, at our windows, at the corners of our streets; they stand at our doors, revisiting their old homes.

When abundant food and drink is set before them, by reason of the past sins of these departed ones, their friends on earth remember them not.

Yet do such of their kinsmen as are merciful bestow upon them at due seasons food and drink, pure, sweet, and suitable. Let this be done for your departed friends, let them be satisfied.

Then, gathering together here, the assembled spirits of our kinsmen rejoice greatly in a plentiful repast.

"Long," they say, "may our kinsmen live through whom we have received these things; to us offerings are made and the givers are not without reward."

For in the land of the dead there is no husbandry, no keeping of flocks, no commerce as with us, no trafficking for gold; the departed live in that world by what they receive in this.

As water fallen from a height descends into the valley, so surely do alms bestowed by men benefit the dead.

As the brimming rivers fill the oceans, so do alms bestowed by men benefit the dead.

Let a man consider thus—"Such a one gave me this gift, such a one wrought me this good deed; they were my kinsmen, my friends, my associates." Then let him give alms to the dead, mindful of past benefits.

For weeping and sorrow and all manner of lamentation are of no avail; if their relatives stand thus sorrowing it benefits not the dead.

But this charity bestowed by you, well secured in the priesthood, if it long bless the dead, then does it benefit them indeed.

And the fulfilment of this duty to relatives, to the dead is a great service rendered, to the priests a great strength given, by you no small merit acquired.

NOTE.

Sakkaccaṁ.—When a priest receives food he should repeat to himself the following grace (*sakkaccaṁ* refers to its repetition):—

Paṭisaṅkhá yoniso piṇḍapátaṁ paṭisevámi n'eva daváya na madáya na maṇḍanáya na vibhúsanáya yávad eva imassa káyassa ṭhitiyá yápanáya vihiṁsúparatiyá brahmacariyánuggaháya iti puránañ ca vedanaṁ paṭihaṇkhámi navañ ca vedanaṁ na uppádessámi yátrá ca me bhavissati anavajjatá ca phásu viháro cáti.

[In real wisdom I take my food; not for amusement, not for sensual enjoyment, not that my skin may be soft, not for beauty—only to keep life in this body, for the subjugation of the passions and as a help to a holy life. Thus I overcome my former pains (*i.e.*, the pains of hunger), and give not rise to new (*i.e.*, those which come from indulgence of the appetites). Thus will my journey (*i.e.*, on the way to Nirvána) be blameless and my dwelling happy.]

This grace is an elaboration of the sentiment expressed in the homely phrase "eat to live, do not live to eat." As Charles Lamb observes in his essays of Elia, "the proper object of the grace is sustenance, not relishes; daily bread, not delicacies; the means of life, and not the means of pampering the carcass."

The Buddhists do not confine the custom of saying grace to dinner: they have a grace for each of the four requisites of a priest. For robes:—

Paṭisaṅkhá yoniso cívaraṁ paṭisevámi yávadeva sítassa paṭighátáya uṇhassa paṭighátáya daṁsamakasa vátátapasiriṁ sapasamphassánaṁ paṭighátáya yávad eva hirikopínapaṭicchádanatthaṁ.

[In wisdom I wear my robes, as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun, and the touch of serpents, to cover nakedness.]

For a place of abode and the like, such as beds, chairs, &c. :—

Paṭisaṅkhá yoniso senásanaṁ paṭisevámi yávad eva sítassa paṭighátáya uṇhassa paṭighátáya ḍaṁsa-makasa-vátátapa-siriṁsa pasamphassánaṁ paṭighátáya yávad eva utuparissaya vinodanaṁ paṭisallánárámatthaṁ.

[In wisdom I occupy this abode as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun, and the touch of serpents, to keep off the inclemency of the seasons, for the sake of peace of mind.]

And for medicines and the like :—

Paṭisaṅkhá yoniso gilánapaccayabhesajja-parikkháraṁ paṭisevámi yávad eva uppannánaṁ veyyábádhikánaṁ vedanánaṁ paṭighátáya abhyápajjhaparamatáyáti.

[In wisdom I take medical requisites and drugs for the cure of sickness and the ills that arise therefrom, to secure the blessing of freedom from suffering.]

THE LANGUAGE OF THE THRESHING-FLOOR.*

By J. P. Lewis, Esq., c.c.s.

(Read 12th February, 1884.)

The use of a conventional language when engaged in the various operations of paddy cultivation is not confined to the Kandyans, but prevails more or less among paddy cultivators† throughout the Island, both Sin̥halese and Tamil.‡ For instance, I found that it existed among the Sin̥halese of the Balapiṭiya and Tan̥galla Districts of the Southern, and among the Tamils of the Northern Province, while Mr. Bell met with the same custom in the Rayigam and Siyanẹ Kórálés of the Western Province. Nor is it only when engaged in paddy cultivation that the Sin̥halese make use of a conventional language. The same custom is observed to some extent, at any rate by pilgrims, during their pilgrimages to Adam's Peak, Tissamaharáma, Kataragama, and other sacred places. The reason for this custom is that given by Mr. Ievers, viz., to guard against giving the *yaksayó*§ an opportunity of taking advantage in any way of what is being said to the prejudice of the speakers. Thus, I have been informed, it does not do to speak of "tree," for instance, by the word *gaha*, on account

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* Sin̥., ගොයිබාසෙ [*goyibáse*]; Tamil, களப்பேச்சு [*kaḷappéchchu*]. The Tamil name is the exact equivalent of the title of this Paper.

† When the people are engaged in reaping, threshing, or measuring corn, they converse with each other in a peculiar language, which is only understood by those who are cultivators. Those who are not acquainted with these terms could not speak in a threshing-floor without giving offence.—(Correspondent of *Ceylon Observer*.)

‡ Doubtless the same practice prevails among the Madras Tamils, and probably among paddy cultivators throughout India.

§ In the place of the *yaksayó* of the Sin̥halese, the Tamils have the *kúḷis* (கூளிகள்—I do not mean the 'labourers,' who are கூலிகள் [*kulikal*]). They and the *yaksayó* correspond, as Mr. Ievers says, in many respects to our malicious fairies or 'good people.'

of the resemblance that word bears to *gahanavá* ["to beat"], lest a *yaksayá* who happened to be just within hearing should (whether purposely or not I am not aware) make an unfortunate mistake as to the word used, with consequences unpleasant to the talkers!* 'Tree' is therefore spoken of as *peléṭiya*, a word which ordinarily means "a small plant of any kind." So for *yanavá* ["go"], they say *issaraha balanavá* ["look ahead"], and for *kaṭuvak ẹnuná* ["a thorn has pricked me"] the expression used is *paraṇḍalak issarauná*, meaning literally, 'a dried leaf has come forward.' For *bara* ["heavy"] in this lingo its opposite, *sẹhẹllu* ["light"], is substituted. *Karuná karaṇavá* ["to be kind"] has several curious significations. Thus, *umbalá mehe karunákaḷé kavadáda* means 'when did you come here?' (lit., 'favour this place with your presence'); and *api heṭa gamaṭa karunákaraṇḍa hitá innavá* means 'we are thinking of returning home to-morrow.' Perhaps these expressions are used by people who wish to be extraordinarily polite to each other; but it is carrying politeness to an excess to say for 'a tick is biting me,' *ibbek karunákaraṇavá* ["a tortoise is doing me a favour"].

There seem some grounds for believing that, with the progress of education, this practice is gradually dying out both among Siŋhalese and Tamil cultivators. It is very often only in the memories of the elders of the village, or of the *piṭisara minissu* ["country people"] that the words still linger. The words used by the Siŋhalese cultivators are not to my knowledge to be found in book or manuscript of any kind, but are handed down from generation to generation.† Hence it is, perhaps, just as well that as

* "A man will not use the word 'take' lest the *yaksayó* should consider it as a permission, and steal the paddy."—Mr. Ievers, in C. A. S. Journal, 1880, p. 50.

† I may here remark that although several of the Tamil conventional words and expressions are given in Winslow's and in Spalding's Dictionaries, I have not been able to find any of the Siŋhalese words (except those ordinary words, which are used by the cultivators with a different and conventional meaning) in either Clough's or Bridgnell's Dictionaries.

many of these conventional words as possible should be recorded before they are quite forgotten. Every word of this kind, however primitive or uncouth, may have its use in the study of the development and philology of the Siṇhalese language. With this object, I have added some words used in the Districts of Balapiṭiya and Taṇgalla to the vocabularies of Mr. Ievers and Mr. Bell already printed, and I append also a list of Tamil words from the different divisions of the Jaffna District. I have endeavoured where possible to show the meanings and derivations of the words.*

I annex also some *goyiyá* songs from Balapiṭiya District, with free translations.

From an examination of these lists the following remarks are suggested :—

1. It may be inferred from the fact that the same words, or words very similar, are used with the same meanings in districts wide apart from one another, that there is an established conventional language used by all Siṇhalese cultivators, and that this language is not of recent origin.

2. Most of the words appear to be merely nicknames coined for the purpose, generally from some peculiarity or characteristic of the objects to which they are applied.† This is especially the case with the names given to animals, some of which are comical enough. Thus, a grey monkey is a 'tree stag,' while a brown one is 'the cougher.' A chetah appears to be 'the old man of the woods' [*bẹddé muttá*]. It is not clear why, in Taṇgalla, the bear should

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* An explanation of the meanings of most of the words in the Kẹgalla List appeared in the *Ceylon Observer* of 5th December, 1882.

† Thus, in Siṇhalese: 'whiteness' [*suduvá*] for 'chunam'; 'sweetness' [*rahatiyá*] for 'jaggery'; 'redness' [*rattá*] for 'fire'; 'the intoxicator' [*matkaraṇṇá*] for 'tobacco'; 'black-water' [*kalu vatura*] for 'arrack'; 'white-water' [*sudu vatura*], or 'sediment-water' [*bora vatura*], for 'toddy'; 'the cutter' [*kapanná*] for 'knife,' &c.; and in Tamil: 'the runner' [*óḍḍakkáraṇ*] for 'chaff'; 'the inflamer' [*sulliduváṇ*] for chunam; 'the rustler' [*sarasarappaṇ*] 'for mat'; 'the joiner' [*aḍuváṇ*] for 'rope'; 'the accountant' [*kanakkaṇ*] for 'lácham measure.'

be at once a 'village elder' [*gamayá*], and 'the donkey' [*kaludéṿá*]. More respect is perhaps paid by the Kandyans to the boar; he is pre-eminently 'the quadruped' [*hatarayá*]. It cannot be said that the names given to the cock—'the ground scratcher' [*binpahurá*] and 'the crower' [*aṇḍa-lanná*]; or by both Siṇhalese and Tamils to the elephant, 'the great animal' [Siṇ. *mahabólá*, Tam. *perumpólaṉ*], are inappropriate. So the Tamil cultivators call the ox 'the walker' [*naḍaiyan*].*

3. In some instances the system adopted seems to be merely to call the object by some word which ordinarily has a different meaning; thus a tick is called 'tortoise' [*ibbá*], a thorn 'dried leaf' [*paraṇḍala*], &c. Sometimes, indeed, things are called by their contraries, or after qualities the reverse of those which they possess, as for instance *seḥeḷlu* ["light"] for *bara* ["heavy"], and *miriyá* ["sweetness"] for *lunu* ["salt"].

4. A peculiarity which is characteristic of both the Siṇhalese and Tamil threshing-floor language is the paucity of verbs and the different significations of which each verb used is capable. Thus, in Siṇhalese, *jayakaraṇavá* is used both for 'to eat' and 'to drink,' and it is the same in Tamil, where *koḍḍáppikka* means either 'to eat' or 'to drink:' it also means 'to smoke (tobacco)' and 'to chew (betel).' *Puravanavá*, in Siṇhalese, means 'to eat,' 'to drink,' 'to go' (Kégalla), and 'to place,' and

* Similar nicknames are to be found in ordinary Siṇhalese. A mantis is *tanagiravá*, ["the grass parrot"], and there is another insect, a kind of grasshopper, I believe, called *bim-úrá* ["the ground boar."] Sir John Lubbock remarks ("Origin of Civilization," pp.321—2):—"Every one who has paid any attention to children, or schoolboys, must have observed how nicknames often derived from slight and even fanciful characteristics are seized on, and soon adopted by general consent. Hence, even if root-words had remained with little alteration, we should still be often puzzled to account for their origin. I believe they arose in the same way as the nicknames and new slang terms of our own day. These we know are often selected from some similarity of sound, or connection of ideas, often so quaint, fanciful, or far-fetched, that we are unable to recall the true origin even of words which have arisen in our own time."

udavukaraṇavá 'to eat' and 'to kindle (a fire).' The verbs, in fact, seem to be purely euphemistic words selected entirely without reference to their having any, or no, resemblance in meaning to the words in place of which they are used. Words with such meanings as 'to increase,' 'to multiply,' 'to make fat,' 'to fill,' appear to be considered lucky words to use. Hence the Siṇhalese cultivators use *puravanavá* [" to fill"] and *vaḍanavá* [" to increase"]; for 'to begin the work' of cultivation, *puravaḍanavá*,* and *vaḍanavá* for 'to sow' [*bittara vaḍanavá*],† or, 'to draw the threshing-floor diagrams' [*aḷuhan vaḍanavá*].‡ Just in the same way the Tamils use *perukka* [" to cause to increase"] with many different meanings. The various meanings of *puravanavá* ["to fill"] I have already noticed. The Siṇhalese Kapurála shouts *Purá! purá!* [" Full! full!"]; the Tamil cultivator urges on the oxen on the threshing-floor, and at the end of the work greets the appearance of the heap of threshed corn with shouts of *Poli! poli!* ["Increase! increase!"]. So the Siṇhalese say *bókaraṇḍa* ["to multiply"] for 'to chew (betel),' where the Tamils use *metta* [" to be abundant"].

5. In one or two instances the Siṇhalese cultivators make use of ordinary Tamil words as their conventional words, while a corresponding process is found among the Tamils with respect to some Siṇhalese words. Thus, in Mr. Bell's list of words from Rayigam Kóralé, *válapalam* (Tam., *váḷaippaḷam)* is given as the threshing-floor word for "plantain," while the Tamil cultivators call a "winnow" *kullam* (Siṇ., *kulla)*,§ and 'a lime' *tésikkái*.

6. Sometimes the general is used for the particular, and *vice versâ*. In Siṇhalese, " winnow" is *yatura* [" the instrument"]; in Tamil "margosa leaf" is *pattiri* [" the leaf"], 'arecanut' is *koḍḍai* ["the seed"], 'plantain' is *kaṇi* [" the

* C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 46.
† *Ibid*, 1880, p. 47.
‡ *Ibid*, 1880, p. 49, and 1883, p. 49.
§ This, however, is a Páli word.

fruit"]. On the other hand, the Siṉhalese cultivator's word for 'man' is *goyiyá* 'cultivator'—he is thought of primarily in his agricultural capacity. For the same reason his wife is *goyiammá* ["mother cultivator"]. Words with a general meaning being thus sometimes used in a particular sense, it follows that the latter varies a good deal in different districts. For example, *ambáruvá* seems to mean "any horned animal."* In the Kęgalla and Balapiṭiya districts it means 'elk' [*góná*], but in the other districts it means 'buffalo': it is also, I think, used for 'deer' [*muvá*]. *Kaḷu geḍiyá* ["the black lump"] is applied to 'monkey' [*vandurá*] and 'boar' [*úrá*].

7. It will be noticed, as another peculiarity of these localisms, that many of the words denoting inanimate things have the terminations which in ordinary Siṉhalese or Tamil are confined to words denoting animates, or are words ordinarily denoting animates. This is particularly the case with respect to those natural objects, agricultural implements, &c., to which in the exercise of their occupation the cultivators have occasion oftenest to refer. Thus in Siṉhalese—†

Objects in nature.	rattá	=	fire (lit., redness)
	gaṉgulá	=	water
	míriyá	=	salt (lit., sweetness)
	suduvá	=	chunam (lit., whiteness)
Fruits, &c.	pehiyá	=	rice (lit., ripeness)
	kahaṭavá	=	arecanut (lit., bitterness)
	rahatiyá	=	jaggery (lit., sweetness)
	tittayá	=	gourd (lit., bitterness)
Tools, &c.	kapanná	=	knife (lit., the cutter)
	liyanná	=	reaping-hook (lit., the cutter)
	turaṉkaraṇṇá	=	spoon (lit., the separater)

* Cf. the difference in meaning between English *deer* and German *thier*.

† To these may be added several Kęgalla words, which in Mr. Ievers's list seems to be in the accusative plural. See the words marked with an asterisk in the list at the end of this Paper, and compare them with the corresponding words from the other districts.

And in Tamil—

Objects in nature.	vátaráyaṉ	=	the wind (lit., wind-king)
	óḍḍakkáraṉ	=	chaff (lit., the runner)
	suḷḷiḍuván	=	chunam (lit., the inflamer smarter)
	veḷichchakáraṉ	=	camphor (lit., the shiner)
Fruits, &c.	karukkuváṉ	=	tobacco (lit., the burner)
	pukaichchaḍkáraṉ		benzoin (lit., the smoker)
Tools, &c.	kollaṉ	=	sickle (lit., blacksmith). So with the words for mamoty, axe
	sarasarappáṉ	=	mat (lit., the rustler)
	velaikáraṉ, vélaiyáḷ		stick for separating the straw from the grain (lit., servant)

This would at first sight appear as if the cultivators in their euphemistic language were accustomed to adopt a sort of personification of the more familiar, natural, and other objects. A similar peculiarity has been noticed by Professor Max Müller as characteristic of a primitive state of language. As a rational and probable explanation of it, I cannot do better than quote his words. Referring to language in its most primitive state, he says : "Here, in the lowest depths of language, lie the true germs of what we afterwards call figurism, animism, anthropopathism, anthropomorphism ; here we recognise them as necessities—necessities of language and thought—and not as what they appear to be afterwards, free poetical conceptions. At a time when even the stone which he had himself sharpened was still looked upon by man as his deputy, and called a cutter, not a something to cut with ; when his measuring rod was a measurer, his plough a tearer, his ship a flier, or a bird ; how could it be otherwise than that the river should be a shouter, the mountain a defender, the moon a measurer? ......These are the simplest, the most inevitable steps of language. If we want to know.........what the ancients thought when they spoke of a river, the answer is they thought it exactly what they called it, and they called it, as we know, in different ways, either the runner [*sarit*] or the

noisy [*nadí* or *dhuní*]; or if it flowed in a straight line, the plougher or the plough [*sîrâ*, river; *sîrâ*, plough], or the arrow; or if it seemed to nourish the fields, the mother [*mâtar*]; or if it separated and protected one country from another, the defender [*sindhu*, from *sidh*, *sedhati*, to keep off]. In all these names you will observe that the river is conceived as acting. As man runs, so the river runs; as man shouts, so the river shouts; as man ploughs, so the river ploughs; as a man guards, so the river guards. The river is not called at first a plough, but the plougher; nay, even the plough itself is for a long time conceived and called an agent, not a mere instrument. The plough is the divider, the tearer, the wolf, and thus shares often the same name with the burrowing boar, or the tearing wolf (*vriha* is both wolf and plough in the Veda)." The conclusion arrived at by Professor Max Müller is that grammatical gender is not the cause but the result of personification. "When everything that was known and named had to be conceived as active, and if active, then as personal; when a stone was a cutter, a tooth a grinder or an eater, a gimlet a borer; there was no doubt considerable difficulty in dispersonifying, in distinguishing between a measurer and the moon, in neutralising words, in producing in fact neuter nouns, in clearly distinguishing the tool from the hand, the hand from the man; in finding a way of speaking even of a stone as something simply trodden under foot. There was no difficulty in figuring, animating, or personifying. Thus we see how for our purposes the problem of personification, which gave so much trouble to former students of religion and mythology, is completely inverted; our problem is not how language came to personify, but how it succeeded in dispersonifying." *

Thus, then, although primitive language is "without any signs of gender, all ancient nouns expressed activities...... It was almost impossible to speak of things not active or not personal. Every name meant something active."

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* Max Müller, Hibbert Lectures, 1878, pp. 186-190.

Feminine nouns were next introduced "with the setting apart of certain derivative suffixes for females. By this all other words became masculine. At a still later time certain forms were set apart for things that were neuter."

I think, then, we have an analogous instance in this language of the threshing-floor, which is in effect a rudimentary language.

Appendix.

I.—Siṇhalese Threshing-Floor Words.*

A.—*Natural Objects, Fruits, &c.*

English.	Siṇhalese (ordinary).	Conventional Word.†	District where used.‡	Remarks.
Arrack ...	arakku ...	(1) pędiya ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K. ...	—
		(2) kaḷu vatura ...	Galle ...	Black water.
Arecanut ...	puvak ...	kahaṭavá ...	Kég. ...	Bitterness.
Ashes ...	alu ...	(1) davvá ...	Ray. K. ...	That which has been burnt,—from *danavá.* *Aḷuhan* the Kég. and Siy. K. word, evidently means the diagrams drawn with ashes (*hana* = a mark).
		(2) yakunṭa bóya ...	Galle ...	A morsel for the devils.
Betel ...	bulat ...	(1) pęngirivá ...	Ray. K. ...	Acidity; *pęngiri* = acid.
		(2) pęngirikola ...	Bala.; Galle.; Tang.	Citronella (grass) = *pęngiri* in ordinary Siṇhalese.
		(3) bólkola ...	Siy. K. ...	*Ból* = paddy chaff,—anything thick or solid. Tamil, *pól.*
Betel (quid) ...	bulat-viḍa ...	pęngiri-kola-bóya ...	Tang. ...	—
Cakes (rice) ...	kęvun ...	(1) diyapiṭa piná ...	Kég. ...	? That which swims on the water.
		do. pínana...	Ray. K. ...	(same as above)
		(2) pupá, pu ...	Siy. K.; Galle ...	*Pup* = opened, expanded (of a flower).
		(3) rat-kabala ...	Galle ...	*Rat* = red, or fire *Kabalu* (given by Clough) = scales, a kind of cake. Cf. *kiri-kabalu* = hoppers.

Chaff ...	bol ...	(1) káṭu ...	Ray. K.; Galle ...	Given by Clough.
		(2) paligattó (plu.)...	Siy. K.; Galle ...	—
		(3) ęgiṭi ...	Galle ...	Connected with *ekmenavá* = to be crushed, bruised?
		(4) męliya ...	Galle ...	—
Chunam ...	hunu ...	(1) Kaṭuvan* ...	Kég. ...	The inflamer; *kaṭu*=pungent, bitter. Cf. the Tamil conventional word *sul̤l̤duváṇ*=the inflamer.
		(2) suduvá ...	Ray. K.; Bala.; Galle ...	Whiteness.
Cocoanut ...	pol ...	(1) uhan ...	Kég.; Bala. ...	From *usa* = high.
		uhanná ...	Ray. K. ..	The high one.
		usan ...	Galle ...	—
		(2) kiri-gedi ...	Bala. ...	Milk-fruit.
Dung (cattle) ...	goma ...	gon-pas ...	Kég.; Ray. K.; Siy. K. Galle ...	Cattle-earth.

* The following probable misprints in Mr. Bell's list should be corrected:—

Rahaliyá	should be	rahaliya	Goyiya (poru)	should be	goyiyá	Kaŋ-gotuva	should be	kaŋ-goṭuvá
Kaḷu-gediya	„	kaḷu-gęḍiyá	Goyiya (yála)	„	goyiyá	kúduva	„	kúḍuva
Valmiya	„	valmíyá	Goyiya (dęti)	„	goyiyá	Miriya	„	míriyá
Valimuva	„	valimuvá	Gaŋgula	„	gaŋgulá	Kalawiṭa	„	kalaviṭa
Vęlimuva	„	vęlimuvá	Konussanno	„	konussannó	Watura	„	vatura
Miminna	„	míminná	Aṇḍalanna	„	aṇḍalanná	Yallanavá	„	yállanavá
Mihiriya	„	mihiriyá						

The word *mutta* also, the name for the shell which is placed in the centre of the circles drawn on the threshing-floor (C. A. S. Journal, p. 49), I would change to *muttá*, which, and not *mutta*, is certainly the word used in the Kandyan country. *Muttá* among the Kandyans means "great-grandfather"; in the low country it is used for "grandfather." I think, too, *pędiya* should be *pędiyá*.

† Words marked with an asterisk are, I think, in the accusative plural.

‡ Kég. = Kęgalla; Ray. K. = Rayigam Kóralé; Siy. K. = Siyanę Kóralé; Bala. = Balapiṭiya; Taŋg = Taŋgalla.

A.—*Natural Objects, Fruits, &c.*—*continued.*

English.	Siŋhalese (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	District where used.	Remarks.
Fire ...	gindara ...	rattá ...	Kẹ́g ; Ray. K.; Siy. K. Bala.; Taŋg. ...	Redness.
Grain (fine) ...	amu ...	(1) kaḷu-baruvan * ...	Kẹ́g. ...	? Ac. plu. of *baruvá*. See under "handful" and "bull."
Grain (kurakkan)...	kurakkan ...	(2) hín-baruvan ...	Kẹ́g. ...	—
		(3) hínvá ...	— ...	Fineness.
Handful ...	atalossa ...	(1) at-baruva ...	Kẹ́g.; Ray. K. ...	*Baruvá*.
		(2) bẹlá, ahura ...	Galle ...	*Ahuraṇavá* = to put together. *Ahura* is also the conventional word for cloth.
Hoppers ...	áppa ...	kiri-kabalu ...	Taŋg. ...	Sweetness.
Jaggery ...	hakuru ...	(1) rahatiyá ...	Kẹ́g. ...	Sweet-stuff.
		(2) rasa-bóya ...	Galle ...	—
Oil ...	tel ...	(1) vaḍu-diyavara ...	Kẹ́g. ...	Carpenter's water.
		(2) vaḍu-diya ...	Bala. ...	—
Paddy ...	ví ...	bẹlá ...	Kẹ́g.; Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Bala.; Taŋg. ...	Not given in Clough, but used in every district. Is it connected with *bat* = rice?
Plantain ...	kesel ...	(1) kahaṭa (geḍi) ...	Kẹ́g.; Bala. ...	The bitter (fruit). Cf. with the word for arecanut, *ante*.
		(2) vála-palam ...	Ray. K. ...	Tamil *váḷaippaḷam* the ordinary word.
		(3) rambakam ...	Galle ...	*Rambá* = plantain (Clough), *kan* for *kẹn* = bunch or cluster.

Potatoe (sweet) ...	batala ...	(1) bin-tamburu ...	Kég. ...	*Bin* from *bima* = the ground; *tamburu* = the generic name of the *nymphea*, or "water-lily" (Clough). *Vide ante* under "cocoanut."
		(2) kiri-geḍi ...	Galle ...	
Rice (raw) ...	hál ...	peḥiyan* ...	Kég.; Ray. K.; Siy. K.	Ripeness.
		peḥiyá ...	Bala. ...	(Ripeness.)
		peḥiyá-karapuvá ...	Tang. ...	Ripened.
Rice (cooked) ...	bat ...	pubbaruvan* ...	Kég.; Ray. K. ...	In ordinary Siṇhalese, *pubbaru* = callow, and *pubbará* = unfledged bird.
		pubbará ...	Bala. ...	
		pubbórun* ...	Siy. K. ...	
		pubbaru ...	Galle; Tang. ...	
Rice (pounded) ...	habalapeti ...	váḍi-hál ...	Ray. K.; Tang. ...	—
		javáḍi-hál ...	Galle ...	—
Rice (gruel) ...	keṇda ...	ganguli ...	Bala. ..	This looks like the fem. form of *gangulá*, the word for "water" (q. v.).
Salt ...	lunu ...	míriya or mihiriya ...	Kég.; Galle ...	Sweetness.
Stack (paddy) ...	(ví)-goḍa ...	(1) beḷa-varuva ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Bala. Galle ...	*Varuva* = a stack of paddy (Clough).
		(2) kolé ...	Bala. ...	Generally *kolé* or *kola* = a leaf; but *kolakeṭiya* = a stack of corn (Clough). Another meaning is 'half a day.' Does it hence come to mean 'the result of half a day's reaping'?
Sunshine ...	avva ...	deḍiyavá .	Kég. ...	That which is strong.
		deḍiya ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Galle ...	—
				—
Straw ...	piduru ...	meḍuvan* ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Bala.; Galle ...	From *maḍanavá* = to press, tread?
		meḍuhan ...	Tang. ...	

A.—*Natural Objects, Fruits, &c*—*continued.*

English.	Siṇhalese (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	District where used.	Remarks.
Thorn	kaṭuva	parandala	Tang.	The ordinary meaning is 'withered leaf.'
Tobacco	dun-kola	(1) roḍu-kola	Ray. K.; Bala.	*Roḍu* = saw-dust.
		(2) mat-karaṇṇá	Galle	The intoxicator.
		(3) titta-kola	do.	Bitter-leaf.
Toddy	rá	(1) bora-diya or bora-gangula	Ray. K.; Siy. K.	Sediment-water.
		(2) sudu-vatura	Galle	White-water.
Water	vatura	gangulá	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Galle; Tang.	*Gangula* means 'a rapid,' or 'small waterfall' in a brook. See the remarks by Dr. Goldschmidt on the changes in the meaning of the *vatura*, C.A.S. Journal, 1879, p. 29. Cf. ganguli.
		B.—*Implements, &c.*		
Bag	malla	(1) puranné	Kég.	That which fills.
		(2) puravannáva	Siy. K.	That which fills.
		(3) kaṭupana	Ray. K.; Bala.; Galle; Tang.	In Kégalla, *kaṭupana* = box.
		(4) pelella	Galle	—
Basket	kúḍé	veḷ-mána	Tang.	*Veḷa* = creeper; *mána* = measure, —hence a measure made out of a creeper.

Broom (large) ...	maha-idala ...	kaṭumána ...	Kég.; Tang. ...	*Kaṭuva* means "anything with a sharp point." Cf. *liyannákaṭuva.*
Broom (small) ...	hín-idala ...	(1) iti-mána ...	Tang. ...	*Iti* = "*twigs.*"
		(2) bóla-atta ...	Kég. ...	*Ból*="paddy chaff"; *atta*="branch."
Cloth ...	redda ...	(1) ahura ...	Ray. K. ...	*Ahuraná* = "to put together."
		(2) vaṭa-badanna ...	Galle ...	"The encircler."
		(3) vastraya ...	do, ...	An old word (Sanskrit).
Foot ...	kakula ...	goyi-póruva ...	Kég.; Tang. ...	*Póruva*="the wooden implement for smoothing the mud after ploughing." Cf. as slang "beetle-crusher."
House ...	gedara ...	(1) kúḍuva ...	Ray. K. ...	*Kúḍuva* = "nest." Cf. Tamil *kúḍam*, "house." (Sanskrit, *kúṭa.*)
		(2) nivahana-bóya ...	Galle ...	*Nivasana* = "dwelling-place."
Knife ...	pihiyé ...	kapannává ...	Bala. ...	"The cutter."
Laha (measure) ...	láha ...	(1) goyiyáva ...	Kég. ...	"The cultivator."
		(2) yála; yala-goyiya	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Galle	—
Mamoty ...	uḍella ...	bin-liyaná ...	Kég. ...	"Earth-cutter." Cf. Tamil.
		bin-liyannáva ...	Bala. ...	Tam. *maṇ-veḍḍi.* ? *Liyanná*, instead of *liyaná*
Mat ...	peḍura ...	(1) aturanné ...	Kég. ...	"That which spreads out."
		aturannáva ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K. ...	(do.)
		(2) akullanáva ...	Bala. ...	"That which rolls up."
		(3) sivurupána ...	— ...	*Sivuru* = "robes."
Money ...	kási ...	(1) vaṭa-vannan* ...	Ray. K.; Bala. ..	*Vaṭa* = "round."
		vaṭa-van ...	Siy. K. ...	—
		vaṭa-vanná ..	Galle ...	—
		vaṭa-vanuvan* ...	do. ...	—
		vaṭṭan* ...	do. ...	—
		(2) tani-paturu ...	do. ...	*Paturu* = "splinters"; *paturumalla*= "bag." C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 55.

B.—*Implements, &c.*—*continued.*

English.	Siṇhalese (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	District where used.	Remarks.
Pot (cooking) ...	valanda ...	kalageḍiya ...	Kẹ́g. ...	*Kala* (Tam. *kalam*) = pot"; *geḍiya* = "bulb." It appears to mean "anything round or of a bulbous shape."
Pumpkin or (gourd) for carrying water	labu-geḍiya ...	tittayá ...	Taṇg. ...	*Tittayá* = "a kind of small fresh-water fish"; *titta* = "bitter."
Rope (yoke) ...	bána ...	vẹl-bóya ...	Ray. K. ...	"A piece of creeper."
Stick, for separating the straw from the ears ...	ukunu-dẹtta ...	dẹti-goyiyá ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K. ...	*dẹti* = "the teeth of a saw."
Stick (goad) ...	keviṭa ...	gon-kóṭuva ...	— ..	"Cattle-stick."
Sickle ...	dẹ́kẹtta ...	liyanná-kaṭuva ...	Kẹ́g. ...	"The cutting sharp-pointed instrument."
		liyannává ...	Ray. K.; Bala; Galle	"The cutter."
		goyan-kẹtta ...	Taṇg. ...	"Crop-knife."
Smoothing-board ...	póruva ...	goyiya ...	Ray. K. ...	? *Goyiyá.*
		póru-goyiya ...	Siy. K. ...	—
Spoon ...	hẹnda ...	(1) mánapoyá ...	Kẹ́g. ...	"The measurer."
		(2) turankuranná ...	Bala. ...	"The separater."
Winnow ...	kulla ...	yatura ...	Kẹ́g.; Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Galle	*Yatura* means "any kind of machine" not merely "key," the ordinary meaning of the word.
Man ...	minihá ...	goyiyá ...	Taṇg. ...	Cultivator.
		goyiẹmbayá ...	Bala. ...	—
Woman ...	gẹ́ṇi ...	goyi-amma	do. ..	A word for "women" used in Balapiṭiya district is *bóliyó.*

C.—*Animals, &c.*

Bull	goṇá	(1) ela-ambáruvá anbáruvá	Tang.	Cf. *ela-dena*, the ordinary word for "cow," "the horned animal"? Cf. "horn-beasts," (As you like it, Act III.,Sc.3.) See under "grain," *ante.*
		(2) watu-ambáruwá	Kég.	
		(3) handandá	Bala.	*Han* = ? "horns."
		(4) gavaden	Tang.	*Gava* is an old word equivalent to *harak.*
Buffalo	mí-haraká	ambáruvá	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Galle; Tang.	—
Bear	valaha	(1) kaludévá	Tang.	"The donkey."
		(2) gamayá	do.	—
Boar	úrá	(1) hatarayá	Kég.	"The quadruped."
		(2) hoṭabariyá	Ray. K.; Bala.; Tang.	*Hoṭa* = "snout."
		(3) kaḷugeḍiyá	—	"The round black mass"? Cf. *kala-geḍiya*, "pot."
		kaugeḍi-ẹmboyá	Galle	Cf. *goyi-ẹmbayá*, *ante.*
Chetah	koṭiyá	bẹddé-muttá	Tang.	"Old man of the woods."
Cock	kukuḷá	(1) bin-pahurá	Kég.; Ray. K.	"Ground-scratcher."
		(2) pahuru-gánná	Galle	"The scratcher."
		(3) anḍalanná	do.	"The crower," "chanticleer."
Deer	muvá	ávudakárayá	Tang.	*A'vudhaya* = "instrument."
Deer (mouse)	vẹli-muvá	rabboḍayá	Kég.	*Rabboḍaya* = "ripe arecanut." *Rabbaḍayá* is a name (male) among the Kandyans.
Elephant	aliyá	(1) maha-bólá	Kég.; Galle	"The great animal." Cf. the conventional word for elephant used by Tamils, *perum-.pollán.*
		maha-ẹmbayá	Galle	
		(2) patu-bariyá	Siy. K.	"The clever (or ferocious?) animal."
	ẹtá (tusker)	(3) ẹt-ẹmbayá	Galle	—

C.—*Animals, &c.—continued.*

English.	Sinhalese (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	District where used.	Remarks.
Elk ...	góná ...	(1) karakolayá ...	Tang. ...	This word is also used by hunters
		(2) ambáruvá ...	Kég. ...	*Karakola*, "a kinds of leaves." See under "Bull."
Fish ...	málu-kúriyá ...	(1) katu-goyiyan* ...	Ray. K. ...	? "The prickly cultivator."
		(2) vénjana ...	Siy. K. ...	*Venjana* = *vyanjana* = "curry." Cf. *bat málu*, "rice and curry."
		(3) konussannó ...	Galle ...	"The nippers."
		konahannan* ...	Galle; Bala. ...	*Konahanawá* = to "pinch," "nip."
		(4) pilibariyan* ...	Kég. ...	? "The feathered animal."
Hare ...	hává ...	kangotuwá ...	do. ...	"The cup-eared."
Monkey (brown) ...	rilavá ...	(1) kés-gahaná ...	do. ...	"He who cries *kés*."
		(2) váliyá	Tang. ...	This, I understand, is the name of the king of the monkeys in the Rámáyana.
Monkey (grey) ...	vandurá ...	(1) kalugediyá ...	Kég. ...	See under "Boar."
		(2) gas-góná ..	Galle; Tang. ...	"Tree-stag."
Porcupine ...	ittévá ...	(1) kúrukárayá ...	Bala. ...	"He of the quills."
		(2) kúrupuppanná ...	Tang. ...	"The quills inflater."
Tick ...	kintula ...	ibbá ...	— ...	"The tortoise."
Animal ...	— ...	(1) embayá ...	Galle ...	*Goyi-embayá* = "cultivator," *kalu-gedi* = "boar," *maha* = "elephant," *et* = "elephant," *há* = "hare," *rilá* = "monkey."
		(2) bariyá ..	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; Kég.	*Hota-bariya* = "boar," *patu* = "elephant," *pii* = "fish."

D.—*Verbs.*

Chew (betel) ...	kanavá ...	bókaranavá ...	Taṇg. ...	"To multiply."
Come ...	enavá ...	lesavenavá ...	Kég. ...	*Lasa* = "speed," so that these words may mean, "to be quick," "to hasten."
		lasvenavá ...	Bala. ...	
Cook ...	pihanavá ...	idavanavá ...	Taṇg. ...	Literally, "to cause to ripen."
Drink ...	bonavá ...	(1) tarakaraṇavá ...	do. ...	"To make fat." "It is raining" = *gaṇgulá tarakaraṇavá.*
		(2) puravanavá ...	Ray. K. ...	"To fill."
		(3) jayakaraṇavá ...	Galle ...	*Jayagannavá* in ordinary Siṇhalese means "to conquer."
Eat ...	kanavá ...	(1) bandinavá ...	Kég. ...	"To tie."
		(2) puravanavá ...	Taṇg. ...	See under "drink."
		(3) jaya-karaṇavá ...	Taṇg.; Galle ...	do.
		(4) udavukaranavá..	Ray. K. ...	—
		(5) koṭábánavá ...	Siy. K. ...	—
		(6) veḍa vindinavá...	Galle ...	"To undergo labour."
Go ...	yanavá ...	puravanavá ..	Kég. ...	See under "drink."
Hasten ...	ikman-karaṇavá ...	sédara-karaṇavá	Ray. K. ...	—
		sedéru-karaṇavá	Galle ...	—
Kindle ...	pattu-karaṇavá ...	(1) rat-karaṇavá ...	Siy. K. ...	"To make hot."
		(2) udavu-karaṇavá ..	Galle ...	See under "Eat."
		(3) pavat-vanavá ...	Taṇg. ..	"To cause to exist."
Measure ...	maninavá ...	(1) yallanavá ...	Kég.; Siy. K. ...	? *Yállanava*, from *yála*; hence "to separate into *yálas*." See (2.)
		(2) yála-gahanavá ...	Taṇg. ...	—
		(3) síru-karaṇavá ...	Bala. ...	"To put in an orderly manner." *Síruvaṭa* = "in an orderly manner."

E.—*Miscellaneous.*

English.	Siṇhalese (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	District where used.	Remarks.
		(4) goyikam-karaṇavá ...	Galle ...	"To cultivate."
Place ...	damanavá ...	(1) puravanavá ...	Ray. K. ...	See under "Drink" and "Eat."
		(2) sédaruva-goyikam-karaṇavá ..	Galle ...	See under "Hasten" and "Measure." Perhaps this means "hasten to place."
Reap ...	kapanavá ...	(1) uhan-bánavá ...	Kég.; Taŋg. ...	"To lay the high (stalks) low."
		(2) liyá-bánavá ...	Ray. K.; Bala. Galle; Taŋg. ...	"To cut and fell."
Stack ...	goḍa-gahanavá ...	ráhi-karaṇavá ...	Siy. K. ..	From *rẹsa* = "a multitude."
		rẹhiya-karaṇavá ..	Taŋg. ...	—
		kandu-karaṇavá...	Galle ...	—
Sow ...	vapuraṇavá ...	bittara vaḍanavá; biju-vaḍanavá...	Kég.; Taŋg.	"To increase the seed."
Thresh ...	páganavá ...	maḍavanavá ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K. }	"To bruise," "crush." See under "Straw."
		maḍinavá ...	Galle }	
		mẹḍuwan-karaṇavá ...	Taŋg. ...	—
Winnow ...	páhinavá ...	(1) hulaŋ-karaṇavá ...	Ray. K. ...	*Hulaŋga* = "wind."
		(2) mólhambanavá ...	Galle ...	*Mohola* or *móla* = "pestle for cleaning the husks from the rice." *Ambanavá* = "to drive away."
A little, a piece, some, one ...	ṭikak ...	bóyak ...	Ray. K.; Siy. K.; ... Bala.; Galle; Taŋg.	Thus, as a termination, *alu-bóya*, *yakunṭa-bóya* } = "ashes."

		bóvak ...	Siy. K.	*amu-bóya*, *kurakkan-bóya* } "kinds of grain." *Rambakan-bóya*, "plantain"; *lanu-bóya*, "a piece of rope"; *vẹl-bóya*, "a piece of rope"; *ratta-bóya*, "some fire"; *rasa-bóya*, "some jaggery"; *goyan-kola-bóya*, "a stack of paddy"; *pẹngiri-kola-bóya*, "a betel quid"; *keviṭi-bóya*, "a piece of goad."
There is not ...	nẹ́ ...	bóyi ...	Ráy. K.; Siy. K.; Bala. Galle; Taṇg.	Thus *pẹngiri-kola-bóyi* = "there is no betel." The word *bó* used here and in the example immediately preceding, literally means "much." In the interior villages of the Balapiṭiya district (and probably elsewhere), *bóyi* is used for "no,"—I presume as a polite expression. It is, I believe, the proper term to use to a priest when refusing him alms. Cf. the Kandyan use of *áyu bóvan*, as a sort of "I beg your pardon."

II.—Tamiḻ Threshing-floor Words.

A.—*Natural Objects, Fruits, &c.*

English.	Tamil (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	Remarks.
Arecanut ...	pákku ...	koḍḍai ...	Used in Púnakari.
Benzoin ...	chámpiráni ...	pukaichaṭ-káraṉ ...	Given by Winslow as meaning "any kind of seed without a husk," "the smoker."
Betel ...	vettilai ...	váḍal ...	"Withering"; *váḍal vettilai* is given in Winslow. "Chewing betel and arecanut" = *koḍḍai váḍal mettal.*
Camphor ...	karppúram ...	velichchakkáraṉ ...	"The shiner." "To burn camphor" = *velichchakkára ṉaik káḍḍa,* "to show a light."
Chunam ...	suṇṇámpu ...	suḷḷiḍuváṉ ...	"The inflamer," from *suḷḷiḍa,* "to smart," "have a pungent taste." Winslow gives *veḷḷai* as one of the words for "chunam." Cf. with the Siṇhalese threshing-floor word *suduvá.*
Chaff ...	patar, sappaḍḍai ...	(1) muṉṉóḍi ...	? "That which runs before." Given by Winslow as meaning "the leading demon among the devils, supposed to traverse streets in time of pestilence."
		(2) óḍḍakkáraṉ ..	"The runner;" used in Púnakari.
		(3) kantu patar (4) kantukaḷam } ...	"Paddy mixed with chaff."
		(5) polikkantu ...	*Kantu* in Winslow = (1) "a rope for tying oxen together by the neck"; (2) "the heap of straw round the threshing-floor"; (3) "the heap of chaff which forms outside the threshing-floor."
		(6) karuṇkantu ...	*Karuṇkantu* = "the second range of chaff next to the *polikkantu*" (Winslow). For *poli* see under "Paddy."

Cocoanut ...	téṉ-káy ...	(1) koḍḍáṇ ...	Winslow gives *koḍḍaṇ*, as used at the threshing-floor, for "cocoanut." Its primary meaning is "mallet" (*koḍḍu* = "to beat.")
		(2) koḍḍán ...	
		(3) kaḍiváyaṇ ...	*Kaḍi* = "brightness," "beauty;" *veḷḷai* = "whiteness."
Dung (cattle) ...	cháṇi ...	(4) veḷḷaiváyan ...	Used in Púnakari. Cf. (2).
		(1) kól ...	This word has many meanings; from "stick" up to "beauty," "elegance."
		(2) pór ...	See under "Stack."
Fire ...	neruppu ...	peru-velichcham ...	"The big lamp."
		velichcham ...	"The lamp" or "light."
Lime (fruit) ...	elumichchampaḷam	tésikkáy ...	Winslow gives this word as used among physicians. Cf. Siṉhalese *dehi*.
Margosa leaf ...	véppilai ...	pattiri ...	"The leaf."
Paddy ...	nellu ...	(1) kúraṉ ...	Given in Winslow as meaning "a kind of rice." It is used, however, in the conventional language of the Púnakari District to mean "paddy generally." *Kúraṉ* = "pointed."
		(2) tavantu ..	This is the word used in the Islands District. Possibly from *tavattu*, "to separate."
		(3) poli ...	"Unwinnowed paddy or other grain" (Winslow); the verb *poli* means "to increase." *Poli* is the auspicious word shouted by the men while engaged in the work of threshing, &c.
Plantain fruit ...	váḷaippaḷam ...	kaṇi ...	The fruit (*kaṇi* = "to ripen").
Rain ...	maḷai ...	kávéli ...	See under "Water."
Rice (boiled) ...	chóṟu ...	(1) aḷukuṇi ...	Either the "crying from *aḷu*," or "the decaying one."
		(2) iḷukuni ...	"The sluggard" (used in Púnakari).
		(3) amutu ...	Given in Winslow as meaning (1) "ambrosia"; (2) sweetness"; (3) "water"; (4) "milk"; (5) "boiled rice."
Sand ...	maṇal ...	vayirappoli ...	"Diamond grain."
Stack (paddy) ...	súḍu ...	pór ...	The original meaning of *pór* is "fight."

A.—*Natural Objects, Fruits, &c.—continued.*

English.	Tamil (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	Remarks.
Straw ...	vaikkól ...	polikkoḍi ...	—
Straw (paddy mixed with)	—	kaikkúlam ...	*Kayi* = "hand," *kúlam* = "rubbish of straw."
Tobacco ...	pukaiyilai ...	(1) karukkal ...	"Burning"; *karuhku* = "to scorch, burn."
		(2) karukkuváṉ or karukkuváyaṉ	"The burner." "Smoking tobacco" = *karukkuváy mattal.*
Water ...	taṇṇír ...	(1) káveli or káveri ...	This word seems to be the name of the Kávéri river, which is famed for the superiority of its water. See Percival's "Tamil Proverbs," 2nd Ed., No. 2,502.
		(2) veḷḷam ...	"The flood." See the remarks by Goldschmidt on the changes in the meaning of the Siṉhalese word *vatura*, which at one time meant "a shower of rain," or "any violent flood." C. A. S. Journal, 1879, p. 29.
		(3) kalaṉkal ...	Given in Winslow as meaning "muddy water" (*kalaṉku* = "to be stirred up like water," "agitated"). "Cow-dung water" = *pól kalaṉkal.*
Wind ...	káṭṭu ...	vátaráyaṉ ...	"Wind-king" (Sanskrit). "It is blowing" = *vátaráyaṉ kuviyitu.* "Early thought and speech do not distinguish as we do between 'the blower' and 'the blast.' Thus we find in the Véda hymns addressed to Vâya 'the blower,' and to Vâta 'the blast'; but this, too, as a masculine, not as a neuter."—*Max Müller.*

B.—*Implements, &c.*

Axe ...	kaikkatti ...	kaikkattik-kollaṉ ..	*Kollaṉ* = (1) "a smith of any kind"; (2) "blacksmith"; (3) "mason's trowel."
Bag (ola) ...	umal ...	umal-peruváyaṉ ..	—
Basket (ola) ...	kaḍakam ...	kaḍakap-peruváyaṉ ...	—
Basket (measuring)	aḷavuppeḍḍi ...	iláchcham ...	—
Cup ...	karakam ...	karakap-poli ...	—
Lacham (measure = 8 quarts) ...	iláchcham ...	(1) viyáḷaṉ ...	Used in Púnakari.
		(2) kaṇakkaṉ ...	"The counter."
Mamoty ...	maṇveḍḍi ...	maṇveḍḍik-kollaṉ ..	See under "Axe."
Mat (threshing) ...	páy ...	(1) sarasarappáṉ ...	"The ruster," an imitative word.
		(2) páy-neḍumaṉ ...	*Neḍu* = "to extend," "grow long."
		(3) páy-muḍaiñchaṉ ...	*Muḍai* = "to plat," "braid."
Measure (with wide mouth) ..	kottu ..	kottup-peruváyaṉ ..	See under "Bag."
Rick-cover ...	kuḍil ...	kuḍil-peruváyaṉ ...	do.
Rope ...	kayiru ...	(1) kantu .	—
		(2) karaváṉ ...	—
		polikkoḍikaraváṉ ...	—
		(3) kantuváṉ ...	—
		(4) karumaṉ	—
		(5) aḍuváṉ ...	"The joiner."
		(6) attiri, rope attached to the centre stake of the threshing-floor	—
Straw rope (for guarding the threshing-floor) ...	vaikkal-puri ...	purippámpu ...	"Snake-rope."
Sickle ...	ariváṉ ...	kollaṉ ...	See under "Axe."

B.—*Implements, &c.—continued.*

English.	Tamil (ordinary).	Conventional Word.	Remarks.
Stick for separating the straw from the ears	mudaṇkal taḍi ...	(1) kúliyáḷ ...	"The cooly man."
		(2) vélai-áḷ (3) vélai-káraṉ }	"The labourer."
Stick (goad) ...	kéḍḍi ...	poli-miláru ...	—
	miláṛu ...	poli máṛu ...	—
Winnow ...	chuḷaku ...	kullam ...	Cf. Siṇ. *kulla* (Sanskrit)

C.—*Animals.*

Cat ...	púṉai ...	puṉaippóli ...	See under "Man."
Cow ...	pasu ...	pasuppóli ...	do.
Cattle ...	— ...	pólikaḷ ...	—
Dog ...	náy ...	váḷ iḍuváṉ ..	An imitative word. Cf. Siṇ. *ballá.*
Elephant ...	ánai ...	perum-polláṉ ...	"The great animal." Cf. Siṇ. *maha-bólá.*
Man, person ...	áḷ ...	pólaṉ ...	Cf. *bolá* or *maha-bólá.* *Pólaṉ* is not given in Winslow. Is it from *pólu* "to be similar," hence *pól-váṉ* "one who resembles another, an equal?" (Cf. Siṇ. *bolan,* a familiar term of address, "fellow.") *Pólamárkaḷ* = "the subordinate farm-servants," "the men." The feminine form is *póli,* with which compare the Siṇ. *bóliyó* = "women" (a word used in Balapiṭiya District). Both *polaṉ* and *póli* are found as affixes in words denoting different animals (see the preceding

			examples). *Pólaṉ* in fact, is a corresponding word to the Siṉ. conventional word *ẹmbayá*. *Póli*, I think, must be the word quoted by J. Alwis, from an article in the Bombay A. S. Journal, as *polip*, the final *p* belonging to some word following *poli* in the sentence. See C. A S. Journal, 1867–70, p. 14.
Ox ...	erutu ...	naḍayaṉ ...	"The walker "given in Winslow, but not specially as a threshing-floor word. "A team of oxen" = *naḍa-yaṉhoḍi.*

D.—*Verbs.*

English.	Tamil (Conventional Word).	Remarks.
Chew (betel) ... Drink ... Eat ... Smoke (tobacco) ...	koḍḍáppikka ...	This word appears to be derived from *koḍḍaṉ* (see under "Cocoanut"). It is given by Winslow as a provincial word used in harvest. *Naḍaiyaṉ poliyaik koḍḍáppikkutu*, "the bullock feeds on the threshed rice." (Winslow).
Collect the grain ...	poli vaḍḍañ seyya ...	"To make a grain circle."
Come ... Go ... Sprinkle (cow-dung water) ... Sweep (the threshing-floor) ... Untie ...	perukka ...	Literally, "to cause to increase." Cf. the Siṉ. euphemistic words *vaḍa-navá, bókaranavá.* "(The paddy) has fallen out (of the ears)" = *perukki viḍḍatu.* "To sprinkle with cow-dung water" = *pólkalaṉkalitperukka.* "To sweep the threshing-floor" = *kalattaipperukka* "gather the scattered corn into a heap." "To measure" = *mukávi perukka.* "Go and bathe" = *kalaṉkal mukávipperukku.* "Take (it) away" = *iyampipperukku.* "Bring (it)" = *iyampu.*

D.—*Verbs—continued.*

English.	Tamil (Conventional Word).	Remarks.
To fix (the centre pole of the threshing-floor) ...	kuvikka ...	Literally, "to heap up." "It is blowing" = *vátaráyaṉ kuviyitu.* "It is raining" = *varuṇaṉ kuviyitu.* Cf. Siṉ. *gaṉgulá tarakaraṇavá.*
Place (piḷḷaiyár on the heap of grain) ...	kuvikka ...	
Bring down (the ears from the stack) ...	kuvikka ...	
Put (cow-dung) ...	kuvikka ...	
Blow (as wind) ...	kuvikka ...	
Rain ...	kuvikka ...	
Sleep ...	puttáppikka ..	

E.—*Miscellaneous.*

There is a peculiar method of notation in use among Tamil cultivators, similar to a system described by the late Mahá Mudaliyár L. De Zoysa, as found in ancient Sanskrit and Sinhalese works.*

Thus, one person = *kaḍḍaiyaḍiyiṭpolaṉ*, because there is one centre pole (*kaḍḍai*) in the threshing-floor, or perhaps one man whose duty it is to fix it there (*kaḍḍaippolaṉ*). In the Sinhalese system "one" is represented by *Méru*, because there is but one Méru mountain in the world.

"Two persons" = *kavaipólépolamár*. *Kavai* means "the fork of a branch." In Sinhalese *nétra* (eyes) = 2.

"Three persons" = *chúlampólépólamár*. *Húlam* = "trident." In Sinhalese *Siva* (who has three eyes) = 3.

"Four persons" = *vétampólépólamár*; so in the Sinhalese system *Véda* = 4, because there are four Védas.

"Five persons" = *kaipólépólamár*, because there are five fingers. In the Sinhalese system *sara* = 6, because there are six tastes.

I understand that similar fanciful methods of representing numbers are in vogue in the bazárs.

II.—Sinhalese Cultivators' Songs.

1 —*Whilst Sowing.*

බලගල කන්දේ හිම ව ට
කපා තනා එම විගස ට
මුල්බිජු වපුරයි සනිකා ට
සතරවරම් දෙවියො එවි ට

සතරකරේ වැට බැඳිම ට
ගොයි සැමදෙනා ආවි එවි ට
පළමුව සිටි මුල්ගොයිය ට
දෙවිපිහිටයි සැමදෙවිතු ට

ගොණගලේ පුර වැඩිම ට
දහසක් රජවරු වැඩසි ට
මහසක්වළ හිම මැදිකො ට
වැඩ කෙරුවයි සදෙනෙක් සි ට

මුල්ගොයියා ගුරුපඬුර ට
සදමින් කිරිමුහුන් එවි ට
කිරිමවු දහසක් එමවි ට
ගෙන්නා දුන්නේ විගස ට

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* C.A.S. Journal, 1852, p. xlv—xlvi.

Balagala kandé hima vaṭa
Kapá taná ema vigasaṭa
Mulbiju vapurayi sanikaṭa
Sataravaram deviyo eviṭa
Satara karé veṭa bendimaṭa
Goyi semadena avi ėviṭa
Paḷamuva siṭi mulgoyiyaṭa
Devipihiṭayi sema devituṭa
Goṇágalé puravedimaṭa
Dahasak rajavaru veḍa siṭa
Mahasakvaḷa hima medikoṭa
Veḍa keruvayi sadenek siṭa
Mulgoyiyá gurupaṇḍuraṭa
Sadamin kirimuḥun eviṭa
Kirimavu dahasak emaviṭa
Genná dunné vigasaṭa

[When all the fields are well prepared,*
Which lie round Balagala hill,
Right quickly then the seed is sown
By the Four Regents of the earth.†

* I cannot vouch for perfect accuracy in these translations, the meaning in some places being very obscure—at any rate to one who is not "to the manner born."

† "Below the highest sphere four regents sit,
Who rule our world."—"Light of Asia," 8th ed., p. 1.

At the Birth of Buddha.

"When they brought the painted palanquin
To fetch him home, the bearers of the poles
Were the four regents of the earth, come down
From mount Suméru—they who write men's deeds
On brazen plates—the Angel of the East,
Whose hosts are clad in silver robes, and bear
Targets of pearl: the Angel of the South,
Whose horsemen, the Kumbhandas, ride blue steeds,
With saphire shields: the Angel of the West,
By nágas followed, riding steeds blood-red,
With coral shields: the Angel of the North,
Environed by his yakshas, all in gold,
On yellow horses, bearing shields of gold.
These with their pomp invisible, came down
And took the poles, in caste and outward garb
Like bearers, yet most mighty gods."—*Ibid*, pp. 4, 5.

See also J. Alwis' "Contributions to Oriental Literature," Part II., pp. 113, 114, for an account of the four guardian *dévas*, by the Rev. R. Spence-Hardy, upon which the description in the "Light of Asia" would seem to be founded.

Then come the numerous husbandmen,
On the four sides a fence to raise,
While to the leader of the band
The favouring gods assistance give.*

His heart is filled with joys divine,
When Goṇagala's fields are sown,
A thousand kings the rites attend, †
The great world's bounds by them enclosed.

Six persons carry on the work,
Milk-leaven then the chief provides
For offerings meet ‡—and to the feast
Mothers-of-milk a thousand bids. §]

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* *Devipihiṭayi.*—See C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 59, note.

† *Puravẹdimaṭa.*—A correspondent writing to the *Ceylon Observer* says: "Whether in *maha* or *yala* when the field is properly ploughed, the cultivator observes a favourable *nẹkata* to sow the first seed; for which purpose a small space of ground, where two embankments meet, is prepared. When the first seed is sown, a branch from the *sabarala*, a cocoanut-flower, and a bit of saffron are fixed on the spot, that it may be thus exactly distinguished. This ceremony is called Puravẹdíma. When harvest is at hand, the portion of corn in this distinguished spot is first reaped by some person who is not a member of the family. It is kept, to be dedicated to the gods, on an elevated stick until the harvest is ended, is threshed in a separate place, and the paddy of that portion forms a part of expense, either of the dance called *gammaḍu*, or the feeding a *kapuwá*, a demon priest."

According to Mr. Bell, *Puravaḍanavá* also means to begin the work of clearing. It is evidently an euphemistic expression used with various meanings. See C.A.S. Journal, 1883, p. 46.

‡ *Gurupaṇḍuraṭa.* "The money offered to a god or demon is always called *paṇḍuru*, which means, "ransom money." C.A.S. Journal, 1865, p. 42. See also C.A.S. Journal, 1883, p. 58; also a gift to one's Teacher in grateful acknowledgment of his services.

§ "There is a certain dáne or alms-giving ceremony called *Kiri Ammáwarunne Dáne*, or "the alms of the mothers-of-milk," generally observed three months after the birth of a child. Besides other people, who are invited to the house to partake of food or *dáne* on the occasion, seven women, sometimes seven unmarried girls, named for the time *kiri ammalá*, or "the mothers-of-milk," are made to sit apart from the others, and are treated to a breakfast of boiled rice, plantains, and a sort of jelly called "milk," made of rice-flour, jaggery, or country sugar, and the juice of the cocoanut. The dishes of the others, who are treated on the same occasion, are different from these." C. A. S. Journal, 1865, p. 65.

(2)—*While Weeding.*

බින්තැන්නේ හිම වටකර නෙලනකල ට
ඒ තැ න් නේ සිටි ගොයි පුර වඩන කල ට
අ ස් වැන්නේ කදිමයි ඒ කුඹුරුවල ට
දෙවියන් නේ පිහිටයි මුල් ගොවියා ට

Bintenné himavaṭakara nelanakalaṭa
E'ṭenné siṭi goyi puravaḍanakalaṭa
Asvenné kadimayi é kumburuvalaṭa
Deviyanné pihiṭayi mulgoviyáṭa

[When the fields are weeded round Bintenna,
When the husbandmen have there the rites performed,
The crop is then a pleasant sight to see,
May the gods grant their help to the farmer chief.]

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(3)—*While Threshing.*

මුදුනේ යන ගොන් රජු නේ
තොපෙ බලයෙන් කොලමඩි නේ
ඊලඟ යන නාම්බ නේ
තොපෙ බලයෙන් කොලමඩි නේ

අපේ නොවෙයි මේ කම තා
සඳ දෙවියන්නේ කම තා
අපේ නොවෙයි මේ කම තා
ඉරි දෙවියන්නේ කම තා
අපේ නොවෙයි මේ කම තා
සොලී රජගේ කම තා
අපේ නොවෙයි මේ කම තා
පාඬි රජගේ කම තා
අපේ නොවෙයි මේ කම තා
ගණදෙවියන්නේ කම තා

ස ම න ල මහවෙහෙර උසට ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කමත ට
ම ක් ක ම මහවෙහෙර උසට ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කමත ට
කැ ලණි ය මහවෙහෙර උසට ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කමත ට
රුවන්වැලි මහවෙහෙර උසට ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කමත ට

ඉහලවෙලේ තියෙන බැටා ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කම තා
පහලවෙලේ තියෙන බැටා ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කම තා
අවුකොටුවල තියෙන බැටා ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කම තා
ගැනුන්නේ ගේ ම බැටා ගෙණැත් පුරව මේ කම තා

Muduné yana gonrajuné
Tope balayen kola maḍiné
I'langa yana námbané
Tope balayen kola maḍiné

Apé noveyi mé kamatá
Sanda deviyanné kamatá
Apé noveyi mé kamatá
Iri deviyanné kamatá
Apé noveyi mé kamatá
Solí rajágé kamatá
Apé noveyi mé kamatá
Páṇḍi rajágé kamatá
Apé noveyi mé kamatá
Gaṇa deviyanné kamatá

Samanala mahavehera usaṭa geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa
Makkama mahavehera usaṭa geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa
Kẹlaṇiya mahavehera usaṭa geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa
Ruvanvẹli mahavehera usaṭa geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa

Ihalavelé tiyena bẹṭá geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa
Phalavelé tiyena bẹṭá geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa
Aṭukoṭuvala tiyena bẹṭá geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa
Gẹnunné héma bẹṭá geṇẹt purava mé kamataṭa

[On—king, leader of the team,
Lend strength the corn to tread;
Lusty steer * that follows next,
Lend your strength the corn to tread.

This is not our threshing-floor,
'Tis the Moon-god's threshing-floor ;
This is not our threshing-floor,
'Tis the Sun-god's threshing-floor;
This is not our threshing-floor,
'Tis King Soli's threshing-floor ;

---

* *Námbané,* a word found in both Siṇhalese (*námbá*) and Tamil (*námpaṇ*). According to Winslow it is a provincial word, meaning " steer " or " bull-calf." In Siṇhalese, "boar," = *úru-námbá.*

This is not our threshing-floor,
'Tis King Pāṇḍi's * threshing-floor.
This is not our threshing-floor,
'Tis god Gaṇa's † threshing-floor.]

High as Samanala's Peak, fill with corn the threshing-floor ;
High as holy Mecca's ‡ shrine, fill with corn the threshing-floor ;
High as sacred Kelani, fill with corn the threshing-floor;
High as Ruvanveli's shrine, fill with corn the threshing-floor.

Bring the corn from highest tracts, § and pile it on the threshing-floor ;
Bring the corn from lowest tracts, and pile it on the threshing-floor ;
From *aṭuva* and *koṭuva* ‖ bring corn to fill this threshing-floor ;
E'en the women's wonted share ¶ must help to fill this threshing-floor.]

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* Tamil, *Páṇḍi-rásaṇ*, the King of Madura: *Páṇḍiyan*, any king of Madura, of the lunar dynasty: *Páṇḍu*, a sovereign of ancient Delhi, the nominal father of the Paṇḍava princes (Wins.). See "Hinduism," by Monier Williams, p. 112. "Indian Kings belonged to one or the other of two great families, which were held to have descended respectively from the sun and the moon. The former called *surya vaṇsa*, or solar dynasty; the latter, the *chandra vaṇsa*, or lunar dynasty. The solar dynasty was the more eminent of the two." ("Arichandra," translated by Sir M. Commara Swamy, note on p. 217.)

† Gaṇa, Gaṇesa, or Gaṇapati, the Hindu god of wisdom, and remover of obstacles.

‡ Compare the song from the Kalutara District, given by Mr. Bell, in which reference is also made to "Mecca's sacred foot." (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p, 53.) There must have been some Moormen, I should think, in the villages in which these songs were composed, whom it was desirable to conciliate.

§ *Ihala* and *pahala eḷapaṭa*, the portions of a field which are respectively nearest to and furthest from the tank which irrigates it.

‖ The *aṭuva* is a store for paddy, either a detached building or under the same roof as the house. The *koṭuva* is a shelf or platform used for the same purpose, and supplementary to the *aṭuva*, *Aṭukoṭuvala* may be merely a re-duplication, such as is common in Sinhalese and Tamil. Cf. with this and the two preceding lines the song above referred to, given by Mr. Bell, part of which is almost identical with them :

Ihala velé tibena beṭat
Pahala velé tibena beṭat
Aṭu-koṭu-vala tibena beṭat
Eda puravan me kamataṭa.

¶ The portion paid to the women as hire for their labour.

NOTES ON THE ORNITHOLOGY OF THE BALAṄGOḌA DISTRICT.

By Frederick Lewis, Esq.

My acquaintance with this District ranges from January, 1879, since which period I have taken more or less constant ornithological observations, which I venture to condense into the form of a Paper, showing the number of species that have fallen within my observation, their range, migration, and, where possible, their nidification.

In order to render this Paper as complete as ornithological science requires,—a want beyond the mere enumeration of cases,—I have thought it best to describe the locality, its general physical condition, rainfall, and climate.

Outline of the District.—From an ornithological point of view, the geographical boundaries of a district are by no means satisfactory, as the winds and bends made by such limits are of necessity bound to enclose forms that are common to both sides of the geographical point of demarcation.

It therefore becomes more suitable to adopt fixed lines, which, though seemingly arbitrary, are very convenient and clear. With this in view, I have drawn lines which enclose as nearly as possible the district I purpose describing, while, at the same time, fixing definite boundaries. According to the lines I have drawn, the district may be said to be bounded on the north by the great chain of hills dividing the Central from the Western Provinces, from Miriyakoṭakanda to Nonpareil estate; on the east by a line from the Nonpareil estate to the Bilihul-oya resthouse, and in a southerly direction from the resthouse to the Laṅkábarana estate; on the south by a short line due west from the Laṅkábarana estate to the 78th mile-stone on the Colombo-Badulla-road, at a place called Pallakanda; on the west by a line running north-west to a

trigonometrical station situated on the boundary of Agar's Land tea estate, and known as Balakoteṇna, and connected from that station with Miriyakoṭakanda, the starting point first named. This includes the whole of Balaṅgoḍa proper; and from the length of my list of species, I think it will be found to cover a wide number of forms, especially in proportion to the area of land.

Geographical Outline.—This may be roughly said to resemble a basin, closed on the south, west, and north by ranges of hills, and open on the east. The two chief ranges are those on the north, which are a continuation of the Adam's Peak and sister mountains, and the Pettiagala hills on the south, that are more or less connected with the first by a number of broken and undulating spurs passing through the Bambaraboṭuwa district, towards Kóndurugala.

Miriyakoṭakanda is approximately 5,800 feet, from which the dividing range descends into a saddle, continuing to rise as it goes eastward till it reaches Eṭamoruwa at 6,600, overlooking Bagawantaláwa. Deteniyagalla is about 6,300, and, viewed from below, it looks like a huge sugarloaf towering above the grass lands at its foot.

Pettiyagala, on the southern range, is over 4,000 feet, sloping down to Balaṅgoḍa town, that stands on the eastern base of the range at an elevation of 1,776 feet, and facing Kirindigala on the east; that is, part of a small and distinct line of hills, separate from either of those mentioned above. The altitude in consideration, therefore, is between, approximately, 1,600 (at the 78th mile-stone) and 6,600, or a vertical range of 5,000 feet.

The southern aspects of both the dividing range and the Pettiyagala chain are equally precipitous, being wholly inaccessible to ordinary passage throughout wide extents of ground, and it is only where the rocks give support to soil and trees that a means of ascent can be found. Below Miriyakoṭakanda, and onwards to Deteniyagalla, huge walls of rock form the face of the hilly range, and it is with the utmost labour and difficulty that a traveller can get from one side to the other.

Rivers.—The Walawé-gaṅga is the chief river of the district, and takes its rise below and around Miriyakoṭakanda, from which a large tributary, known as the Oorawa-ẹla, supplies a material portion to its waters. This branch has to descend over an enormous precipice, that is, I believe, the highest waterfall in the country. Looking up the fall from below, the water appears to come from the clouds, as no part of the land to the back of it can be seen, except from the opposite hill. The Boltumbé-oya, Boraṅga-ẹla, Maha-oya, and Massena-oya are the chief remaining streams of any magnitude, or worthy of notice.

The Bilihul-oya is, of course, an important stream, but its rise is not made within the district, and only passes through a part of the locality before it finally joins the Walawé-gaṅga.

Botanical aspect.—The country to the west of the Balaṅgoḍa town is chiefly large forest, that also clothes the northern range. The space formed and enclosed by this forest-clad area consists of chena, grass-land, and the coffee estates belonging to both natives and Europeans. The small district of Boltumbé, comprising a group of villages together at the foot of the Northern chain. Paddy fields, both large and small, dot about throughout the middle of the district, and wherever facilitated by the lay of the land. The forests contain a curious mixture of trees. The rocky faces of the hills are covered with the formidable *kaṭukitul* or spiked palm *(Oncosperma fasiculata)*, and lower down, where the temperature is warmer, cables of rattan *(Calamus rudentum)* chain trees together with their powerful grasp.

In the sandy soil exposed to the blasts from the south-west, there flourishes the ironwood *(Mesua ferrea)*, that appears to be widely distributed in the district. *Malaboḍa*, or wild nutmeg *(Myristica laurifolia)*, the favourite food of the Hill mynah, is both numerous and common to different elevations, but preferring an altitude above 2,000 feet.

Del or wild breadfruit *(Artocarpus nobilis)*, is frequently found in the warmer localities, and affords food to both

birds and squirrels. *Bombax Malabaricum*, or red cotton, the *kaṭu-imbul* of the Siṇhalese, appears frequently below 3,000 feet, and attains a large size. During the flowering season this tree attracts a curious number of birds, that find food both in the flowers as well as on the insects that congregate upon them. *Kẹkuna (Canarium Zeylanicum)* is found in every native garden in the district, but I do not remember having ever seen it in forest. Cinnamon trees *(Cinnamomum Zeylanicum)* are not uncommonly found in the forest, together with a large number of species known as bastard cinnamon.

Kaṭuboḍa (Cullenia excelsa) appears in many parts of the forest, but it is not very common. Ebony *(Diospyros ebenum)* occurs but very sparingly, and not above 3,000 feet as far as my personal experience goes. The *hora-gaha* or "thief-tree" *(Dipterocarpus Zeylanicus)*, is frequently found in sheltered forests, at low elevations, where the Siṇhalese use it for the gum-like oil that is extracted from it. The next well-known resin-yielding tree, the stately *dun (Doona Zeylanica)*, is very numerous on the dividing range, but becomes comparatively rare below 2,500 feet. *Kina badulla*, *dewaṭa*, and many other valuable timber trees abound, too numerous to mention in a paper confined to ornithology, though their claims of interest would otherwise demand a much more extended notice than I am able at present to afford, even presuming that I was sufficiently qualified to render justice to such a task.

I am bound, however, to say a few words with regard to the grass and chena land botany. In the former, the wide extent of mána grass *(Andropogon Martini)*, freely mixed with the patana or brake fern (both largely used by cinchona planters for "covering" and "shading" respectively), represent the most characteristic features of the so-called grass land. These wide areas of grass are here and there dotted over with the well-known patana oak, and are peculiarly interesting to the ornithologist. As many curious species may be found, such as *Dumeta albogularis*, *Pyctorhis nasalis*, *Prinia socialis*, and the ubiquitous *Cisticola cursitans*,

not to mention hawks, swallows, and bee-eaters that frequent such spots.

The chena is, of course, characterised by the presence of that impenetrable bush, *lantana*. This plant owes its spread in a great measure to birds that eat the fruit in large quantities, and carry the seed into open ground, where it quickly spreads from a single tree—if I may apply the word. Lantana affords a very close cover to many bush-loving species, and among them the jungle-fowl, that are quite safe from the collector's gun, as it is seldom worth the labour to attempt to pick up a small bird that has fallen into thick lantana.

Another common and conspicuous plant is the guava (*Psidium*) or *péra* of the Siṇhalese. Near to the town of Balaṇgoḍa, guava trees abound in countless numbers, affording during the fruit season food for birds, beasts, and man. So common, indeed, is this fruit tree, that plots of land abounding in it are called by the Siṇhalese villagers *péra landa* or guava-chena.

The *walla-gaha* (*Gyrnops walla*) and the wild olive (*Elœscarpus serratus*) both occur in chena lands in moderate abundance, and afford fruit to some of the larger birds.

Climate and Soil.—From the middle of May to the 15th of October the winds from the south-west keep all vegetation in a perpetual state of unrest, when but few birds, compared to those in the remaining months of the year, are to be met with, excepting the more hardy and stronger species. During this time of the year the rainfall is much less in point of quantity than in the north-east monsoon, though the temperature is very much lower in proportion. Trees are frequently blown down, and exposed ones are rapidly denuded of leaves, and appear ragged and torn. Paddy fields are noisy with numbers of contrivances worked and agitated by the wind for the purpose of frightening off pigs and scaring buntings, though the villagers add a curious commentary on the value of these inventions by having boys, girls, and even men and women to yell and shout whenever a cloud of *goyaṇ-kurulló* hover down upon the

ripening rice crops. From October, again, to May, the very opposite is the atmospheric condition of the year. All is quiet, and scarcely a branch moves, unless some storm of an unusual character has taken place. During this period of rest migratory birds visit the district, and the number and variety of species contrast curiously with the south-west months. The north-east rains are much heavier, though the duration of each storm is smaller than in the opposite monsoon. After a downpour, which sometimes exceeds three inches in a few hours, when the sunlight falls again upon the drenched vegetation, birds appear in the greatest profusion. Bulbuls, parrots, barbets, lorikeets, white-eyes, king-crows, shrikes, and many others congregate in flocks—I might say—at such times, and afford easy and abundant opportunities for the collector. In the evenings, after the sun has sunk below the hill ranges, and darkness begins to draw on, the congregation of crows, the returning flight of bee-eaters, the chatter of cattle mynahs, and the majestic movement of a flock of *koku* in a white and regular string as they retire to warmer regions, are sights indicative of the quiet and still north-east months, and possess a rare charm. At sunrise the valleys are hidden by long sheets of mist that melt as the day advances, when the migration of birds from their resting-places takes place. At this time the individual call-notes of many birds can be better studied than at any other time—a fact that is of use to the ornithologist in many respects when acquainting himself with the habits of tropical birds.

As rainfall is considered to be an important factor in the colouring of birds, it is also as well to bear the subject in mind.

The temperature varies both in regard to altitude and monsoon. At 2,300 feet elevation, at the burst of the monsoon from the south-west, dry- and wet-bulb readings gave the following result :—

15th May, 9 A.M.: dry 79°, wet 7°, dew point 72·3°, humidity, 80.

15th May, 2 P.M.: dry 7°, wet 72°, dew point 69·8°, humidity 84;

At the break of the north-east—

14th October, 9 A.M.: dry 84°, wet 74°, dew point 68·6°, humidity 64.

14th October, 2 P.M.: dry 84°, wet 74°, dew point 67·4°, humidity 57.

At 1,700 feet the average temperature stands at about 80°, and 10° less at 2,000 higher.

Space does not permit of my saying more than a very few words regarding soil. One of the most curious facts claiming attention, however, is the presence of cabook, which crops out in many places. A sandy quartz appears at the foot of both ranges of hills, and a strata of large, white, boulder quartz lies along in an east and west direction between the villages of Bulatgama and Rásagala. Precious stones have been found in many places, and Bambaraboṭuwa is now sufficiently famous to need no further remarks on this head.

Plumbago, mica, and *kirimeṭṭa* also appear in various places throughout the district, but not in any very large quantities. The flat valleys also afford clay in sufficient quantity to enable the natives to manufacture bricks and tiles, tiled native houses being by no means uncommon among the more wealthy classes.

Plan.—Having thus sketched out the physical characters of the district, and before passing directly to the subject of this Paper, I wish to say a word respecting the plan I have arranged my notes upon. First, the accurate position of each is of importance from a systematic stand-point, and in this I have closely followed Captain Legge's arrangement as being the most modern.

Detailed description I have avoided, as space would not permit of such being done; and in all cases that I could rely upon, I have given notes upon the nidification of examples. Where matters of ornithological interest occur, I have enlarged upon the subject, with the hope of rendering this Paper both of use as well as of interest.

1. *Circus cineraceous*, Montague's Harries. A winter visitor. Common.

2. *Astur trivirgatus*, the Crested Goshawk. Common.

3. *Neopus Malayensis*, the Black Kite Eagle. Distributed throughout the district, but more numerous under 4,000 feet than above it.

4. *Spizætus Kelaarti*, the Ceylon Mountain Hawk Eagle. Common, both low down and at the highest levels.

5. *Spilornis spilogaster*, the Serpent Eagle. Seen near Balangoda.

6. *Elanus cærulens*, the Black-shouldered Kite. Not so numerous as at higher elevations.

7. *Cerchneis tinnunculus*, the Kestrel. Numerous in the north-east monsoon.

8. *Scops bakamuna*, Scops Owl. Not uncommon in the lower parts of the district.

9. *Ninox scutulata*, the Brown Hawk Owl. Shot one specimen in April. Rare.

10. *Glancidium castanonotum*, the Chestnut-backed Owl. Very common, especially above 2,000 feet.

11. *Syrnium undranii*, the Devil Bird. Not uncommon.

12. *Palæornis torquatus*, the Rose-ringed Parroquet. I only know of this bird as a common and favourite cage bird among the natives.

13. *Palæornis cyanocephalus*, the Blossom-headed Parroquet. Very numerous about chenas and grass lands, but rarely ascending into the hills above 4,000 feet.

14. *Palæornis Calthropæ*, Layard's Parroquet. Numerous in the forests of the upper hills, but less so at lower elevations, where it appears to be local and confined chiefly to the heavily-wooded ranges.

15. *Loriculus Indicus*, the Lorikeet. Very common.

16. *Yungipicus gymnapthalmos*, the Pigmy Woodpecker. Not uncommon under 3,200 feet.

17. *Chrysocolaples Stricklandi*, Layard's Woodpecker. Common, and extending to 2,000 feet, when it becomes less so.

18. *Brachypternus Ceylonus*, Red Woodpecker. Confined to the lower parts of the district, where it is not uncommon, and to be found effecting the cocoanut and other trees in village gardens.

19. *Chrysophlegma xanthoderus*, the Southern Yellow-fronted

Woodpecker. This bird has only once come under notice, and in the lower parts of the district.

20. *Megalæma Zeylonica,* the Ceylon Barbet. Numerous throughout the lower parts of district, up to 2,000 feet.

21. *Megalæma flavifrons*, the Yellow-fronted Barbet. Extremely numerous.

22. *Xantholæma rubricapilla,* the Little Ceylon Barbet. Very common, and breeding in the district.

23. *Hierococcyx varius*, the Common Hawk Cuckoo. A migrant to the district, and one of the first arrivals.

24. *Surniculus lugubris,* the Drongo Cuckoo. I have twice procured this bird, and on each occasion on chena land at 2,300 feet elevation.

25. *Coccystes coromandus,* the Pied Crested Cuckoo. Extremely rare, as far as my observations show.

26. *Eudynamys honorata*, the Indian Koil. I have heard this bird frequently in the lower parts of the district, and in the vicinity of the river, but it is by no means so common as in the warmer localities.

27. *Phœnicophæs pyrrhocephalus*, the Mal Kohá or Flowered Koil. By no means uncommon in the thick forests of the lower hills.

28. *Zanclostomus viridirostris*, the Green-billed Mal Kohá. Not uncommon in the lower parts of the district, and affecting clumps of large trees in chena.

29. *Centropus rufipennis*, the Jungle Crow. Extremely common in the chena, and very frequently to be seen walking along newly-built bunds, seeking worms and frogs.

30. *Harpactes fasciatus*, the Trogon. Widely distributed throughout the jungles of the district.

31. *Tuckus Cingalensis,* the Ceylonese Hornbill. Distributed throughout the lower parts of the district, ascending to 3,000 feet.

32. *Alcedo Bengalensis,* the Little Indian King-fisher. Common in every paddy field in the district.

33. *Pelargopsis Guriel*, the Stork-billed King-fisher. I have repeatedly seen and heard this bird, but most frequently along the banks of the Walawé-gaŋga.

34. *Halcyon Smyrnensis,* the White-breasted King-fisher. Very common, and resident throughout the year.

35. *Merops Philippensis,* the Blue-tailed Bee-eater. One of the first migrants to the district, arriving in September and departing with the south-west monsoon advent.

36. *Chætura gigantea*, the Spike-tailed Swift. By no means uncommon.

37. *Cypselus melba*, the Alpine Swift. I have seen this bird more than once, but never secured a specimen.

38. *Cypselus affinis*, the Indian Swift. I have often seen this Swift during thunderstorms, but possess no specimen.

39. *Cypselus batassiansis*, the Palm Swift. I have frequently seen this Swift in the lowest part of the district, but never above 1,800 feet.

40. *Coccocalia Francica*, the Indian Swiftlet. A very common bird in the district, and probably nests here in cavernous streams.

41. *Caprimulgus Kelaarti*, Kelaart's Night Jar. I have seen this Goatsucker at a high elavation, and in the neighbourhood of grass lands, but from my own observations I am not inclined to think it common in the district.

42. *Caprimulgus Asiaticus*, the Night Jar. Confined to the lower parts of the district, ascending as high as 2,300 feet, but scarce at that level.

43. *Corone macrorhyncha*, the Black Crow. Very common about Balangoḍa and all the native villages up to about 3,000 feet, above which it does not go.

44. *Cissa ornata*, the Ceylonese Jay. Common in all the heavily-timbered forests from 2,C00 feet and upwards.

45. *Oriolus melanocephalus*, the Black-headed Oriole. Very common throughout the lower parts of the district.

46. *Graculus macii*, the Large Indian Cuckoo-shrike. I have more than once seen this beautiful bird, and procured a specimen at 2,300 feet, but it is by no means common.

47. *Pericrocolus flammeus*, the Orange Minnivet. Very common from 2,000 feet and upwards, and to be met with in both monsoons, but more numerous during the north-east than in the south-west.

48. *Pericrocolus peregrinus*, the Little Minnivet. I have seen and procured this bird close to Alutnuwara (1,8C0 feet), and observed it in the grass lands below Denigama, but it is not nearly so numerous as the former, and only a visitor.

49. *Lalage sykesi*, the Black-headed Cuckoo Shrike. Not uncommon during the north-east monsoon, ascending to 3,500 feet.

50. *Tephrodornis affinis*, the common Wood Shrike. This is one of the most interesting of our migratory birds, arriving early

in September, and remaining close up to the break of the south-west monsoon, when it departs.

51. *Hemipus picatus*, the Pied Shrike. Not uncommon about the edges of forests, bounding patana or chena from 2,300 feet upwards.

52. *Buchanga leucopygalis*, the White-bellied Drongo. Very common up to about 4,500 feet elevation, but absent, so far as I am able to discern, above that altitude.

53. *Dessemurus lephrhimus*, the Crested Drongo. Strictly a forest bird, and of considerable extent of distribution, being equally numerous at 2,000 and 4,500 feet.

54. *Terpsephone paradisi*, the Paradise Fly-catcher. By no means uncommon during the north-east monsoon, and ascending to over 4,000 feet, but is much more numerous at a lower elevation.

55. *Hypothymis Ceylonensis*, the Azure Fly-catcher. Numerous about suitable localities.

56. *Culicicapa Ceylonensis*, the Grey-headed Fly-catcher. One of the commonest birds at the higher elevations, but not unfrequently met with at 1,800 feet.

57. *Alseonas muttui*, the Rusty Fly-catcher. I have met with it occasionally at altitudes from 2,000 to 4,300 feet.

58 *Soparala sordida*, the Ceylonese Blue Fly-catcher. Frequent at elevations above 3,000 feet, and descending in the north-east monsoon to 2,000 feet, and probably lower.

59. *Siphia Tickelliæ*, the Blue Redbreast. During the north-east monsoon this little bird may be frequently seen in the dense jungles at elevations from 5,000 down to 2,000 feet.

60. *Muscecapa hyperythera*, Neitner's Fly-catcher. Though I am unable to discover the limits of distribution, I can safely speak of its presence during the north-east monsoon in this district, and absence during the opposite season.

61. *Copsychus saularis*, the Magpie Robin, very numerous, and at all elevations.

62. *Thamnobie fulicata*, the Black Robin. Rather peculiar in distribution. I have found it about Balangoda and villages beyond, and also along the line of road up to Haldummulla, but never at a corresponding altitude towards the centre of the district.

63. *Larvivora brunnea*, the Indian Woodchat, I have seen this bird in this district at an elevation of 4,000 feet, but from my experience I find it is rare, and but little known.

64. *Turdus Kinnisi*, the Ceylon Blackbird. I have once or twice met with this bird, but unfortunately failed to procure a specimen.

65. *Turdus speloptera*, the Spotted Thrush. Widely distributed throughout the district from 1,700 feet to the highest altitudes.

66. *Turdus Wardi*, Ward's Pied Blackbird. During February and March I found numbers of these birds, and frequently as many as 20 of them together. They were so extremely wary, however, that I only succeeded in getting one specimen, and that was so disfigured that I took no measurement. The elevation at which I found them was about 3,500, and later I met with another flock at the same altitude. They were often found in company with the following species.

67. *Oreocincla umbricata*, the Buff-breasted Thrush. This species is not uncommon, but being a lover of dense jungle, it is rarely seen. I have procured specimens from 2,000 feet to 4,000 feet in the district.

68. *Monticola cyana*, the Blue Rock Thrush. I procured a very fine specimen among some boulder rocks at 2,300 feet, in November. I have since met with it at 4,000 feet in similar localities.

69. *Myiophonus Blighi*, Bligh's Whistling Thrush. I shot a specimen about half a mile on the Balangoḍa side of the dividing range between this district and Bagawantaláwa. I have met with it since at 4,000 feet.

70. *Hypsipetes geneesa*, the Black Bulbul. One of the commonest of our birds, and found in both monsoons. It becomes somewhat scarce above 4,000 feet, and at this elevation is mostly to be found in the vicinity of patana land and isolated patches of jungle, of which it appears to be very fond.

71. *Criniger ictericus*, the Forest Bulbul. Very common in all forests below 4,000 feet, though occasionally found above that level. It appears to remain throughout the year, as I have found nestlings at 2,500 feet, in the south-west monsoon.

72. *Ixos luteolus*, the White Eye-browed Bulbul. The Cinnamon Thrush, of Europeans. I have rarely met with this bird above 3,000 feet, but below that altitude it becomes more numerous, as it descends. It appears to be a strictly bush-bird, frequenting the lantana and scrub jungles in and about patanas.

73. *Rubigula melanictera*, the Black-headed Bulbul. Very numerous from 4,000 feet downwards, and common throughout

the year. It frequents bush jungle and also large forests, but is more partial to the former. These Bulbuls are fond of streams, bathing in the heat of the day in shallow pools, into which they wade, throwing water over their backs, after the manner of the domestic duck. I have procured nestlings in the N.E. monsoon at 2,500 feet.

74. *Kelaartia penicillata*, the Yellow-eared Bulbul. A purely hill species, and very common from 3,000 feet upwards, and throughout the whole year. It is gregarious in its habits, living in small flocks of from six to twenty.

75. *Pycnonotus hæmorrhous*, the Madras Bulbul. Dysentery Bird, and Common Bulbul, of Europeans. Very numerous at all elevations throughout the district, and more particularly so at lower altitudes. It nests during the early months of the year, at high as well as low levels.

76. *Phyllornis Terdoni*, the Green Bulbul. Numerous below 3,000 feet, and sometimes ascending above that altitude. I have found it in both monsoons. It is very fond of open forests and jungles surrounding paddy fields.

77. *Iora tiphia*, the Common Bush Bulbul. Ceylon Bush-creeper, Kelaart. Very common about 2,000 feet, and lower. It affects lantana and "guava-chenas," feeding on the fruit of both. The variation in colouring is very considerable, some having a preponderance of green, and others of black.

78. *Malacocercus striatus*, the Common Babbler. Very common from 2,000 feet downwards, and infesting the bush as well as native gardens.

79. *Malacocercus rufescens*, the Rufus Babbler. This species is nearly as common as the last in suitable localities in the forests. It is rather a nuisance to the collector, as when once a flock of these birds are startled, they scare away other birds by their discordant cries. They are numerous from 2,000 feet upwards, and at all times of the year. I have frequently found them in company with the Sub-crested King-crows.

80. *Garrulax cinereifrons*, the Ashy-headed Babbler. I have on three occasions procured specimens of this species in this district—once in November at 2,300 feet, and again in April and August at 4,000 feet. From my observations it appears to be rare, and seemingly scarce during the S.W. monsoon. Like both the foregoing, it is a strictly gregarious bird, inhabiting dense forest underwood, and confined more to the higher hills. I have a specimen shot in Dikoya at 5,000 feet, in September.

81. *Pomatorhinus melanurus,* the Scimitar-bill Babbler. To be found at all elevations throughout the district, and about equally distributed, but nowhere very common. It may be found hopping Woodpecker-like up some mossy stem of a tree in the dense jungle, or sneaking among the close lantana thickets, much after the manner of the White Eye-browed Bulbul.

82. *Dumetia albogularis*, the White-throated Wren-babbler. Frequently to be met with in grass lands and "cane-brakes" of *rambuk* grass that is not uncommon in paddy fields. It associates in small flocks, and appears to be more numerous towards sunset than during the heat of the day. At such times I have observed swarms of them in the "cane-brakes" mentioned above. They appear to remain throughout the year in this district, but I have failed to procure either nests or young.

83. *Alcippe nigrifrons*, the Ceylon Wren-babbler. Fairly common throughout Balaṅgoḍa. It affects the underwood and dense cane *(baṭa)* clumps, using frequently the leaves of the latter for building its nest. It breeds about the early part of the year, and places its domed nest in the fork of a short tree, or bush, near the ground, in which it deposits two broadly ovate eggs of a white ground colour, speckled over with red-brown or chocolate-brown spots.

84. *Pellorneum fuscicapillum*, the Whistling Quaker-thrush. Frequenting the bush jungle and thick underwood of the larger forests. From its skulking habits and tame colours it is often passed by unnoticed, where a less common and brighter tinted bird would at once be seen. It builds in the district, and I was fortunate enough to find two eggs. They are much like those of the last-mentioned species, but longer and more oval in shape. The speckles are more profuse, and very generally distributed. The nest is cup-shaped, composed of fine roots, moss, and leaves, and situated a few feet from the ground. I observed the nest in March, and allowed the parents to rear the young; but, unfortunately, both nest and birds were destroyed by a heavy fall of rain, before the latter had reached any age.

85. *Pyctorhis nasalis*, the Black-billed Babbler. I have met with it in the grass lands of the district, but I have not found it common, or so numerous as on the Kandy side of the country.

86. *Orthotomus sutorius*, the Indian Tailor-bird. Equally distributed through the district, and resident all the year round, but at no time very common.

87. *Prinia socialis*, the Ashy Wren-warbler. Affecting the grass lands above 3,000 feet. I have frequently seen it in the patanas between Denégama and Boltumba, in company with the following species.

88. *Drymœca valida*, the Robust Wren-warbler. Affecting grass lands, grass plots, and not unfrequently abandoned coffee fields. It is one of the commonest birds in the district, in suitable localities.

89. *Drymœca insularis*, the White-browed Wren-warbler. I have once met with this bird, at about 4,000 feet elevation, but from my observations it is not common in this district.

90. *Cisticola cursitans*, the Common Grass-warbler. I have repeatedly seen this bird in the grass lands and paddy fields of the district, but it is not so numerous here as in the higher parts of the Island, as for instance Bogawantaláwa.

91. *Acrocephalus dumetorum*, Blyth's Reed or Bush-warbler. I am not quite satisfied with the descriptions afforded relating to this species by Messrs. Legge, Holdsworth, and Kelaart. None of these writers describe it as living in small flocks, as I have always found both in this and other districts. I have observed it in March and April, and procured specimens in September, and I remember to have seen it in intermediate months, so that the impression left on my mind is, that it is a resident, though the greater number may be migratory.

92. *Phylloscopus nitidus*, the Green Tree-warbler. A migratory species, arriving in September and remaining in considerable profusion till March, when it becomes scarce, and disappears by the end of April. During its stay it is one of our commonest and most restless birds, affecting both forest and coffee alike.

93. *Parus atriceps*, the Grey-backed Titmouse. Very common above 3,000 feet, but scarce below that level. It spends the year with us, and builds in the district.

94. *Dendrophila frontalis*, the Blue Nuthatch. Very common at all levels throughout the district. There appears to be some slight variation in size, according to elevation.

95. *Cinnyvis Lotenius*, Loten's Sun-bird. Not uncommon about 1,700 to 2,000 feet, and may be met with in chenas.

96. *Cinnyris Zeylonicus*, the Ceylon Sun-bird. Very common below 3,000 feet, but becoming scarce above that altitude. I have found its nest in May, close on the above elevation, and also at 2,000 feet in March.

97. *Dicæum minimum*, Tickell's Flower-pecker. The smallest bird we have. It is very common at all elevations, and appears to be equally numerous all the year round. The "mistletoe" parasite, common in many trees, especially orange, appears to afford the most favourite food for this little bird, and owing to the viscid nature of the seed, it attaches itself to the bird's bill, and thus becomes spread to a considerable extent.

98. *Pachyglossa vincens*, Legge's Flower-pecker. I have twice seen this bird, close to Plevna estate (2,200 feet), but failed to procure a specimen, and unfortunately took no note of the date on which I made the observation. In November, 1877, I shot a male in Pussellâwa, at 4,000 feet elevation.

99. *Zosterops palpebrosa*, the Common White-eye. Very common below 2,500 feet, and to be met with in all chena lands about that altitude.

100. *Zosterops ceylonensis*, the Ceylon White-eye. Very numerous from 2,500 feet and upwards. It associates in flocks of from ten to fifty birds.

101. *Hirundo rustica*, the Common Swallow. One of the first to appear of the migratory birds, and during its stay is extremely plentiful. It is particularly fond of paddy fields and open patana lands, where these birds may be said to swarm. I have seen as many as fifty congregate on a fence in a paddy field, and among them a curious variety of coloured birds. In some, the plumage is a dull rusty brown, while others have a fine steel-blue green tint. They appear in September, and become scarce in March and April.

102. *Hirundo hyperythra*, the Chestnut-bellied Swallow. Numerous throughout the district, but more common at 2,000 feet elevation than 4,000. It nests here, building a curious bottle-shaped structures in caves. The eggs are three in number, and laid about April, and are in form, rather a narrow oval and pure white in colour.

103. *Hirundo Javanica*, the Bungalow Swallow. Numerous above 3,000 feet, much less so below that elevation. It is less common during the S.W. monsoon than in the N.E., probably because the wind is too furious for so small a bird. It builds in bungalows and other buildings during the early months of the year—*i. e.*, from about March to May. The eggs are three in number, broad oval, of a pale white colour, spotted over with umber, or red-brown, more closely marked at the broad than the opposite end.

104. *Passer domesticus*, the Common House-sparrow. I omit further remarks as being unnecessary.

105. *Passer.........?* the Olive-brown Sparrow. Early in the present year, or towards the close of last, when on a snipe-shooting expedition,—I have unfortunately forgotten the date,—my attention was drawn to the noisy chirrup of seemingly thousands of sparrows, in a clump of "rambukkan" grass. On getting closer a dense cloud of these birds got up, and settled down again in another clump of rambukkan, about fifty yards from where I stood. I fired, and secured three or four birds. They appeared to be in mature plumage, and all much alike in colouration. On my returning to the resthouse with a few snipe and these sparrows, unfortunately the servants picked out the latter, and seemingly threw them away as useless,—at any rate they were gone, and without any further written notes regarding size, &c. I have never to my knowledge met with this species before or since, and am inclined to consider them new. Colour of iris, as well as I can remember, was brown, billumber, and tarsus straw-brown.

106. *Motacilla melanope*, the Grey Wagtail. A migrant, arriving during the first week in September and departing again in April. During their stay there is scarcely a stream, be it in the most gloomy forest or open and cultivated land, that has not got its Wagtail actively running about, peeping and peering into each crook and corner for food. It is equally common in paddy fields, where it runs along the "bunds" with the same restless activity as it does elsewhere.

107. *Limonidromus Indicus*, the Wood Wagtail. I have only three or four times met with this graceful little bird, and each time during the N.E. monsoon, and at about 2,000 feet elevation.

108. *Corydalla rufula*, the Common Pipit. Not uncommon throughout the district, and rather more numerous in the N.E. than the S.W. monsoon. It is much more common on the Halpé and Kaḷupahana side of the district than towards the centre or western side.

109. *Munia Kelaarti*, the Hill Munia, or Bunting. Very numerous throughout the district. I have shot numbers in the paddy fields near Balaṅgoḍa, though I observe Legge remarks (pp. 651) that "it is essentially an Alpine bird, not being found below 2,000 feet, and not very numerous at that height." It breeds from March to about the end of the S.W. monsoon,

building in bushy trees, and sometimes in the hollows of dead and broken trees. The eggs are from two to four in number, pure white in colour, and sometimes pinkish-white, when very fresh, with a cap of paler tint at the broad end.

110. *Munia punctulata*, the Spotted Munia. Common at low altitudes, especially about paddy fields and threshing-floors.

111. *Munia striata*, the White-backed Munia. Very frequently to be found about paddy fields, but scarce away from them. In Raṅgalla District I have found these little birds breeding in fruit-trees in my garden, though the nearest paddy land was some distance from where I lived.

112. *Artamus fuscus*, the Ashy Wood Swallow. I have occasionally met with this bird in small flocks hawking over open fields and chena, but it is by no means common, as far as my experience leads me to believe.

113. *Acridotheres melanosternus*, the Ceylon Mynah. Common in every paddy field in the district where there are buffaloes.

114. *Sturnornis senex*, the White-headed Starling. A rare bird, frequenting open lands that are here and there dotted over with solitary trees or clumps of jungle. I believe that the examples in the Museum of this bird were procured by myself in this district. I have found it only in flocks, and on separate occasions of some months apart, at 2,500 feet elevation.

115. *Eulabes ptilogenys*, Ceylon Mynah. Very abundant at nearly all altitudes in the district, though less so at 2,000 than 4,000 feet.

116. *Pitta coronata*, the Indian Pitta. A migratory bird, arriving during the N.E. monsoon, during which time it is numerous throughout the district, and equally so or nearly equally so at all elevations. The Siṇhalese often catch these birds and cage them, but they do not live long in confinement, usually breaking their necks against the cage, or over-eating themselves. The Siṇhalese name *(avichchiyá)* is taken from the peculiar call these birds utter, particularly during the early mornings, or when going to roost in the trees at nightfall.

117. *Palumbus Torringtoniæ*—The Ceylon Wood-pigeon. Present throughout the year, but local according to the abundance or the reverse of certain fruits, so much so that one commonly hears sportsmen remark that these pigeons "are *not in*"—a statement rather wide of the truth when made with reference to an endemic species.

118. *Turtur suratensis*, the Common Spotted-dove. Very common, and affecting paddy fields chiefly. They breed in the district.

119. *Chalcophaps Indica*, the Bronze-winged Dove. Frequenting heavy forests and forest glades ; fairly abundant throughout the year.

120. *Osmotreron pompadora*, the Pompadour Green-pigeon. Numerous about elevations from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, and generally gregarious. Owing to their shyness, and the similarity between their colour and the trees they frequent, they are not so often seen as heard. Their flesh is very good, most especially during the fruit season, when they are fat and plump.

121. *Gallus Lafayettii*, the Ceylon Jungle-fowl. Very common, and not unfrequently shot by native hunters, from whom I have bought them for a rupee each.

122. *Galloperdix bicalcæata*, the Ceylon Spur-fowl. Very abundant throughout all the large forests, and at all elevations. They breed in the district. I have frequently flushed a hen and her chicks, but the extraordinary shyness of this bird and its swiftness of foot renders it extremely hard to secure.

123. *Turnix Taigoor*, the Black-breasted Bustard-quail. Found sparingly throughout the district, affecting "kurakkan" fields, dry paddy, and grass land. I have observed this bird all through the year, but have never seen the nest, eggs, or young.

124. *Porzana fusca*, the Ruddy Rail. I have only seen two examples of this little bird, one of which I shot on the 14th March, 1883. It was creeping about the bunds in the high paddy, much after the manner of a quail. This was at an elevation of 1,800 feet.

125. *Erythra phœnicura*, the White-breasted Water-hen. Very common about all swampy low-lying land and paddy fields. These birds breed in the district during the latter part of the N.E. monsoon and into the S.W. ; but though I have found chicks, I have not secured nests or eggs,

126. *Rhynchœa capensis*, the Painted Snipe. I have shot several of these snipe, and from observations I have made I am inclined to believe that they breed in the district. One spot in particular I have repeatedly found these birds in, and though "shot over," the scared birds return to the same haunt again and again.

127. *Gallinago stenura*, the Pin-tailed Snipe. A visitor to

the district, arriving during September and departing in April. I have seen a solitary snipe on the 1st of September, and have also flushed them in May, but they are most numerous from November to February. During these months, sportsmen come down to the district from Dikoya, Dimbula, and elsewhere, and secure very large "bags," but much of this depends on the weather. If very heavy rains have fallen, the fields in the vicinity of streams become flooded, and the snipe leave for higher fields, or betake themselves to the chena. These birds show a strange partiality to particular localities ; thus I have found in a small field of about an acre in extent, snipe congregating both early and late, in the season, while the surrounding fields have few, if any, in them.

With regard to the migration of the species, I am inclined to think that weather has much to do with it ; for even after a large number have been in particular spots for a length of time, they suddenly leave them for others, partly because of floods and partly because of the condition of the field affording much or little shelter or food, as the case may be. On moonlight nights I have come upon numbers of Pin-tails in open chenas and dry or disused paddy fields, and heard them fly off with their peculiar cry into the surrounding chenas.

In 1877 I had the fortune to shoot a snipe with a nearly full-sized egg in her, but I have never since either shot one with egg, or have I seen or heard of the bird nesting in Ceylon, though the above case is of considerable ornithological interest.

I have heard of the real snipe (*G. scolopacina*) having been shot here, but this information I take very much *cum grano*, as I believe it to be a rare visitor, and the confusion that appears to exist in sportsmen's nomenclature as to snipe in general, renders the occurrence to my mind the more doubtful.

128. *Tringoides hypolencus*, the Common Sand-piper. Very abundant at low elevations during the N.E. monsoon, during which time it affects paddy fields and wet places, congregating in flocks.

129. *Bubulcus coromandus*, the Cattle Egret. Very common in the district about the elevations of from 2,500 feet downwards. It does not spend the whole year here, and in fact flocks of these birds may be seen in the early mornings of the N.E. monsoon making their way to fields, and returning with the close of day. They fly in a perfect string, not unlike a distant

train of white carriages, till they reach some tall spreading tree on which to roost.

130. *Ardiola Grayi*, the Pond Heron. Very numerous, and to be found all the year round in nearly every large paddy field in the district below 2,500 feet.

131. *Ardeiralla cinnamomea*, the Chestnut Bittern. Not uncommon in swampy and paddy lands throughout the year, but at no time very numerous. They are very slow in their flight, which appears to be laboured and uneven. When on the wing they utter a curious grunting sort of sound, accompanied by a snapping of the mandibles. I have seen another species of Bittern in the district, but failed to procure it, so abstain from including it in my catalogue.

132. *Astur badius*, the Indian Goshawk. Found sparingly about open land and chenas.

133. *Cuculus Sonnerati*, Sonnerat's Cuckoo. I have only procured one example of this little cuckoo, which was shot by my friend Mr. H. B. Roberts on some chena, at an elevation of about 2,400 feet, during the month of March.

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ORNITHOLOGICAL NOTES TAKEN IN THE BOGAWANTALÁWA DISTRICT DURING SEPTEMBER, 1882.

By Frederick Lewis, Esq.

The S.W. monsoon of 1882 must be considered to have been an abnormal one ; for both the quantity of rain and humidity of temperature have by far exceeded those known for many previous years.

Under such peculiar atmospheric influences as these, the month of September must be viewed with unusual interest by the ornithologist, it being the period when the arrival of migratory birds should first be looked for. With this object in view, I purpose to give a short catalogue of such birds as fell within my own observation and that of another observer,—Mr. H. B. Roberts, of Eltofts estate,—whose authority I consider unquestionable.

I must preface my remarks by saying that I was stationed for a month at the Devonford estate, the elevation of which is over 5,000 feet above the sea, and situated at the extreme east of the Bogawantaláwa valley, or more properly that portion of the district nearest the dividing range between the Central and Western Provinces ; so that an influx of migrants from the N.E. would pass through or over this property, before spreading down the Bogawantaláwa valley proper.

During my stay at the locality in question, I never had the opportunity of a complete week of dry weather, and the mornings were nearly always misty, cold, and damp—a contingency which must receive due consideration as bearing upon the limits of bird migration.

In my list I have followed Captain Legge's classification for the convenience of those possessing his valuable work, and the nomenclature according to such authorities as are well known and established. As regards systems, it is

needless, if not inopportune here, to speak, when a mere catalogue of observations upon specimens is the object of the writer.

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1. *Astur trivirgatus*, the Crested Goshawk. I saw one example of this Goshawk on the Balaṅgoḍa side of the range, and Mr. Roberts spoke of having seen one on or near his estate. September is very early to find this bird on the hills, though I am inclined to think that a few individuals may spend the whole year in the Island. During the dry months from February to May, these birds are comparatively numerous, though at no time very common. They affect clumps of forest situated in patana lands, migrating at times over the coffee estates, where they prey upon the common green *Calotes*, so well known in the high districts.

2. *Spizætus Kelaarti*, the Mountain Hawk Eagle. I saw a pair of these birds one morning circling round a piece of flat land near the jungle, on the Fetteresso estate. This was the only occasion that I can remember meeting with this eagle.

3. *Elanus cæruleus*, the Black-shouldered Kite. I saw two or three of these fine birds on the Bopataláwa patanas, but though I fired at them I failed to secure a specimen. They affected the marshy ground, perching occasionally on the rhododendron trees that grow by the side of the streams in these patanas, and when flushed they flew off, still in the direction of where these trees grew. In flight they strongly resemble a Sea-gull, excepting in the act of "stooping," when they will continue to hover over one spot for several minutes together, before swooping down upon their prey. They are widely distributed over the country, particularly during the N.E. months, and in grass or patana lands.

4. *Glancidium castanonotum*, the Chestnut-backed Owlet. I found many examples of this little owl. They seemed to be most numerous in belts of standing forest, where at any hour of the day they might be either seen or heard. They not unfrequently come out into the clearings, but only when forest is a moderate distance off.

5. *Syrnium indrani*, the Brown Wood-owl, or Devil-bird. I heard this Owl on three or four occasions, but never saw or heard of a specimen being secured. On each occasion that I heard it the cry came from the direction of the heavy forest.

6. *Palæornis calthropæ*, Layard's Paroquet. This was the only paroquet I observed during my stay. I found it near the

river in the jungle reservation below the Killarney and Bogawarnie estates. It was very noticeable, that as soon as one got into the Saffragam country, there *P. cyanocephalus* was more numerous than this species; though I failed to see or secure a single example of the latter in Bogawantaláwa.

7. *Loriculus Indicus*, the Ceylon Loriquet. I think I heard this bird near the river at Koṭṭiyágala, as it flew over some forest trees. I saw this loriquet in Dikoya in 1876; so its presence here is not unreasonable.

8. *Chrysocolaptes Stricklandi*, the Red Hill Woodpecker, or Layard's Woodpecker. Very numerous. Affecting dead trees in clearings and in forests, sometimes alone, and at others in pairs or in flocks. I may remark in passing, that casual observers often mistake this Woodpecker for the Red Woodpecker *(Brachypternus Ceylonus)*, so common in the low-country. Apart from other and more minute distinctions of species, Layard's Woodpecker differs from the low-country bird in the colour of the iris: in the former the iris is buff, marbled in the females; in *B. Ceylonus* it is red, or lake-red. The cry is also distinct, *B. Ceylonus* uttering a loud call like the words "*care, care, care*," quickly repeated, a note I have never heard produced by *C. Stricklandi.*

9. *Megalœma flavifrons*, the Yellow-fronted Barbet. Very numerous in the forest reservation before alluded to, and less so in the large jungle, except when descending towards Balaṇgoḍa. In 1876 this Barbet was nearly rare, but of late years it appears to have spread through the upper hills, as it is to be met with in the three sister-districts of Dimbula, Dikoya, and Maskeliya. It probably nests in the dead trees up-country, though I failed to secure either nests or eggs.

10. *Centropus rufipennis*, the Ground Cuckoo, or Jungle Crow. Mr. Roberts informs me he has heard this bird, and its appearance is highly probable, as I have repeatedly seen it on the Radella cricket ground in Dimbula, which is nearly the same altitude as the Bogawantaláwa district. I never saw the bird or heard it during my stay.

11. *Harpactes fasciatus,* the Ceylon Trogon. I saw the Ceylon Trogon repeatedly, but always by itself. Its skulking habits and motionless attitude often renders its presence hard to discover, unless it should attract attention by its peculiar monosyllabic "*chow,—chow,—chow*" note, slowly repeated, and in a

descending scale. Dense hollows, thickly-wooded streams, and avines are favourite haunts for this beautiful bird.

In Maskeliya, in 1875, I more than once met with small flocks of Trogons in the newly felled clearings, but I have never since seen them under like circumstances.

12. *Alcedo Bengalensis*, the Little Indian Blue Kingfisher. Nothwithstanding all my efforts I never succeeded in seeing or hearing this Kingfisher. Mr. Roberts said he thought he heard at once, while two other gentlemen declared it to be common. There seems to be no reason why, so far as I can see, these Kingfishers should not be found in this district, as I procured it on Mahanillu river, in the eastern extremity of the Maskeliya district, and found it building on a branch of that stream; again, on the Dambulanda-oya, in Lindula, and the Agra-oya, in the Agras, Dimbula.

I give it here on the grounds of favourable probabilities, though as mentioned above, I did not procure a specimen.

13. *Halcyon Smyrnensis*, the White-breasted Kingfisher. I have repeatedly seen a pair of these birds perching on some high dead trees overlooking a marshy piece of ground on Bogawarnie estate. I never saw them elsewhere, as in Dimbula, where they frequent the river-banks. This Kingfisher is by no means common in high districts, and is, I am inclined to think, a visitor, though, possibly, individual pairs may be found remaining all the year round at unusual altitudes.

14. *Merops Philippinus*, the Blue-tailed Bee-eater. This bird is a migrant to the upper hills during the north-east monsoon, and may be met with at the highest elevations in the Island, in the course of its migration through the country. The first I heard in Bogawantaláwa was on the 21st September. They are particularly partial to patana land up-country, perching not unfrequently on the "mána" grass stalks in lieu of dead trees, which form a sort of outlook, from which they dart off after dragon-flies, or such insects as fall within their reach or observation.

15. *Chœtura gigantea*, the Spine-tailed Swift. Possessed of such power of wing and flight, it is scarcely to be wondered at that this bird should be found at 6 A.M. in Bogawantaláwa, and ere sun-down have winged its way over to the Nilgiris.

I have seen the bird in Rakwána and Gampola, and on three or four occasions two birds used to perch among the rafters of my bungalow of an evening at Balangoḍa.

During my stay in Bogawantaláwa I saw this Swift repeatedly. It seemed to have no special hour for hawking about, unless in the mornings, and in the evenings after rain.

16. *Collocalia Francica*, the Indian Edible-nest Swift. Very numerous. Wet evenings appeared to be their favourite time for appearing, when they would assemble in great numbers.

In Maskeliya I had the good fortune to come upon a large "breeding station" of these Swifts, situated in a cavernous stream, at a high elevation. I may here mention, with regard to the nidification of this species, that Capt. Legge, in his "History of Ceylon Birds," says (p. 325) that "the breeding-season of this little Swiftlet in Ceylon lasts from March until June." I have found both eggs and birds in all stages of devolopment at the latter end of September, and also in the early part of the year; so it appears probable that it breeds at all times of the year.

17. *Caprimulgus Kelaarti*, Kelaart's Night-jar. I am indebted to Mr. Roberts for information respecting this species. He informs me that he saw it more than once, and on one occasion in the compound of his bungalow. It is also said to be "common" on the patanas. I procured a specimen on the 28th November, 1876, on the Ingestre estate, which might, from its situation, be considered as in Lower Bogawantaláwa. I neither heard nor saw it this year during my short stay in the district.

18. *Cissa ornata*, the Ceylon Jay. Very common in suitable localities. I am inclined to think this Jay builds up-country, as on one occasion I found a broken shell at the foot of a high forest tree, to and from which I had repeatedly observed a pair of Jays going and coming. The egg, or piece of it, was bluish-green in colour, closely freckled over with dots and blotches of rust-red and chocolate-brown.

19. *Pericrocotus flammeus*, the Orange Minivet. Common in suitable localities. During very wet weather this bird appears to become suddenly scarce, and as soon as a blink of sunshine comes out, the sharp little twitter and graceful flight of the bird soon proclaims its presence. Individual birds are rarely seen, as these Minivets keep together in small parties of five or six, and even more.

20. *Hypothymis Ceylonensis*, the Azure Fly-catcher. By no means common, though not rare. I found it in thick jungle and dense underwood, and occasionally near the edges of heavy forest.

21. *Culicicapa Ceylonensis*, the Grey-headed Fly-catcher. Very abundant, and one of the commonest of the hill birds. It is by no means unusual to meet with this little Fly-catcher in the gardens around the bungalows up-country.

22. *Stoparola sordida*, the Blue Fly-catcher. Fairly numerous. They may frequently be found perched upon a stump or branch in the coffee, singing a melancholy little warble at any hour of the day. After showers they are particularly active in their search for food, and they render valuable assistance to the cinchona planter by destroying young cinchona caterpillars. I found it nesting in Dimbula, in 1874, in the hollow of a rotten stump. The eggs were two in number, pale dirty-white, spotted, and blotched with red-brown.

23. *Muscicapa hyperythra*, Nietner's Robin Fly-catcher. I observed one on the Eltofts estate flying about from branch to branch in a belt of blue gum-trees. They are rather numerous in December and January, and spread over all the hill districts, as far as I am aware, during the cold season, disappearing during the S.W. monsoon.

24. *Pratincola bicola*, the Hill Bush-chat. I found this bird in both adult and in mature plumage on the Bopataláwa and Bogawantaláwa patanas. Its peculiar habit of seating itself on the highest branch of a rhododendron is very conspicuous, and on a rainy day it represents the entire extent of bird life seen upon the cold bleak plains in the hill country.

25. *Copsychus saularis*, the Magpie Robin. I saw a hen-bird on the Campion estate, but during the months of January and February these robins are comparatively common, though not nearly in the same proportion as at lower altitudes.

26. *Turdus Kinnisi*, the Ceylon Black-bird. I once met with this bird in a belt of forest on the Devonford estate, but it was not plentiful seemingly around the locality where I was situated.

27. *Turdus spiloptera*, the Spotted Thrush. I repeatedly heard this beautiful Thrush singing its deep and full-toned song from some shady dell in the forest. I have seen it picking worms off newly-cut soil, seemingly regardless of my presence, unless I came within a few yards, when it would fly off into the close underwood, and be hidden from view.

28. *Oreocincla imbricata*, the Buff-breasted Thrush. I saw a single specimen on a stump in a newly-cleared piece of land close

to the Devonford estate. I obtained it in Pussellâwa in July, and also in Balangoda in October, at an elevation of under 2,000 feet.

29. *Myiophonus Blighi*, Bligh's Blue Thrush. I was fortunate enough to shoot a fine specimen of this rare bird. I found it picking up worms off the road I was engaged in widening, and it regarded me with little concern. I unfortunately knocked nearly all the skin to atoms, intending otherwise to send it to the Colombo Museum.

30. *Kelaartia pencillata*, the Yellow-eared Bulbul. Very numerous in all the jungles up-country. Legge speaks nothing about the nidification of this species. I have several times taken the nest in the hill-country, and I was fortunate enough to find a nest in course of construction near the summit of "Jacob's-ladder." It is a moderately large structure, composed of fibrous roots, moss, and leaves, neatly put together in a circular form. The eggs are (as far as I have found) two in number, of a pale greenish white ground colour, dotted and blotched with pale red marks and splashings, which are more closely shown at the broad than at the opposite end.

31. *Pycnonotus hæmorrhous*, the Madras Bulbul, or Common Bulbul. Mr. Roberts informs me that he saw a pair, looking the picture of utter misery, near his estate. During the dry weather they may be seen occasionally, but not in the same profusion as in the low-country.

32. *Malacocercus rufescens*, the Rufus Babbler. Extremely common, and in large flocks.

33. *Pomatorhinus melanurus*, the Ceylon Scimitar-babbler. Fairly numerous. It affects thick underwood and hollows in heavy jungle.

34. *Alcippe nigrifrons*, the Wren-babbler. Common, and generally found in small flocks in the underwood of large forest. They are very fond of bamboo clumps and fallen trees, over the branches of which they hop about with astonishing activity.

35. *Pellorneum fuscicapillum*, the Whistling Wren-babbler. I met with several examples. Like the foregoing, they affect thick underwood and close bushes. In the Western Province I have found them numerous in detached clumps of jungle, and sometimes in chena.

36. *Orthotomus sutorius*, the Indian Tailor-bird. Not very uncommon, and sometimes their nests are found constructed in the broad leaves of the *cinchona succirubra*.

37. *Dymœca insularis,* the White-browed Wren-warbler. I saw a single example of this species in a piece of bramble near the river at Bagawantaláwa. It is common at 4,000 feet on the Sabaragamuwa side of the range.

38. *Cisticola cursitans,* the Common Grass-warbler. This little bird is as common on the Bopataláwa and Bagawantaláwa patanas as it is in the paddy fields around Ratnapura, or within the glowing influence of the Kurunęgala rock. They are the commonest birds met with on patana land in Ceylon, and, as far as my experience goes, they are found all through the year.

39. *Phylloscopus nitidus*, the Green Tree-warbler. I saw a few specimens, but seemingly they had only just reached the high country, as they were much more numerous lower down. These truly migratory birds become extremely abundant about the middle of the N.E. monsoon, departing again before the break of the S.W. in May.

40. *Parus atriceps*, the Grey-backed Titmouse. Common up in the hill country all the year round. I have seen it building in dead stumps on estates in February, at an elevation of 5,600 feet. This Titmouse rarely descends below 2,000 feet, though I have seen it once at Polgahawela, but its natural habitat in Ceylon appears to be above 3,000 feet.

41. *Dendrophila frontalis,* the Blue Nuthatch. Very abundant. I suppose there was not a day passed but I saw or heard these Nuthatches.

42. *Losterops Ceylonensis*, the Common Hill White-eye, or Ceylonese White-eye. Numerous. I secured a nest with two eggs in it, in September, in Dimbula, that was built in the branch of a coffee tree. The most curious instances of species confining themselves to a particular elevation that I have experienced were with this and *L. palpebrosus.* On Wahagapiṭiya estate, in Pussęlláwa, the jungle round the store and at the foot of the estate used to be teeming with *L. palpebrosus ;* while at the top of the estate, which was some 1,200 feet higher, *L. Ceylonensis* was equally common ; but I rarely remember seeing a transposition, even of individuals.

43. *Hirundo rustica*, the Common Swallow. I saw a large number of these birds hawking over the Bagawantaláwa and Bopataláwa patanas. As a rule, these migrants are much more common in the low-country than on the hills.

44. *Hirundo Javanica,* the Bungalow Swallow. I saw several of this species, and occasionally in company with the foregoing.

45. *Passer domesticus*, the Common House-sparrow. I heard several of these birds near the Koṭiyágala bazaars. I saw none at the different bungalows I went to, the statement made by Mr. Holdsworth—" found in Ceylon wherever there are human habitations "—to the contrary notwithstanding.

46. *Motacilla melanope*, the Grey Wagtail. The first of these migrants I saw on the 3rd September on the Balaṅgoḍa side of the dividing range, and Mr. Roberts said he saw the first on (I think) the 7th ; but for some years I have always found them on the 3rd. Late in the evening, before dark, at about this period, they may be seen at an immense height in the air, darting along in small flocks, like little winged arrows, descending seemingly during the night, as next morning they may be found by the side of any stream as lively as if they had performed no great journey. I have found this bird in a wild, dense jungle stream, where it seemed to be the only living creature in the gloom, where no other sound than the gurgle of the water or the rustling of the branches broke in upon the silent monotony of the spot.

47. *Corydalla rufula*, the Common Pipit. Common on the patanas. These birds—a great many at least—spend the time all through the year in the country, but are undoubtedly more numerous in the cold months than in May or June. I have taken several nests both in Pussellâwa and Kotmalé.

48. *Munia Kelaarti,* the Hill Bunting. I saw several, and on one occasion I came upon a small flock in the jungle between Bagawantalâwa and Balaṅgoḍa.

49. *Munia Malacca,* the Black-bellied Munia. I saw several flocks of these birds affecting the grassy stream-sides on the Bopatalâwa patanas. Mr. Roberts informs me he has seen them in his garden on Eltofts estate.

50. *Acridotheres melanosternus*, the Ceylon Mynah, or Cattle Mynah. I saw a pair of these birds near Bogawanie estate, but they are comparatively rare on the hills to what they are in low-country. In Kuruṇegala, this was one of the commonest of cage birds, and not unfrequently it would be found perfectly free, but still enjoying the society of man.

51. *Eulabes plilogenys*, the Hill Mynah. Very numerous.

52. *Palumbus Torringtoniæ*, the Ceylon Wood-pigeon. Fairly numerous in suitable localities. I procured a fine specimen in the jungle reservation below Killarney estate.

53. *Chalcophaps Indica*, the Bronze-winged Dove. I saw a single example of this dove. In 1876 I caught one in a rat-trap that I had set for jungle-fowl on an elephant path in Dikoya. Bamboo jungles seem to be the most favourite localities for this bird, or damp open glades. I have seen them on the railway line near Liberia estate, Polgahawela, almost in greater numbers than anywhere else.

54. *Gallus Lafayettii*, the Jungle-fowl. Numerous, but less so than at a lower level.

55. *Galloperdix bicalcarata*, the Ceylon Spur-fowl. Very common.

56. *Turnix Taigoor*, the Black-breasted Bustard-quail. Mr. Roberts and myself flushed three on the Bopatalâwa patanas. They are numerous in such localities, and not unfrequently in open chena in Sabaragamuwa. They usually affect grass land.

57. *Erythra phœnicura*, the White-breasted Water-hen. Mr. Roberts states that he has seen or heard this bird. This is very probable, as I once flushed one in a large swamp in the Agras in 1874. It is, however, rare on the hills.

58. *Gallinago stenura*, the Pin-tailed Snipe. The "first snipe of the season" in Bagawantalâwa was shot by Mr. Hadden, of Koṭiyágala estate on the Bagawantalâwa patanas, on the 23rd September. I did not see the bird myself in order to identify it, but I have little doubt that it was a Pin-tail. There seems to be a variety of opinion with regard to the arrival of Snipe in Ceylon. I have always found that the Grey Wagtail and the Snipe arrive either together or within a week of each other, the Wagtail arriving first. Last year I flushed a Snipe on the 3rd of September, and have known a "bag" made in Kurunęgala on the first week during this month. I am of opinion, however, that at the time of their coming to the country they drop into the first place that suits them, from which they spread. This theory may confirm the fact of extraordinary numbers being found in particular fields at particular periods of the year.

59. *Tringoides hypoleucus*, the Common Sand-piper. I saw one example of this species on the river close to the "Campion ford." Mr. Roberts informs me of an interesting fact hitherto unknown I believe—viz., that the Common Sand-piper can *dive*

and swim under water. Mr. Roberts assured me he saw this bird swim some distance "beautifully" (to use his own phrase) *under* water. This may be known to sportsmen, but I cannot say I have heard of so strange a proceeding on the part of a "snippet" before, much less have had the good fortune to witness it.

With this species I close my list of birds from the Bagawantaláwa District, observed at a most interesting period of the year with regard to migration. It must not be supposed, however, that it comprises the entire *avifauna* of the locality in question; my object being more to show the ornithological peculiarities of a particular month. I trust to be able to supplement these remarks later on by giving a complete list, in order to illustrate the migration of birds to the hill-country of Ceylon.

I append an analysis of my Paper, indicating such species as are peculiar or indigenous, resident species, and migrants, that I hope may be of interest to naturalists or collectors of our Ceylon birds.

Synopsis.

Indigenous.

Spiz. Kelaarti
Glauc. castanonotum
Pal. calthropæ
Lor. Indicus
Chry. Stricklandi
Meg. flavifrons
Cissa ornata
Hypoth. Ceylonensis
Cul. Ceylonensis
Stop. sordida
Turdus spiloptera
One. imbricata
Myioph. Blighi
Kel. pencillata
Mal. rufescens
Pom. melanurus
Alcip. nigrifrons
Pell. fuscicapillum
Dry. insularis
Zos. Ceylonensis
Mu. Kelaarti
Acridoth. melanosternus
Eulab. philogenys
Pal. Torringtoniæ
Gal. Lafayettii
Gallop. bicalcarata

Resident.

Syrnium indrani
Cent. rufipennis
Harpactes fasciatus
Alcido bengalensis
Hal. Smyrnensis
Coll. Francica
Peri. flammeus
Prat. bicola
Cop. saularis
Turdus Kinnisi
Pycnon. hœmorrhous
Orthot. sutorius
Cistic. cursitans
Parus atriceps
Dend. frontalis

Hir. Javanica
Pass. domesticus
Cory. rufula
Chal. Indica
Turnix Taigoor
Eryth. phœnicura

Doubtful.

Chœtura gigantea
Cap. Kelaarti
Mu. Malacca

Tringoides hypolencus

Migratory.

Astur trivirgatus (?)
Elanus cœruleus
Merops Philippinus
Muscic. hyperythra
Phyll. nitidus
Hirundo rustica
Mot. melanope
Gallinago stenura

TAMIL CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES

CONNECTED WITH

PADDY CULTIVATION IN THE JAFFNA DISTRICT.

By J. P. Lewis, Esq., C.C.S.

In a previous Paper I mentioned that peculiar ceremonies were practised, and a conventional language spoken, by the Tamils* of Ceylon, as well as by the Sinhalese, during the operations of paddy cultivation.

I have since collected information on this subject in the Jaffna Peninsula from different sources, and I have hence† been able to compile an account of these ceremonies, which it may be interesting to compare with the descriptions of the ceremonies practised by the Kandyans and Low-country Sinhalese already recorded by Messrs. Ievers and Bell.

It is a rule among the Tamils, as among the Sinhalese, that after the New Year's Day, which is the first day of the month *Chittirai*, and falls on the 11th or 12th of April, no work of any kind should be begun, except at a "lucky hour."

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* A list of Tamil threshing-floor words is annexed to the Paper above referred to.

† I may state that I do not pretend to have myself been an eye-witness of all the ceremonies hereinafter detailed. This would have been practically impossible. The cultivators are very chary of performing them in the presence of a stranger, more especially of a European. I may add, that it is not easy to get an intelligent account of them from the natives, and those who are capable of giving such an account affect to consider them too trivial and ridiculous to describe. It must not be supposed that all the ceremonies described in this Paper are performed on every occasion of paddy cultivation in the Jaffna District. This is the case only in the more remote Districts, such as Poonaryn (Púnakari) and Karachchi; in others many details are omitted, or the ceremonies, with the exception of the choosing of a lucky hour, are neglected altogether, as in the neighbourhood of Jaffna.

This can be ascertained either from the village astrologer (*cháttiri*) or by consulting one of the Tamil almanacs.*

Paddy cultivation forms no exception to this rule. It is of the utmost importance that every operation connected with it should be commenced on an auspicious day, for it is believed that the good or ill-fortune of the undertaking is decided by the influence of the asterism that governs the day upon which the work is begun. For instance, with respect to sowing and reaping, the rule is, செவ்வாயில் வித்தும் புதனில் அருவியும் ஆகாது (*chevváyil vittum Putaṇil aruviyum ákátu*) "sowing should not be done on Tuesday, nor reaping on Wednesday"; while, as regards threshing, it is believed that if the day be dominated by a malevolent star, the crop is liable to be pilfered by the *kúḷis* (mischievous sprites, who correspond to the Sin̥halese *yaksayó*). This is set forth with due precision in the following stanza :—

இரவியில் பத்தில் ஒன்றும்
இந்துபன்னொன்றில் ஒன்றும்
வருபுதன் மூன்றில் ஒன்றும்
மண்மகற் கெட்டில் ஒன்றும்
இருபதில் ஒன்றுங் காரிக்கியல்புடைக் கூளிகொள்ளும்
குருபுகர் இரண்டு நன்றாம் கொழுஞ்சூடு மிதிப்பதற்கே.

Iraviyil pattil oṇṛum
Intupaṇṇoṇṛil oṇṛum
Varuputaṇ múṇṛil oṇṛum
Maṇmakaṭ keḍḍil oṇṛum
Irupatil oṇṛuṇ kárik kiyal puḍaik kúḷi koḷḷum
Kuru Pukar iraṇḍu naṇṛám koḷuñ chúḍu mitippataṭké.

["On Sunday the *kúḷis* will carry away one-tenth; on Monday, one-eleventh; on the following Wednesday, one-third; on Tuesday, one-eighth; on Saturday, one-twentieth; Thursday and Friday, these two are good for a bountiful threshing."]

In addition to these precautions it is necessary, before the commencement of any undertaking, that the assistance of

* There are at least three of these in use in Jaffna,—one published there, and the others at Colombo and Madras. See Note 1, at end.

the god *Pillaiyár* * should be invoked and a *ponkal* † performed in his honour. It is usual, at the same time, to pay similar honours to any deity to whom the nearest temple or grove is dedicated.‡

The operation which falls earliest in the work of cultivation is manuring. At the lucky hour the first basket of manure is carried to the field, and a small portion of the field selected at hap-hazard is manured and dug with a mamoty.

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* "The Son." This is the common designation in the Northern Province of the god *Kanésar*, or *Kanapati.* He is also called by the cultivators *Periyapiran* or *Periyavan* "the Great One". He is a son of Siva and Durga *(Párvati)*, and is the god of wisdom and remover of obstacles.

"He is lord of the troops of the mischievous and malignant imps, who are supposed to cause obstacles and difficulties, and is therefore invoked at the commencement of all undertakings. His bloated, dwarfish, and distorted appearance, which is like that of the *ganas* of Siva, over whom he presides, indicates sensuality and love of good living, while his elephant's head is said to typify a combination of wisdom, or rather of cunning and sagacity."—*Hinduism*, by Proffessor Monier Williams, p. 165 (Sinhalese *Gana*, *Ganesa*, *Ganapati*).

"In the North-Central Province the villagers worship a god called Puliar, who, according to them, heals their diseases and affords them help in various ways. They say they trust Puliar to obtain help in this world, and Buddha for happiness in the next world." Report by Rev. J. Ireland Jones, quoted in *Ceylon Observer.*

"And on the middle porch god Ganesha—
With disk and hook—to bring wisdom and wealth,
Propitious sate, wreathing his sidelong trunk."
— *Light of Asia.*

† Rice is boiled in milk in a new earthen pot, or in a brass pot cleaned for the occasion. Plantains, curds, and ghee are offered with the rice—also jakfruit, mangoes, lemons, &c. Camphor is then burned, and homage paid to the god.

‡ "Indra" *(Intiran)* is lord of the clouds, rains, seasons, crops, &c., and he is worshipped at the season of sowing and reaping; but the chief honours appear to be paid to *Pillaiyár.* *Indra* (Sanskrit) = "the rainer", "the irrigator"; *Indu* = "drops of rain."

Winslow has கலப்பைச்சக்கரம் [*kalappaichchakkaram*]: "A diagram in astrology in the form of a plough to determine on the best day for beginning the ploughing of the season." I have not, however, heard of an instance in Jaffna of the adoption of this method of discovering the lucky hour for ploughing.

This forms the inauguration of the work of cultivation.

As in the Jaffna District ploughing is carried on between April and September, whenever a fall of rain affords an opportunity for it, it is necessary early in the (Tamil) year to be prepared for this operation. Accordingly, the ceremony of yoking the oxen is performed during the first half of the month *Chittirai* (April—May). At one of the hours fixed for this purpose, a pair of very tame oxen, often decorated with garlands of flowers, red ochre, saffron powder, &c., is taken to the field with a yoke and a plough, and after the land-owner has paid the usual homage to *Piḷḷaiyár*, by splitting a cocoanut in the field,* he yokes the bulls together, making them face towards the north or east.† He and his

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* According to one of my informants this should be done in the north-western corner. In the *Deviyanné-dáné* ceremony of the Siŋhalese, the *Madupurayá* breaks a cocoanut (see C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 59), and it is remarkable that this is called *Gaṇa-deviyan-gahanavá*. *Gaṇa-deviyó* = *Piḷḷaiyár* (see note* *anté*), so that this act of the Madupurayá's has the same object as has that of the Tamil cultivator, viz., to sacrifice to Piḷḷaiyár. Probably some of the Hindú ceremonies have been retained by the Siŋhalese after their original significance and intention have become obscured or forgotten. There can be no doubt that the practice of these ceremonies by the Siŋhalese is of ancient origin, and is not an importation from their Tamil neighbours. In fact, the ceremonies are more complicated, and have suffered less detrition among the Siŋhalese than among the Tamils. This is one reason why I think it a mistake to attribute the addiction of the Siŋhalese all over the Island to fragments of the Hindú cult, mainly to the fact that the later Kandyan kings were Tamils and Hindús, or to the discovery by the Siŋhalese people (Kandyans) after a trial of Buddhism that as a religion it was inadequate for their wants. The Siŋhalese were Hindús before they were Buddhists, and though they adopted Buddhism (circa 246 B.C.), the mass of the people never entirely gave up Hindúism, and retained many of the beliefs and practices connected with it. Buddhism was grafted on to Hindúism.

† "Amongst the four cardinal points, the north and east were always preferred, and of these the east. The south was highly objectionable, as the realms of the Indian Pluto, Yama, were situate there. The north was liked, because the abode of Siva was in that direction. Sunrise and sunset must have operated in deciding the merits of the east and west."—*Arichandra*, by Sir M. Coomara Swamy, note on p. 241.

men then plough three elliptical furrows, either to show how the work is to be done, or perhaps in order to test the implements. All those who are present then congratulate the field-owner, and they signify their approval of the work, and their participation in it, by touching the plough-handle.*

This preliminary ceremony having been performed, the cultivators are ready to plough at any time when there is a fall of rain. So scrupulous are some of them, that when, as sometimes happens, rain falls early in the (Tamil) year, and before the yoking ceremony has been performed, they would rather forego the chance of ploughing altogether, than commence it without having observed the proper preliminaries.

It is considered an advantage if the oxen used in ploughing are *máma̤n* and *marumaka̤n*—*i. e.*, "uncle" and "nephew"—and if, as is usually the case, there are two ploughs at work in one field,† the men in charge of them should also be uncle and nephew.

It may interest the present Director of Public Instruction to learn that in constructing the plough the following rules as to materials should be observed, if possible :—

பாலை படவாள்	*Pálai paḍaváḷ*
பங்கிராய் மேழி	*Paṅkiráy mêḷi*
காரை கொழுச்சிராய்	*Kárai Koḷuchchiráy*
கருங்காலி ஏர்க்கால்	*Karuṅkáli érkkál*
புன்னைப்புது நுகம்	*Pṳn̤naip putu nukam*
புதுப்பூட்டு ஆத்தி நார்	*Putup púḍḍu átti nár*
பன்னை கிட்டித்தடி.	*Pa̤n̤nai Kiḍḍittaḍi.*

* See C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 55, note on "the practice of touching objects to baffle the evil chance."

† The fact that two ploughs are generally used at the same time in a field (sometimes there are as many as five or six), both going over the same ground, is an answer to the objection sometimes made to the introduction of ploughs of a better pattern, viz., that they require more men to work them than do the native ploughs. It is true that a Jaffna plough only requires one man to work it, but then there is usually another plough following it; and though this second plough does not make the same furrow as the first, it does work that would have been done by the first plough were the latter of an improved pattern.

which the accompanying sketch (No. 1) of a Jaffna plough* will help to explain.

The plough is made of four distinct pieces of wood. In one of these the *paḍavál*, a diminutive iron share (*koḷu*), is inserted, and it is fixed in its place by a small piece of wood called the *koḷuchchiráy*. The other two are the handle (*méḷi*) and the pole (*érkkál*). According to the rules, then, these pieces should all be of different kinds of wood, the *paḍavál* of *pálai* (Ceylon ironwood), the handle of *paṇkiráy* (a tree of which I do not know the English or scientific name), the *koḷuchchiráy* of *kárai* (a kind of thorny shrub, *Webera tetrandra*), the pole of ebony, the yoke of Alexandrian laurel,† and its pegs of *paṉṉai*,‡ while the ropes (*púḍḍáṇ kayiṛu*) for attaching the oxen to it should be made of fibre from the *átti* tree.§

It seems, however, that the ostensible reason for using these woods is not their peculiar suitability for the purpose, but to ensure that in the ensuing season there may be neither too much nor too little rain for the paddy.

The cord that attaches the pole to the yoke is called the *nantai*.‖

A field is usually ploughed three times, at intervals of two or three days.¶ There is no mud-levelling in the

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* Plate No. 1 (see note 2). The shaft is not quite long enough in the sketch.

† Siṇhalese, *domba; Calophyllum inophyllum*, L.

‡ Siṇhalese, *val-ẹhẹla?*

§ "*Bauhinia racemosa*, L. There are two species, viz., (1) காட்டாத்தி (*káḍḍátti*), the rind of which is used for withes, *Bauhinia parviflora*, L.; (2) திருவாத்தி (*tiruvátti*), a flower-tree sacred to Siva, also medicinal, *Bauhinia tomentosa*, L."—Wins. Probably the first species is meant.

‖ There is a proverb, நடுஉழவிலே நந்தைதெறித்ததுபோல (*naḍu uḷavilé nantai teṛittatupóla*), "Like the snapping of the yoke-tie, when the plough has done half its work." Percival, 4,050.

¶ Viz., நிலவெடுப்பு (*nilaveḍuppu*), breaking ground; உழவிராட டிப்பு (*uḷavi-raḍḍippu*) or மறை (*maṛai*), second ploughing; and மூன்றும் உழவு (*múṉṛám uḷuvu*), third ploughing.

Jaffna District, except occasionally in Púnakari and Karachchi. The cultivation generally depends entirely upon rain,* and in consequence there is usually only one cultivation of paddy in the year.†

Sowing takes place in August—September. There is no fall of rain at this season : the fields are sown dry *(puḷuti-vitaippu)*, and the seed then remains in the ground without germinating until the preliminary rains of the North-East monsoon begin to fall.

On the auspicious day, which, according to the rules above-quoted, can never be a Tuesday, the land-owner or his son prepares a small quantity of raw rice from the paddy which he had stored up for seed, and sends it to the village temple to be boiled and offered to the deity to whom the temple is dedicated. Milk, young cocoanuts, betel, camphor, and benzoin, and all the other accompaniments of a *poṇkal* are sent with the rice.

At the lucky hour a handful of seed-paddy and a mamoty are taken to the field, and after splitting a cocoanut to Piḷḷaiyâr, facing towards the north,‡ the land-owner sows the seed, and hoes it in with the mamoty ; and in this operation he is assisted by his servants. The sowing is thus inaugurated.

Reaping takes place in the month *Tai* (January—Feb-

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* Fields of which the cultivation depends entirely upon rain are called மானாவாரி (*máṇávári* fields). *Máṇávári* is a corruption of *váṇá vári* =" sky-water."

† There are three cultivations in the year, viz., (1) காலபோகம் *(kálapókam)* = " the regular crop," which is chiefly of paddy sown in August—September, and harvested in February—March. *Varaku, chámi,* and other dry grains are also cultivated. (2) சிறுபோகம *(chiṛupókam)* = " the little crop," of peas (*payaṛu*), &c., and near tanks quick-ripening paddy, sown in February—March, and over within two months. (3) இடைப்போகம் *(iḍaippókam)* = " middle crop," of chillies, onions, &c.; and in Tenmiṛáḍchi and Pachchilaippaḷḷi, (if there is enough water in the tanks,) of paddy, which is sown at the end of April and reaped in June.

‡ *Vide ante,* p. 307, note. *

ruary). It must not be done on a Wednesday. At the lucky hour the land-owner makes a rough extempore image of Gaṇésa out of a handful of moist cow-dung, decorates it with the tops of *aruku* grass,* which is sacred to this and other gods, and after doing *púsai* to it, leaves his house, taking care to pass by a lighted lamp and a full water-pot—the latter placed on a heap of paddy in front of his house. The mouth of this pot is filled up by a cocoanut surrounded by five or more (but always some odd number of) mango leaves.† On his way to the field, if he has to pass a temple he does not omit to make his devotions there. On reaching his field he splits a cocoanut, and reaps a few of the ears of paddy, and takes them home with him, passing by the lamp and water-pot as before. In the inner room of his house he hangs up a few of the ears, and treads out the paddy from those remaining.

The paddy he places in a small old basket, which he hands to his wife. She receives it with both hands, and, facing north,‡ either keeps the paddy or boils it at once as "new rice."§

This "new rice" is eaten at the lucky hour, and a little raw rice, with the usual accompaniments, is sent to the village temple to be boiled and offered as a *poṇkal* to the deity. The reaping is then proceeded with.

But it is the "threshing" that the cultivators have to be the most punctilious about. It is commenced on one of the auspicious days—Thursday or Friday (or sometimes on Sunday), but never on a Wednesday—and continued on

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* *Cynodon dactylon*, Pers. See C. A. S. Journal, 1880, pp. 7–8, for a full account of this grass, by Mr. W. Ferguson.

† The cocoanut-oil lamp also has five or seven or some odd number of wick-spouts.

‡ So the Siṇhalese set apart on a post three handfuls of ripe ears for *Kataragama Deviyo* (the Kantasuvámi of the Tamils; Skanda, the god of War). (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 48.)

§ This appears to correspond to the "New Rice-feast" (*Alut-bat-kęma*) of the Siṇhalese, except that the latter takes place after the threshing is concluded. (Journal, 1880, p. 50; 1883, p. 56.)

successive nights. A threshing-floor *(kaḷam)* is prepared—levelling and smoothing a portion of the field in a circular shape.

The boundary line of this circle is strewn with pieces of bark or leaves of margosa* and bits of the *piranḍai* creeper†. This is in order to form a "guard-cord" *(kávatkoḍi)*‡ against the *kúḷis*. An extempore image of Gaṇésa is made of cow-dung, as usual, by one of the servants, hence called the *Piḷḷaiyárpólaṉ*, and decorated with *aṛuku* grass. *Púsai* is then performed to it—*i. e.*, camphor and benzoin incense are burned before it, and offerings made of

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* There is a saying பேய்க்கு வேப்பிலைபோலே *(péychchu véppilai pólé)* "as margosa leaves before a demon." (Percival, 4,955.) The Kandyans use margosa with the same object. (See C. A. S. Journal, 1880, p. 49.) In the low-country the ricks are frequently encircled with young cocoanut leaves or jungle creepers (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 48), no doubt as a "guard-cord."

† There must be some peculiar potency also in the *piranḍai* creeper. See Mr. Fowler's account of the Panikkan's use of it as a sort of charm. (*Ibid*, pp. 15—16.) It is the *híreṣsa* of the Siṇhalese (*Ibid*, 1880, p. 49; 1883, p. 49.) Moormen have the same opinion of its efficacy as a charm. "A species of sun-flower (*helicophilum*)"—Clough. *Piranḍai* is not given by Winslow.

‡ I did not find that in the Jaffna Peninsula circles were drawn on the threshing-floor of ashes, as among the Siṇhalese, but I dare say there is such a practice among the Tamils also. I see Winslow gives as a meaning of காவல்செய்ய, *(kávalseyya)* "to make (with a straw-rope) diagrams on the ground, &c., to defend the grain from demons." With respect to the number of circles drawn, the Kandyans whom I have questioned on the point said that there should be three concentric circles. This agrees with what Mr. Bell found in the low-country. In Kẹgalla the number is seven. In addition to Knox, Davy, and Brodie, Sirr also gives a short description of Siṇhalese threshing-floor ceremonies, and he, too, states that three circles are described, one within the other, at the mystic rite when the paddy is trodden out. (*Ceylon and the Cingalese*, Vol. I., p. 151.)

Among the Siṇhalese the substitute for the image of Pillaiyár seems to be the *muttá* (see C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 49), "the great grandfather," which may be either a round stone (*ibid*, 1880, p. 49) or an unhusked cocoanut (*arakpol*). *Mutta* in Mr. Bell's Paper should be *muttá*.

plantain fruit, betel, &c., the worshipper doing obeisance by crossing the forearms in front of his face, and striking his temple three times with closed fist.

A stake *(polikkaḍḍai)*—which, if itis to be a protection against the *kúlis*, should be of the wood of the strychnos tree *(káñchúrai)*,* but is generally of some hard wood, such as *vidattal* or *tiruk-koṇḍal*,†—is next fixed by the chief farm-servant (who is hence called the *Kaḍḍaippólan̤*) in the centre of the circle, with a few ears of paddy and a few margosa leaves tied at the top of it. If the floor is of loose soil, mats are spread round the stake ; if not the bare ground is used as a threshing-floor. Water, in which fresh macerated cow-dung has been soaked, is sprinkled over the floor to purify it. The usual cocoanut is split, and then the *Kaḍḍaippólan̤* (usually an elderly man) takes some ears from the rick, and holding them over his head with the goad *(polimiláṛu)* or the flail *(vélai-áḷ)* walks three times round the stake.‡ He places the ears at the foot of the stake, standing with his face towards the north or east. He is followed by all the other servants *(pólamárkaḷ)*, each carrying sheaves of ears, and depositing them round the stake, until there is a sufficient quantity for threshing to commence. The men then pull down the heap *(pórppai)* and spread out the sheaves conveniently for threshing.

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* *Strychnos nux-vomica* ; Siṇhalese, *goḍa-kaduru*.

† *Cassia fistula*, L; Siṇhalese, *ẹhẹla*.

‡ This resembles the procedure in the Rayigam Kóralé. The Siṇhalese dispense with the stake, the place of which is taken by the *muttá*. Instead of the chief servant it is "any *goyiyá* reputed fortunate." He walks three times round the *muttá*, and places the sheaf on it. Instead of facing towards the north or east, he looks "in the direction fixed by the astrologer with reference to the *nẹkata*.' But in the ceremony immediately following, the chief *goiyyá* (the *kaḍḍaippólan̤*) carries the *dẹti goyiyá* (*vélai-ál*) round the corn. The Jaffna ceremony, in fact, seems to be an abridgment of that followed in Rayigam Kóralé. In the Siyanẹ Kóralé the cultivator walks seven times round the *arakvala*—the hole in the centre of the circle in which the charms are placed. (See C. A. S. Journal, 1883, pp. 49, 51.)

While engaged in these operations they keep up shouting the auspicious word "*poli*," "*poli*," for good luck. *

Three pairs of buffaloes or bullocks having been linked together in a row *(naḍaiyan̤ koḍi)* are led into the heap of paddy, and the biggest of the six is tied to the stake. This animal is called *pórppainaḍaiyan̤*, and those further from it *vaḍḍinaḍaiyar*. The last is called the *cháḍuváyan̤*. A man *(pôrppaippólan̤)* then drives them round and round the stake, abreast of each other, with repeated applications of a thick stick *(polimiláru)* to their hides and shouts of "*poli, poli*,"* until the grain is all trodden out from the ears. Not until then are the oxen released or allowed even to be taken to water; neither will the *Kaḍḍaippólan̤* leave the threshing-floor until all the ricks of paddy have been threshed, and his food is supplied to him there. When the oxen are taken out from the floor for the last time each day, one of the servants takes a wisp of straw, and pulls the tail of the one nearest the stake, and then puts the straw on the floor.

The completed heap of threshed paddy is greeted with shouts of "*poli*," and the straw is collected and tossed by means of a bent stick *(vélai-ál* or *vélai-káran̤)*† to leeward of the threshing-floor. When nearly all the straw has been so collected into a heap, the oxen are taken off the threshing-floor. Four of the men then starting, each from one of the cardinal points of the floor, and facing the stake, in a sitting posture heap up the paddy with their hands. In this operation they move round towards the right, following each other in a circle, and when they come back each to his place in rotation, they stop, and the rest of the ceremony is performed by the *Kaḍḍaipôlan̤*, who walks round the heap to the right three times in a stooping posture between them and the heap of grain, and smoothes and levels the top

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* The Coorg ryots shout "*polé! polé! Devaré.*" (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 81.) In the Kalutara District, on the other hand, it seems that the bullock-drivers are not allowed to shout to their animals. (*Ibid*, p. 51.)

† That is, the labourer. Curiously enough the name given to this stick by the Siṇhalese cultivators is *ḍeti-goyiyá* (*goyiyá* = "cultivator").

and sides. Holding his right arm with his left hand* he marks on the top and sides of the heap with his finger representations of the trident *(chúlam)* of Siva, at the four cardinal points, and also certain diagrams, generally circles, ornamented with tridents.† A cow-dung representation of Pillaiyár is again made, and, adorned with *aruku* grass, is placed on the heap with split cocoanuts and the knife used in splitting them. Rice is then boiled and offered to Pillaiyár. A twisted straw rope is put round the heap as a guard-cord *(kávatkodi)* until the winnowing takes place. The men having thus taken measures to protect *kávatcheyya* (the heap) against the *kûlis*, are at liberty to leave the threshing-floor for a time. In case another heap of paddy has to be threshed the same night, the paddy already threshed is heaped in the east corner of the floor to await winnowing after the other rick has been threshed.

Some of the prevalent superstitions with respect to these *kúlis* may be noticed here. The *kúlis* are supposed to be mischievous, and to favour, or disfavour, the farmer according as they are propitiated by him or not. They will remove paddy from a neighbouring floor to the one favoured by them, from high to lowland, from east to west, and to

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* In a Kandyan picture of a *Saluvadana Nilamé* (Master of the Robes) he is handing the Crown in this manner to the king. It is meant to show reverence or respect.

† Tridents are always introduced into the figures drawn by the Siŋhalese cultivators, both Kandyan and Low-country, but it does not appear that they understand what it signifies. (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 55.) Neither did Sirr understand what they intended to represent. He says the circles are quartered by a cross, the four points of which are terminated by a "character resembling a written letter M." (*Ceylon and the Cingalese*," Vol. 1, p. 151.) Certainly there is this resemblance in the florid tridents in the diagrams given by Davy, and in the Pasdun Kóralé diagram. (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 79.)

In a Buddhist religious picture in my possession all the gods attendant upon Buddha, except Siva, are represented holding a *trisúla* in one hand and a sword (*kaduva*) in the other. The trident is a common emblem at Jaffna.

leeward, but not to windward.* Accordingly, a man will not thresh on the same day as his neighbour, if the latter's threshing-floor is to the south-west of his.† He is angry if his neighbour, with a threshing-floor thus favourably situated with respect to his, begins to thresh his paddy at the same time as he does. The neighbour, on the other hand, congratulates himself on the prospective assistance of the *kúḷis*, who will pilfer the paddy from the other man, and bring it to his threshing-floor ; and seizes the opportunity to propitiate them, and so begin his threshing under the most favourable conditions.

If a high festival is going on in the village temple, no threshing is allowed to be carried on on that day in the village.

No empty vessel or basket can be carried past the threshing-floor while the threshing is going on, and there are instances of wayfarers being detained at the floor, if they happen to pass it at such a time. The upsetting of a basket or vessel, or the overturning of a hut (*kuḍil*)‡ or anything that happens inadvertently, is considered an unlucky omen. Every turn taken by the men engaged in any of these ceremonies should be to the right, not to the left,§ and even the oxen are made to conform to this

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* This is shrewd of the *kúḷis*,—they do not like to have the wind against them.

† At the time of harvest in the Jaffna District (February—March) the North-East monsoon is blowing, hence the South-West would be the leeward.

‡ A hut is like an exaggerated umbrella made of palmyra leaves, used for sheltering cattle, stacks, &c.

§ In "A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War," Miss Gordon-Cumming, describing the consecration of a Roman Catholic church in Samoa, says : "I grieve to have to record that, in leading the procession round the foundations of the new church, he (the Bishop) made the turn *widdershins*. I believe that this is contrary to ecclesiastical custom, and, of course, to my Scottish mind it suggested grievous misfortunes in store." —Vol. I., p. 120. To the word *widdershins* the authoress appends the following note: "Or more correctly, in old Celtic parlance, *tuaphol*—that is to say, a turn contrary to the course of the sun, keeping the left hand towards the centre. It was only used when invoking a curse, as opposed to the turn *deisul*, which invoked a blessing on the object round which the turn was made. The superstition is common to all lands in whose early mythology sun-worship held a place." (See "From the Hebrides to the Himalayas," Vol. I., p. 203.)

rule. But it will help to thwart the *kúḷis* if the oxen are made to take one or two turns to the left, instead of to the right, when commencing operations.

It is unlucky for men or animals to pass out from the threshing-floor, except at the proper entrance (*kaḷavásal*) on the east side.

Next comes the winnowing. The winnows to be used are marked with tridents in cow-dung. After the usual *poṅkal* to *Piḷḷaiyár*, one or two mats are spread on that side of the threshing-floor which is exposed to the wind (which at this time comes from the North-East), and paddy is poured from the winnows along the windward edge of the mats, so that the chaff flies off to the leeward, leaving the grain in a heap. It is an unlucky omen if one of the winnows upsets, or is blown off by the wind; and if in the act of sifting the winnow strikes against the heap, a trident is at once marked on the place in the heap where the latter was touched by the winnow.

The paddy is formed into an oblong heap of uniform width, and the surface is made as smooth as possible. A line is traced with a corner of the winnow along the ridge of the heap, and tridents are similarly marked at each end of the heap, and in the middle,* thus :—

The cow-dung (*Piḷḷaiyár*) is then placed on the paddy-heap, and the twisted straw rope is put round the heap as before.† These precautions are necessary until the paddy is measured, as it is supposed, after the measuring, to be secure from the *kúḷis*.

Before the paddy is measured, a winnow is plunged into the heap, and filled up well with paddy, which is kept apart to be given to the temple as a thank-offering. This paddy

* A similar practice is followed by some of the Galle cultivators. (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 55.)

† The Kandyans put a twisted straw rope round the paddy after the winnowing. (*Ibid*, 1880, p. 49.)

is called *mísupali.** The measuring of the heap is then proceeded with, and the land-owner gives the cultivators or servants their proper shares, and his tithe to the renter. Sometimes the blacksmith, carpenter, barber, dhoby, and tom-tom beater—the *kuḍimakkaḷ*† employed by the land-owner—are called, and their dues paid to them in kind; and paddy is also dealt out to beggars.‡ After this, at a lucky hour, he has the rest of the paddy removed to his house, and stored in the loft in large ola baskets, which are closed at the tops by being stitched with palmyra olas. The paddy required for seed is kept exposed to the sun for three successive days, and then placed in a corner of the house to cool. On an auspicious day it is stored in ola baskets.

The harvest having thus been concluded, the farmer performs a *poṅkal* at a neighbouring temple in honour of Piḷḷaiyár, Indra, and other deities, and lastly in honour of his *káṇiyáḷar*, the ancestors from whom he inherited his lands.

When any of these ceremonies are performed, everything must be done strictly according to ancient precedent; and, as I have said before, any accident, however trivial, is looked upon as a bad omen, and therefore every precaution is taken to prevent the occurrence of one. After any ceremony has been performed, the chief actor in it takes care not to give anything away from his house the same day, such as paddy,

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* Literally, "grain abundance," a euphemistic word. See my Paper on the Language of the Threshing-floor. It is the *akyála* or *Deviyanné-ví* of the Siṇhalese which is offered to the gods, and more especially to the goddess Pattini and to Kataragama Deviyó. (C. A. S. Journal, 1880, p. 50; 1883, p. 58.) It seems also that some of this new rice goes to Buddha, or rather to the *viháré*. (*Id.*, 1880, p. 50; 1883, p. 56.)

† There is an accurate account of the eighteen *Kuḍimakkaḷ* by the late Jaffna Kachchéri Mudaliyár, printed with the Administration Report of the Government Agent of the Northern Province for 1883, p. 144 A.

‡ The Kandyans observe the same custom. (See Journal, 1880, p. 50, and Journal, 1883, p. 55, extract from Knox.)

oil, salt, or money ; but there is no objection to his receiving such articles.*

There are many superstitions connected with agriculture, generally among the more primitive Tamil peasantry. For instance, certain days fixed by astrologers or the almanacs are called "worm days" (*puḻunáḷ*), and anything sown on such days is supposed to be liable to be eaten by worms. On some days the sap is supposed to run up, and therefore on them fruit trees may be planted, while on other days it is supposed to run down, and such days are suitable for the planting of bulbs.†

Various charms‡ are used to prevent the attacks of flies, worms, crabs, and other pests. Olas, sprinkled with saffron-water, and previously charmed by the repetition over them of *mantirams* for hours together, are tied to the plants for this purpose. Sometimes with the same object the cultivator makes a vow of a new earthen pot with which to celebrate a *poṉkal* after the reaping of the crops.

There is still a widely-prevailing belief in the evil-eye (*kaṇṇúṟu*) and the evil-tongue (*návúṟu*).§ The visitor who

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* Superstition and self-interest are here in most convenient agreement.

† *Cf.* the American song quoted by Mr. Bell :—

"If ye plant yer corn on the growin' moon,
And put up the lines for crows,
You'll find it will bear, and yer wheat will, too,
If it's decent land where't grows.
"But potatoes now are a different thing,
They want to grow down, that is plain ;
And don't ye see you must plant for that
When the moon is on the wane."

(C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 68.)

‡ See Note (3).

§ Hence the proverb கல் எறிக்குத் தப்பினாலும் கண் எறிக்குத் தப்பக்கூடாது (*kal eṛikkut tappiṉálum kaṇ eṛikkut tappak kúḍátu*) "Though one may escape the cast of a stone, he cannot escape the glance of an evil-eye." (Perc., 2216.) "The evil-eye (கண்ணூறு) and the evil-tongue (நாவூறு) are feared very generally. To avert their influence as regards fruits, &c., in a garden, it is common to put up some object of attraction, as a water-pot whitewashed, inverted on a stump, and dotted with black spots, &c. In some enclosures grotesque images are seen." (*Ibid*) These pots may be seen also in Siṉhalese gardens.

travels along the roads about Jaffna will not fail to notice among the tobacco, brinjal, and other crops frequent and more or less elaborate "scare-crows" (*veruḷi*) of various grotesque shapes. These are not intended to frighten birds, but to be a protection against the evil-eye.* It is hoped that they will divert the attention of the passer-by, and prevent his making a too close scrutiny of the crop itself—a scrutiny which might have a baneful effect upon it.†

The use of a conventional language by the cultivators I need not here enlarge upon.

NOTES.

(1).—ASTROLOGY IN AGRICULTURE.

From the "*Pañcháṇkam*‡ for the Táraṇa year 1806 of the *Sálivákaṇa* (1884-5) calculated by Irakunátaiyar son of Santirasékaraiyar, of Nallúr, near Jaffna, and printed at the Private Press at Vaṇṇainakar (Vaṇṇárpaṇṇai) Jaffna," I extract the following:—

Several "lucky hours"—generally on different days of the

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* They serve, however, also to keep away monkeys.

† The late Government Agent of the Northern Province, Mr. Dyke, on one occasion, in 1867, encamped at Káratívu among the paddy fields, and rode round and inspected the paddy just ready to be reaped. The crop that harvest was a very good one, giving a rent to Government of over 3,000 rix-dollars, but next year the rent fell to a little over 600 rix-dollars. The people attributed the failure of the crop to Mr. Dyke's inspection of the fields. This was carrying the evil-eye theory rather far, for it was not the crop that was inspected that failed, but the succeeding one. I suppose the former was too far advanced to be affected.

‡ The Indian Almanac derives its name Pañcháṇkam (*pañcha* five, *aṇka*, divisions) from its giving the time of commencement and duration of five important things—1st *váram*, the Saturday ; 2nd *titi*, lunar day ; 3rd *nakshatram*, the constellation for the day ; 4th *yókam* ; 5th *karaṇam*. For the performance of the many ceremonies which his religion enjoins, it is necessary for a Hindú to examine one and all of these five essentials, to determine whether the time is propitious or not." (Paper by Captain Mackenzie on the "Pañcháṇkam" in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III., p. 137.)

month—are given for each month, during which a particular agricultural operation is carried on, thus :—

1.—*The ploughing festival* (*E'rmaṉkalam*) may be begun (1), on Thursday, the 7th day of the month *Chittirai** at 15¾ *náḷikais*‡ after dark when the stars Suváti and Veḷḷi‡ are at the zenith in the sign *Makaram* ;§ (2) on Thursday, the 21st of the same month at 7 o'clock in the morning, when the human shadow is ten feet long, in *Mituṉam* ; (3) the same day, 13 *náḷikais* after dark, when the moon is setting, in *Makaram*.

2.—*Preparation of the Field.*—There are seventeen occasions—viz., four in April,‖ three in May, four in June, three in July, and four in August, on which the fields may be manured and ridges made, &c. The days are Mondays and Thursdays, except that there is one Wednesday in May and three in June, and one Friday in August. The favourable hour is, at night six times, in the forenoon five times, twice in the afternoon, twice at sunset, once at noon, and once at dawn.

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* That is, April 11th to May 11th (31 days in the Tamil month).

† *Náḷikai* = Siṅhalese *peya* = 24 minutes.

‡ Venus.

§ The Tamil names of the signs of the zodiac are—

1 Méḍam	= Aries	7 Tulám	= Libra
2 Iḍapam	= Taurus	8 Viruchchikam	= Scorpio
3 Mituṉam	= Gemini	9 Taṉusu	= Sagittarius
4 Karkkaḍakam	= Cancer	10 Makaram	= Capricornus
5 Chiṅkam	= Leo	11 Kumpam	= Aquarius
6 Kaṉṉi	= Virgo	12 Míṉam	= Pisces

‖ Though I use the English names of the months, it must be understood that the months intended begin on the 11th or 12th of the English month, or thereabouts; thus, in 1884–85,

April	means	April 11th to May 11th.
May	do.	May 12th to June 12th.
June	do.	June 13th to July 14th.
July	do.	July 14th to August 14th.
August	do.	August 15th to September 14th.
September	do.	September 15th to October 14th.
October	do.	October 15th to November 13th.
November	do.	November 14th to December 13th.
December	do.	December 14th to January 11th.
January	do.	January 12th to February 10th.
February	do.	February 11th to March 11th.
March	do.	March 11th to April 11th.

3.—*Sowing.*—Two days in June, four in July, four in August, three in September, four in October, and three in November,—in all twenty times. The favourite days are Wednesday and Friday, then Thursday and Sunday ; Monday is chosen once, Tuesday and Saturday never.

4.—*Reaping.*—Twelve days in January, seven in February, and four in March. Every day except Tuesday and Sunday.* Time,—generally at sunset or night.

5.—*Heaping up the Grain for Threshing.*—January, February, and March in the asterisms† Kártikai, Tiruvátirai, A'yiliyam, Uttiram, Suváti, Kéḍḍai, Uttiráḍam, Chatayam, Révati, and the *ilakkiṉams* Mituṉam, Karkkaḍakam, Chiṉkam, Viruchchikam, and Kumpam.

6.—*Threshing.*—Thursday and Friday are the proper days, on account of the saying, "if you thresh on Sunday, the kúḷis will carry away one-tenth, on Monday one-eleventh, on Tuesday one-eighth, on Saturday, one-twentieth."

7.—*Bringing home the grain.*—Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, the asterims Paraṇi, Urókiṇi, Tiruvátirai, Makam,

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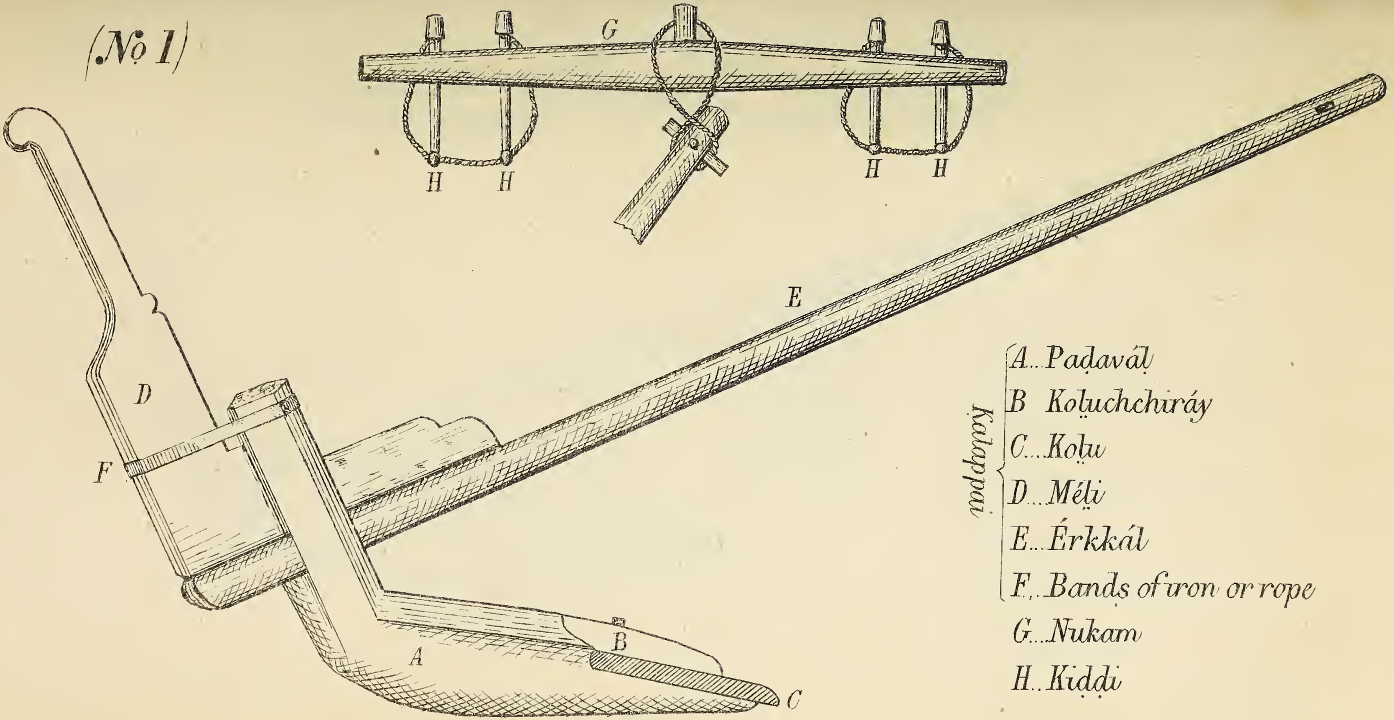
* "Sunday, Tuesday, and Saturday are, as a rule, considered unlucky days, Sunday being not quite so bad as the other two." (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III., p. 138.)

† *Nakshattiram* = Siṉhalese *ṇekata.*—These are twenty-seven in number, and are the constellations through which the moon in her monthly course passes. Great importance is attached to them in astrological calculations. They are divided into male, female, and neuter ; good, bad, and indifferent ; those which look upwards, those which look downwards, and those which look straightforward. Each *nakshattiram* is divided into four parts, called *poda*, and two and a-half *nakshattirams* equal a *rási*, or sign of the zodiac." (*Ibid*, p. 138.)

The Tamil names of the asterisms are :—

1 Achchuviṉi	10 Makam	19 Múlam
2 Paraṇi	11 Púram	20 Púráḍam
3 Kárttikai	12 Uttiram	21 Uttiráḍam
4 Urókiṇi	13 Attam	22 Tiruvóṇam
5 Mirukasíriḍam	14 Chittirai	23 Aviḍḍam
6 Tiruvátirai	15 Suváti	24 Satayam
7 Punarpúsam	16 Visákam	25 Púraḍḍáti
8 Púsam	17 Aṉusham	26 Uttiraḍḍáti
9 A'yiliyam	18 Kéḍḍai	27 Révati

(No 1)

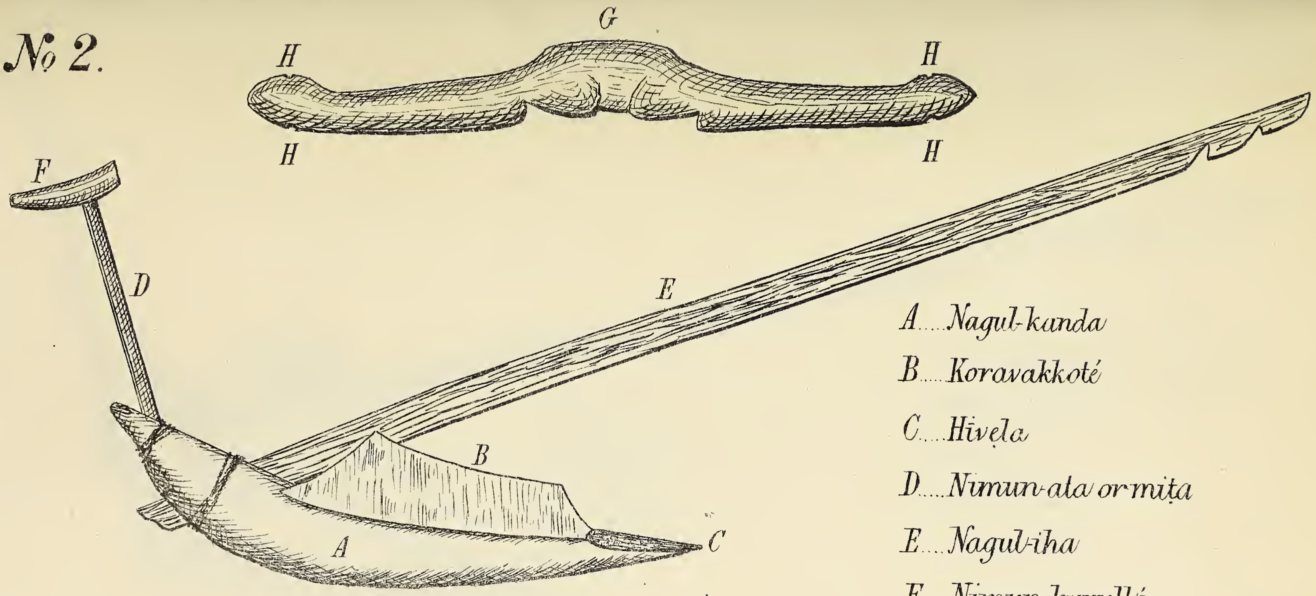


Kalappai:
A...Paḍavál
B Koḷuchchiráy
C...Koḷu
D...Méḷi
E...Érkkál
F...Bands of iron or rope

G...Nukam
H...Kiḍḍi

S G.O.Lith: K.M.P.

No. 2.



A.....Nagul-kanda

B.....Koravakkoté

C.....Hīveḷa

D.....Nimun-ata or miṭa

E.....Nagul-iha

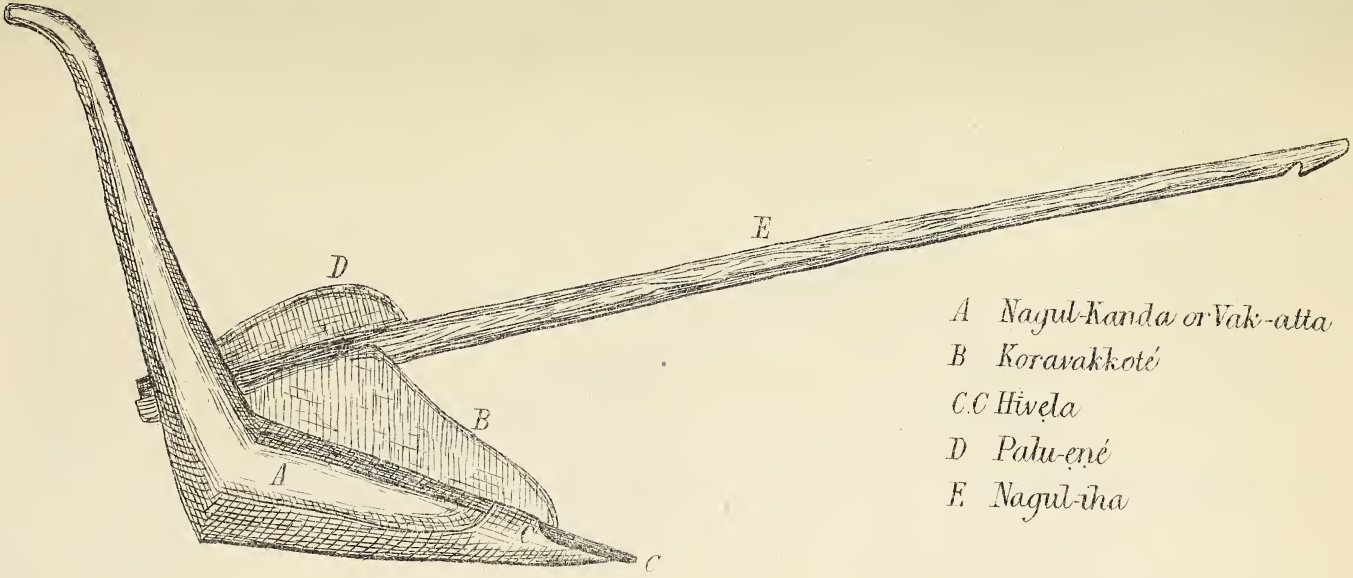
F.....Nimun-kuruḷḷá

G.....Viya-gaha

H.....Holes for the ropes (viya-bána) to pass through to attach the oxen

Baḍawata Nagula (Kandyan)

No. 3.

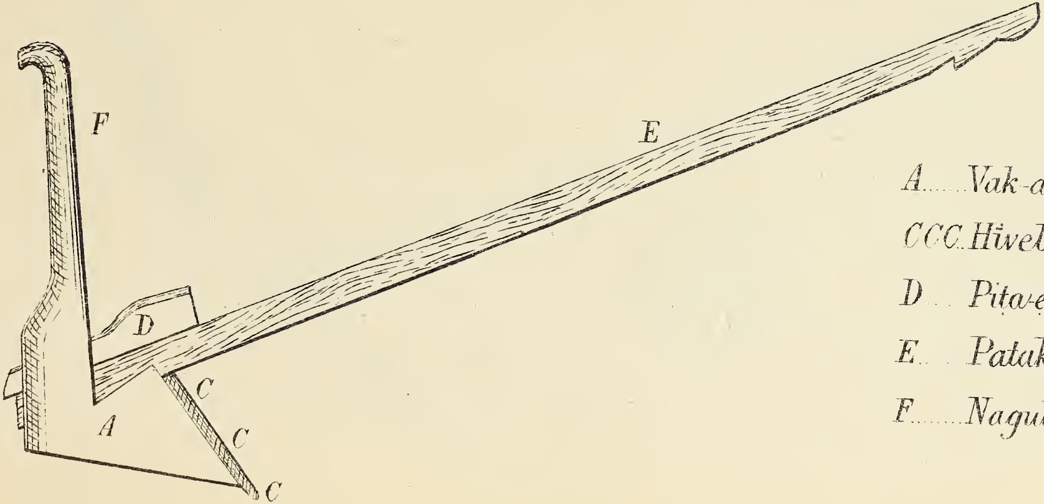


A Nagul-Kanda or Vak-atta
B Koravakkoté
C.C Hiveḷa
D Palu-eṇé
E Nagul-iha

Koku Nagula (Kandyan)

S.G.O. Lith.

(№ 4)



A......Vak-atta

CCC.Hīvela

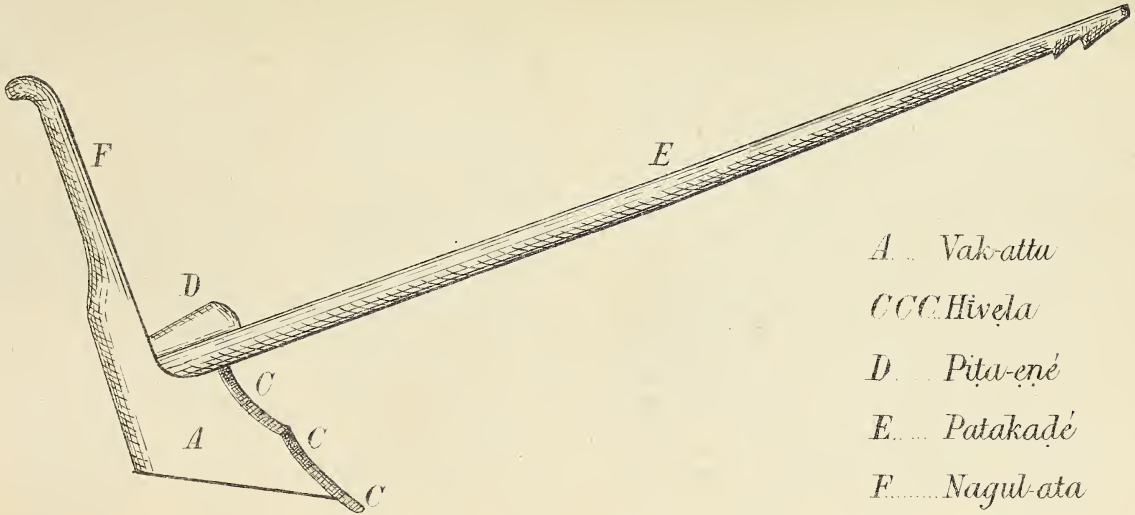
D... Piṭa-ęnę́ or Palu-ęnę́

E... Patakaḍé

F......Nagul-ata or Nimun-ata

Tani Hęḍé Nagula (Western Province)

(№ 5)



A ... Vak-attu

CCC Hīvẹla

D ... Piṭa-ẹṇé

E ... Patakaḍé

F ... Nagul-ata

Hẹḍa-deké Nagula (Western Province)

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Attam, Visákam, Tiruvóṇam, the *ilakkiṇams* Iḍapam, Karkkaḍakam, Chiṉkam, Viruchchikam, Kumpam, at the rising of Iráku and Kuḷikaṉ, the grain may be brought home.

8.—*Storing the Paddy in baskets, bins, &c.*—On four occasions in January, seven in February, and four in March—any day except Sunday and Tuesday,—generally at sunset or night.

9.—*Eating the new rice.*—On eleven occasions in January, six in February, and two in March,—generally at night.

10.—*Distributing the Grain.*—Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday; the asterisms, Achchuviṇi, Urókiṇi, Mirukasíriḍam, Punarpúsam, Púsam, Makam, Púram, Uttiram, Attam, Chittirai, Suváti, Visákam, Aṉusham, Uttiráḍam, Tiruvóṇam, Aviḍḍam, Uttiraḍḍati Révati; the lunar days (*titi*) Tutiyai, Tirutiyai, Pañchami, Saptami, Tasami, E'kátasi, Tuvátasi, Tirayótasi; the ilakkiṇams Iḍapam, Mituṉam, Chiṉkam, Kaṉṉi, Viruchchikam, Taṉusu, Kumpam, Míṉam; the eighth house being vacant, are the best times for distributing for household purposes the grain stored up in baskets, &c., and for giving and receiving grain. On the above-mentioned lunar days, week days, and asterisms, in

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Siṉhalese *lagnaya.* The *laknams* are synonymous with the twelve *rási.* (See C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 66 note.)

"On Wednesday one-third," omitted from the Almanac.

Iráku (Siṉhalese, *Ráhu, Graha*), *Caput Draconis,* the ascending node which, with *Kétu*, *Cauda Draconis*, the descending node, is feigned to cause eclipses by endeavouring to swallow the sun and moon.

Kuḷikaṉ, "one of the seven invisible planets said to be the son of Saturn —of special importance in astrological calculations." If it is invisible, it does not seem clear how the agriculturist is to know when it is rising.

Although we have thirty lunar days, yet we have names for sixteen *tithis* only, because the month being divided into two fortnights, fourteen of the names are common to both fortnights. (*Ind. Ant., loc. sit.*) It seems that the Siṉhalese have names for fifteen only. (C. A. S. Journal, 1883, p. 64.) The Tamil names are :—

1 Piratamai	7 Saptami	13 Tirayótasi
2 Tutiyai	8 Ashḍami	14 Saturttasi
3 Tirutiyai	9 Navami	15 Pourṇimai
4 Saturtti	10 Tasami	16 Amávásiyai
5 Pañchami	11 E'kátasi	
6 Sashḍi	12 Tuvátasi	

the *karaṇam** Viḍḍi, and the *ilakkiṇams* Méḍam, Karkkaḍakam, Tulám, and Makaram, are the best times for buying and selling paddy.

Lucky hours are also given for commencing the following agricultural operations, which form a large part of the occupation of a Jaffna peasant :—

(1) Digging wells or tanks, and making embankments—every month in the year, except September, December, and February.
(2) Planting young plantain trees—every month.
(3) Do. young arekanut trees—September to March.
(4) Do. cocoanuts—every month.
(5) Do. creepers, &c.—no month specified.
(6) Do. betel—April, May, September, June.
(7) Sowing and transplanting brinjals, chillies, &c.—every month.
(8) Planting yams—no particular month.
(9) Tethering cattle and making pinfolds in tobacco gardens —August, November.
(10) Digging tobacco gardens—October to December.
(11) Sowing and transplanting tobacco—August to March.
(12) Cutting tobacco plants, putting kuḍils, and drying tobacco leaves in the sun—March to June.
(13) Buying and selling tobacco—March to July.

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* Karaṇas are eleven in number, and divided into variable and invariable. They answer successively to half a tithi or lunar-day, Kimstughna being always assigned to the first half of the first tithi, and the variable Karaṇas, succeeding each other regularly through eight repetitions. They are followed by the three remaining invariable Karaṇas which conclude the month; Ehatuspad and Nága appertaining to Amávásyá, or the new moon, and Sakuṇi being appropriated to the latter half of the preceding tithi." (Colebrooke, quoted in *Ind. Ant.*, *loc. lit.*)

The Tamil names of the Karaṇáms are :—

1 Pavam	...	*i. e.*,	Lion	7 Viḍḍi	...	*i. e.*,	Cock
2 Pálavam	...	„	Tiger	8 Sakuṇam	...	„	Owl
3 Kaulavam	...	„	Pig	9 Saturppátam	...	„	Dog
4 Taitilam	...	„	Ass	10 Nákavam	...	„	Snake
5 Karasam	...	„	Elephant	11 Kimastukkiṇam		„	Worm
6 Vaṇisam	...	„	Ox				

(14) Tying tobacco leaves into bundles—March to June, August to October.
(15) Planting trees, &c.,—no particular month specified.
(16) Buying and selling cattle, &c.
(17) Branding and castrating cattle.

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(2).—Ceylon Ploughs.

As it may be interesting to compare the varieties of ploughs used by the natives of Ceylon in different parts of the country, I annex some sketches of Kandyan and Low-country (Siṉhalese) ploughs. It will be noticed that they are none of them of the same pattern as the Jaffna plough. (Plate No. 1.)

The principal plough used by the Kandyans is shown in Plate No. 2. It is called the *baḍavata nagula.* The handle (F) is generally a rude representation of a bird—hence its name *nimun-kurullá.* It is usually made of buffalo horn.

The other Kandyan plough is the *koku nagula* (Plate No. 3), which is used for muddy land. It does not run so smoothly as the *baḍavata nagula,* and is liable to stick in the ground. Turned over sideways, it is sometimes used as a mud-leveller, the cultivator standing on the flat part and holding on by a stick tied to the handle.

The ploughs used by the Siṉhalese of the Western Province are something like the *koku nagula* in shape, but generally smaller and lighter. There are two patterns in use in the Western Province (Plates Nos. 4 and 5), known as the *tani-hẹḍé nagula* ("single-shaped plough"), and the *hẹḍa-deké nagula* ("plough of two shapes"). The only difference between them is in the shape of the front of the *vakatta,* and consequently of the iron coulter or share with which it is faced. In the *hẹḍa-deké nagula* this, instead of being straight projects half-way down in a curve, to prevent its sinking too deep in the soil. It is, I suppose, on account of this division as it were of the share into two parts, that the plough is known by the curious name "the plough of two shapes." This plough is used more especially for *ówiṭa* land, and in *kẹkulaṉ* cultivation.

In the low-country plough the *koravakkoṭé* is now generally dispensed with, and the shaft rests on the *vakatta,* which is faced

with iron—the iron projects for an inch or two at the foot to form a share, which is often shaped like a cobra's hood. In the Jaffna and Kandyan ploughs the upper end of the share is inserted between the *vakatta* and the *koravak-koṭé*.

In the Jaffna plough the shaft is rounded—a veritable pole. This is not the case in the Siṇhalese ploughs. In the latter there is a notch* for the tying of the rope at the end; in the former this purpose is answered by a horizontal peg passing through the pole. The Siṇhalese shafts are usually made of *kitul* wood.

The low-country yokes are the same shape as the Jaffna yoke, but instead of pegs at each end, only the one in the centre is used.

The Kandyan yoke is heavier and more elaborate; notches supply the place of the centre peg. In both Kandyan and low-country Siṇhalese yokes, the ropes attaching the oxen to them pass through holes at the extremities.

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(3).—Charms.

I.—*Against Rats.*

ஓம் எலியனார்பிள்ளை புலியனார்வாறார் பூனையனார் காவல் எலி எல்லாம் கட்டி அப்புறம்போகவே சிவாகா.†

ஓம் எலியனார்பிள்ளை ஆனையானார் காவல் எலிநெற்புலம் விடடு புறப்புலம்போகவே சிவாகா.

ஓம் எலியனார்பிள்ளை புலியனார்வாறார் பூனையனார்காவல் எலிஇப்புலம்விடடு புறப்புலம்போகவே சிவாகா.

ஓம் இந்திரபுரத்தில் எலிப்புலிவாறார் எலிஇப்புலம்விட்டு அப்புலம்போகவே சிவாகா.

1. *O'm!*‡ Mr.§ Rat! Mr. Tiger is coming, Mr. Cat is watching. May all the rats go away together to another quarter.‖ Let it be so! ¶

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* Often two, to provide for the employment of different-sized oxen. The length of the shaft in all the ploughs is from eight to ten feet.

† Properly சுவாகா, an exclamation of mystic import, used in making an oblation to the gods.

‡ The mystic invocation to the Hindu Triad.

§ These honorifics are hardly translateable.

‖ Literally, "to that side," or perhaps புலம் should be translated throughout by "field."

¶ See C. A. S. Journal, 1883, page 76, note.

2. *O'm!* Mr. Rat! Mr. Elephant is watching. May the rats quit the paddy field, and go to another quarter. Let it be so!

3. *O'm!* Mr. Rat! Mr. Tiger is coming, Mr. Cat is watching. May the rats leave this and go somewhere else. Let it be so!

4. *O'm!* Mr. Rat-tiger is coming from the city of Indra. May the rats leave this and go somewhere else. Let it be so!

II.—*Against Worms.*

ஓம்! விலும்லோகம் விட்டுணுலோகம் நகலோகம் சந்திரலோகம் தேவலோகத்துக்குட்பட்ட புழுக்கள் [புழுபுழு] எல்லாத்துக்கும தம்பிரானிட்த்தே சென்று தம்பிரானருளிச்செய்தபடியால் கள்ளிவனத்துட்சென்று கள்ளிவெட்டிச் சுட்டுப்போடச் சொன்னபடியால் நானும் வாயிலேநெருப்பும் அக்குமாலையுமாய் நின்றேன் குத்தப்புழு மடிச்சுக்கட்டி கொப்புப் புழு குலை ஈச்சன் கூழைவாலன் குறுங்கழுத்தன் வில்லூன்றி வேர்க்கறையான் கந்துப்புழு தத்துவெட்டியன் எப்பெயர்ப்பட்ட புழுக்கௌெல்லாம் இப்புனம் விட்டு அப்புனம் போகவே சிவாகா.

O'm! I went before the Supreme, and as he graciously permitted me to go to the milk-hedge* forest, and cut milk-hedge and burn all the worms that are in Brahma world, Vishṇu world, Nága world, Moon world, and the world of the Gods. I myself stood with fire in my mouth and wearing a necklace of sacred beads. Let these, viz., stinging worms, worms which fold, branch worms, branch-eating worms, bob-tailed worms, short-necked worms, worms which bend like a bow, white ants, jointed worms, grass-hoppers, and all worms of any name whatever, quit this field and go to another field. Let it be so!

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(4).—Report by the Chief Mutaliyár and Irrigation Mutaliyár on the Customs, &c., as regards Paddy Cultivation in Batticaloa.†

There are three kinds of harvest in the paddy cultivation of this District, viz. :—

1. The Muṇmári;
2. The Kâlaveḷḷaṇmai; and
3. The Ettálai.

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* *Euphorbia Tirucalli.* Siṇh., *Nava-handi.*

† Administration Report, Government Agent, Eastern Province, 1870, pp. 171–3.

1st.—In the "Muṇmári" there are two different modes of cultivation,—one under the ploughing system, commenced about September, and the other under the trampling system, commenced about January in the following year; but the age of the paddy sown in the former being longer than that used in the latter, the harvest of both takes place simultaneously in April.

2ndly.—The second, or the "Kálaveḷḷaṇmai" cultivation, which is termed "Piṇmári" in Trincomalee, is entirely under the trampling system, and is commenced in March, and sometimes in April: its harvest takes place in August.

3rdly.—The third, or the "Ettálai" cultivation, which is also carried on under the trampling system, is commenced in August, and its harvest comes on about the end of September or the beginning of October.

In the cultivation of a field, a portion of the land is set apart for the "Póḍi," or proprietor, which is called "Muṭṭaḍḍu," and another to the "Muṇṇilaikkáraṇ," or the head field-servant, called the "Muṇṇilai vayal"; and the rest is divided between the cultivators, or "Veḷiyáṇs," which divisions are called "Veḷiyáṇ vayal." As a general rule, about a fifth of the field is taken as "Muṭṭaḍḍu," but if the field be more than twenty avaṇams' sowing extent, about a fourth is cultivated as "Muṭṭaḍḍu," and in consideration of the responsibility and supervision of the whole field by the "Muṇṇilaikkáraṇ," who is the sole manager of the cultivation, the "Muṇṇilai vayal" either equals, or is a little larger than, the "Muṭṭaḍḍu"; and the remainder is divided equally, according to the extent cultivatable by each man, having respect to the facilities for cultivation, the quality of the soil, and the means of irrigation, as well as the expenses of fencing and watching. Care is however taken that each man's share shall not be less than two avaṇams' extent, nor exceed three avaṇams' extent at most. There are, however, exceptional cases founded on either the fertility or the sterlitiy of the soil, where the Muṇṇilaikkáraṇ has an extra portion, called "Ilavisam" to cultivate.

For instance, in a field of $20\frac{1}{2}$ avaṇams' extent the divisions and number of cultivators are determined as follows:—

Muṭṭaḍḍu	4	avaṇams	= $20\frac{1}{2}$ avaṇams;
Muṇṇilai vayal	4	,,	
Ilavisam...	$0\frac{1}{2}$	,,	
Six Veḷiyáṇ vayals, at 2 avaṇams each	12	,,	

making the whole to be eight "vayals" including the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" and "Muṉṉilai vayals," and with these six "Veḷiyáṉs" or cultivators (and two other coolies for "Muṭṭaḍḍu" and "Muṉṉilai vayals") the whole field is cultivated. For the sowing are required 20½ avaṉams' seed and 16 avaṉams' maintenance paddy at 2 avaṉams each—equals 36 avaṉams in all; which is liable to a charge of 50 per cent. profit, payable out of the crop. The Moors (except those of E'rávúr and Akkaraippaṭṭu) do not charge 50 per cent., because prohibited by their religion, but exact a portion of the cultivator's share, which amounts to double the quantity of the maintenance paddy.

When no agreement is made for the cultivation of "Muṭṭaḍḍu" for the "Póḍi," but advances of seed and maintenance paddy are made, 50 per cent. is charged on both the seed and maintenance paddy; and the "Póḍi" is entitled to a proportionate share of the produce, as he would be of the sowing extent of the land.

The "Póḍi" is entitled to the free labour of all the field-servants in the cultivation of the "Muṭṭaḍḍu," that is, if the cultivators agree to sow a "Muṭṭaḍḍu" for the "Póḍi" to the produce whereof he has exclusive right, but he has to pay a cooly who looks after the "Muṭṭaḍḍu"; and the "Muṉṉilaikkáraṉ," or the manager and superintendent of the cultivation, is also entitled to a certain degree of free labour which is performed for him in the cultivation of the "Muṉṉilai vayal," and which free labour is rendered to him partly because of the attention and general superintendence of the cultivation of the field, and partly from fear of the "Muṉṉilaikkáraṉ," who will make them forfeit the perquisites of the cultivation (which will be seen in the sequel) if they refuse to render him free labour to a certain extent. The amount of this free labour is as follows:—

The field-servant must put up the ridges of the "Muṉṉilai vayal," sow it and fence it, along with the cooly of the "Muṉṉilai vayal"; the fence-sticks are to be supplied by the field-servants; no fence, by custom of the country, is apportioned for the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" and "Muṉṉilai vayal," which is divided in common with the fences of the field-servants; cattle for trampling are to be supplied by the "Póḍi" or the "Muṉṉilaikkáraṉs," unless each field-servant has his own cattle. The usual hire of a yoke of *buffaloes* for trampling is one avaṉam of paddy, and a shilling and sixpence in money, called "Kaikkúli," if paid in advance; and one and a-half avaṉam of paddy, if paid after the harvest.

The hire for ploughing bullocks is one avaṇam if paid in advance, and one and one third avaṇam, or forty marakkals of paddy at the harvest.

Before commencing cultivation, astrologers are consulted to find out an "E'rnáḷ," or an auspicious day, to commence cultivation; and that being fixed upon (which is generally at nights), the cultivators go and wait at the field till the Pleiades rise or come to the meridian, and then the cultivators plough or trample the land, sow a few seeds, and have a small feast in the open field. After cultivation, the plain is fenced by the joint labours of all the cultivators, and watched at nights until the crop is reaped and stacked.

If the land is not commuted, the tythe goes to the Government renter, but if commuted, the whole produce of the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" (after paying two avaṇams to the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" cooly) goes to the "Póḍi." Tythe and seed-paddy, with 50 per cent. profit, are only taken from the produce of "Muṇṇilai vayal," and those of the "Veḷiyáṇs" are subject to various charges, as in the following instance, viz.:—Suppose the produce of one cultivator's share, three avaṇams in extent, yields twenty avaṇams of paddy, he will have to pay

2	avaṇams	0	marakkál..	Tythe.
3	,,	0	,, ...	Seed-paddy.
1	,,	15	,, ...	Interest on it.
2	,,	0	,, ...	Maintenance paddy.
1	,,	0	,, ...	Interest on it.
0	,,	15	,, ...	Removal of above.
10	,,	0	,,	

2	avaṇams	2	marakkál..	Cattle-hire.
1	,,	10	,, ..	Hire of reaping his share.
0	,,	12	,, ...	Do. Muṭṭaḍḍu.
0	,,	15	,, ...	Do. bird-driver.
0	,,	9	,, ...	Do. Vaḍḍai Vitánai, or Superintendent.
0	,,	9	,, ...	Do. removal of Muṭṭaḍḍu.
0	,,	2	,, ...	Do. hunter for driving wild pigs, &c.
0	,,	4	,, ...	Do. charmer of flies, &c.
0	,,	2	,, ...	For temple or mosque, and for the poor.
0	,,	5	,, ...	Arakku and charm for devils.
16	,,	10	,,	

which leaves a balance of 3 avaṇams 20 marakkals to the cultivator.

For threshing, Thursdays are considered the best days to commence, and certain charms and ceremonies are performed to keep off "Pútams," or devils, from carrying away the fruits of their labour. The charm is called "Arakku," which consists of the following stuffs shut up in a box, viz., silver, copper, iron, coral, pearl, chank, valampuri (a fruit), chadaimudi (a vegetable), and some arrack in a vial, and buried in the centre of the threshing-floor with margosa leaves, &c., over which the sheaves are heaped and the cattle turned on them for threshing. In addition to these charms and ceremonies, to keep off the devil from stealing the paddy they begin to use a peculiar slang to keep the devils ignorant of what is spoken. For instance, the threshing cattle, instead of being termed "Mádu" as usual, go by the name "Várikkálan," the meaning of which is "productive-legged"; the "Marakkál," or the measure, is termed "kaṇakkaṇ," meaning "accountant"; the baskets are called "Peruváyaṇ," or "broad-mouthed," and every implement has a different name in the threshing-floor. All expressions that have meanings suggestive of decrease or other ill-omened significations are avoided, and the word "multiply" is always substituted. For instance, the expression :—

Drive the bullocks.........	is rendered	Multiply the "Várikkálan."
Sweep the corn	„	Multiply the "Poli."
Bring the "Marakkál"...	„	Multiply the "Kaṇakkaṇ."
Fill the basket	„	Multiply the "Peruváyaṇ."
Bring some water...........	„	Multiply some "Veḷḷam."
Go home for rice...	„	Multiply home for "Veḷḷai."
Call him to take this and deliver it at home.......	„	Multiply him to multiply this and to multiply at home.
&c.,		&c.,

In threshing, cattle are driven with a song, the purport of which is to invoke the deities to give them a good produce.

The perquisites of the field-servants are the following :—At the reaping of the "Vayals," each field-servant is entitled to eight bundles of the best crop of his "vayal," by way of "Putir"; and further, four bundles of corn, called "Kuruvimúlai" (bird nook). "Paiyali" (the "paḷḷam" of the water-course in the "vayal"), two "Marakkáls'" extent of the "vayal," is sown for the field-servant, to the produce whereof he is solely entitled. Besides, he gets "Aḍichchúḍu" (bottom of the stack that is wet), being sometimes three bundles, "Maṇṇáŋkaḍḍi" (bits of earth), the

off-scouring of the threshing-floor, "Patarkaḍai" (chaff), and "Kaṇḍumáṛi" (paddy between chaff and first-class paddy).

The coolies of the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" and "Muṇṇilai vayal" are entitled to similar perquisites from the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" and "Muṇṇilai vayal," respectively. On the day of reaping, the "Póḍi" attends the field to take an account of the crop, when the cooly of the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" puts up a shed for him covered with sheaves from the "Muṭṭaḍḍu," and when the shed is left unoccupied, the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" cooly becomes entitled to the sheaves with which he thatched the shed.

On the day of commencing the cultivation of the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" and "Muṇṇilai vayal," a feast is given by the "Póḍi" and the "Muṇṇilaikkáran," called the "Póḍi Viruntu" and "Muṇṇilai-viruntu," respectively. But this has died out now. "Tiṇḍa Chilavu" (a slight native lunch), called fine feast, is exacted from the "Póḍi" in the following way:—

If the "Póḍi," or sometimes a representative from the "Póḍi's" family, happens to be present at the field on the day that the sheaves are made up and stacked, one of the field-servants slyly approaches the "Póḍi" with a sheaf on the top of his head, and all at a sudden falls down with the sheaf and pretends to make a great noise, as if in agonising pain, when all the people in the field flock up to him, one after the other, and being interrogated "What ails you?" the pretender replies, "I suffer from pains in the loins, oppression in the chest, and colic;" and being asked to recommend the remedy, the pretender prescribes the remedy, and says that nothing less than it will effect a cure. A Moorman asks for cakes and fruits, but a Tamil man asks for cakes, fruits, and a bottle of arrack. "Unless these be brought and tied on my back, a cure will not be effected." When the "Póḍi" promises to procure the remedy, the man gets up, and not till then. This should be given first of all on the day that the threshing of the "Muṭṭaḍḍu" takes place, and cakes are to be prepared at the "Póḍi's" house by the wives of the field-servants, who must provide firewood, water, &c. If the remedy that the pretender wants be refused, or no notice is taken of it by the "Póḍi," all sorts of indignities or provocations are showered upon the "Póḍi" by the field-servants, who make an effigy of straw, called "Pampai," to represent the "Póḍi," which is stuck upon the Muṭṭaḍḍu stack of the crop, and then representations are made of the "Póḍi"

himself eating all the cakes named, by fixing to the mouth of the effigy mud or clay cakes made by the field-servants. Sometimes an ola and a stick are put into the hands of the effigy, to represent the "Póḍi" taking an account of the crop reaped. The denial on the part of the "Póḍi" is followed by a virtual denial of obedience to the orders of the "Póḍi," under the pretence of being sick from the surfeit of the repast given by the "Póḍi," which is ironical language.

If the "Póḍi" does not give the demanded repast, he, to maintain his respect with the field-servants, must by all means give five marakkáls of paddy to each field-servant; otherwise his stinginess will be thrown in his face in public, and kept up.

After the paddy is removed from the threshing-floor to the Póḍi's house, the field-servants must fetch straw from the threshing-floor, thatch the house of the Póḍi, and repair the fence of the garden, and then they get their discharge.

E. Somanada Mutaliyár,
Chief Mutaliyár.

A. D. Zylva,
Irrigation Mutaliyár.

Batticaloa, 24th February, 1871.

KASAGAL VIHA'RA.

By E. R. Gunaratna, Esq., *Atapattu Mudaliyár.*

The above is the name of a temple historically famous, but of which very little is known at present. During a trip to the Hambantoṭa District in February last, reference was made to it casually by a friend, and the few particulars gleaned from him were of such interest that a visit was paid to it with the intelligent Mudaliyár of the District.

The vihára is situated in the village Uḍayála in the Márákaḍa Resthouse Division of the Giruwá Pattu, on the minor road from Ranna to Wíráwila. Some are of opinion that it took its name from the hue of the robes of the large fraternity of monks that once on a time hallowed its precincts, so that even the rocks looked yellow *(kasa-gal)*; others, that the name was derived from the bright yellow flowers of the grove of *kiṇihiriya** trees with which the precincts abound, and which, when in blossom, completely hide the rocks. The latter conjecture seems most likely, as at the time of the visit these pretty flowers in full blossom were particularly striking on a number of trees, evidently the remnants of those which gave their name to this temple.

Our poets frequently refer to the gamboge hue of the *kiṇihiriya* flowers, in describing one of the rays that emanated from Buddha's person,† and the tree no doubt was considered ornamental in the parks and pleasure grounds.

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* *Cistus lobatus*, Rock-rose, Wild.

† In the *Kávyasékaraya*:—

Sapu peti sadana lesa
Kiṇihiriyamal isina lesa.—Verse 111.

"(Golden rays flashed about) as if champaka petals were set, or *kiṇihiriya* flowers strewn about."

Veta nika mal maharu, mutu dẹl lakala piyakaru
Supul kiṇihiri turu, sẹdíbẹbalena rantoran yuru.—Verse 61.

"The kiṇihiriya trees in full blossom, with the nika flowers close by, like a valuable pearl network, resembled golden arches in gay display."

In the *Paravisandése*, too :—

Sinduwara kesara kiṇihiribijupura mandara
Magatura nohẹra tura tura wala bala mitura.—Verse 54.

A spacious path leads to the temple premises from the road. One first has to enter the pansala, built recently, and quite unattractive. About fifty yards from this is the temple, a small structure, but bearing clear traces of its antiquity in the huge granite slabs that are used for the steps and the foundation stones.

From the following lines of the *Maháwaṉsa*, it would seem that this temple was originally built by Mahá Wijaya Báhu, who reigned in 1061 A.D. :—

Bhallátaka viháravho tatheva paragámako
Kásagallavhayo chanda girivhayavihárako—Cap. 60, v. 61.

The present incumbent is Mátara Sóbhita Unnánsé, a man of fair intelligence and some learning. He stated that it is traditionally stated that the Bó tree that exists here sprung from the second seed of the famous tree at Anurádhapura, and as this temple was then the resort of Arahats, it was conveyed with great pomp and planted here; that the sovereigns who thereafter reigned in the Island were scrupulous in the upkeep of these premises, and spent large sums in embellishing them; that a substantial granite parapet wall, supported by stone pillars of eight and ten feet in height, was built around the temple grounds;* that within the enclosure there were several edifices that stood on granite pillars, the principal of which was the *Daḷadá Mandiraya*, the repository in which the famous tooth-relic was placed, on a solid granite base, 52 feet by 32 feet, and 3½ feet high.†

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* There are remains of this wall yet to be seen.

† Though our records are silent, there is no doubt that the internecine wars and the ravages of the Tamils, which occasionally troubled the peaceful state of the Island, must have resulted in the removal of the Daḷadá relic from one place to another, and it must have been at times preserved in the Ruhuṇa division, when the kings had their relatives stationed there. We read in the *Maháwaṉsa*, that in the reign of King Vikrama Báhu, 1111 A.D., on account of his despotism and hostility to the State religion, the monks proceeded with the tooth-relic and the bowl to the Ruhuṇa Division, and lived in convenient places:—

Dáṭhá dhátum varam patta dhátu mádáya Rohaṇam.
Gantvá vásamakappesum phásut ṭháne tahiṉ tahiṉ.—Cap. 61, v. 61.

The above is the short traditional history of this noted temple that the priest kindly supplied, and there was much in the place to substantiate a good deal of it.

The dágaba, about forty feet high, is built on the summit of a rock, which commands a splendid view of the surrounding country.

On questioning the priest for old books and records which would afford a clue to the history of this temple, he produced an interesting document, which, upon close examination, proved to be genuine. It is a letter written by John Gideon Loten, who was the Dutch Governor of Ceylon from 1752 to 1757,* to the Siamese Priest Upáli, who was the principal Thera sent by the King of Siam at the request of Kírti Ṣri Rájasiṉha, 1753 A.D., to revive the Upasampadá ordination then extinct in Ceylon. A copy of it, with a transcript and translation, is annexed :—

තෙජෝබල ප්‍රාක්‍රම ප්‍රබලරිපු මර්දන එකච්ඡත්‍ර ප්‍රථුල ප්‍රසිද්ධ ලඞ්කා
ශ්‍රී රාජෙස්වරවූ—ස්වාමිදරුවන්වහන්සේගේ—උතුම්වූ—මහවාසල
ට සියම්දෙසයෙන් සම්ප්‍රාප්තව සිටින උපාලී මහතෙරුන්වහන්
සේට බොහෝසේ දෙවියෝ වැඩසලස්වා රක්ෂාකරදෙන පිනිස පෙ
න්වා එවන වගහැටිනම්.

මට ඔප්පුකරන හැටියට තමුන්වහන්සේගෙ නමින් අපේ තානා
පති මතීැන්රැසිං උන්නාන්සේට බාරකරන්ඩ යෙදුනු ලියවිලි පත්‍ර
ය මට ලැබී කියවා බැලූතැන තමුන්නාන්සේ සියම් දේසයෙන් පිට
ත්වනු තෙක් පටන් ඒ ගමනේදී කුරච්චලයකට ඉඩමක් නැතුව
සැමදේම හොඳින් සිද්ධවුනායයනවග සහ ත්‍රීකුනාමලෙ සැදිසිටි නි
ලමක්කාර මහත්තැන් විසින් බොහෝසේ දයා නම්බු උපකාර
පෙන්වන්ඩත් යෙදුනාය යණවගද එසිං දකින්ඩ යෙදී එවෙනි
අති මිත්‍ර දයකෙවූ දන්වා එවීම පිනිස මාගේ මහත් සතුටුවීමේ
වග දන්වමිනුත්; මාගේ සැම පුළුවන්කමේ පමනට සියළු ප්‍රකාර
යෙන්ම තමුන්නාන්සේව ප්‍රසන්නකරවීමට වෙනුව මාගේ හිත් අදි
ප්ප්‍රා කැමැත්තේවග සහතකකරමිනුත් එවෙනිවගවලට අති
මහත්වූ සැටියකින් මම සන්තෝස ප්‍රීතිවෙන්ඩ ඕනෑව තිබෙනුය ඒ
මක්නිසාද කීවොත්—උතුම්වූ—මහවාසලට සැමවිස්වාස ප්‍රසන්නවූ

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* Full particulars of the arrival of Upáli in Ceylon, and the cordial reception accorded him, are narrated at length in the 99th chapter of the *Maháwaṉsa*, and in a history of the Upasampada Ordination, in a pamphlet called the *Syámanikáya Dípániya*, published in 1880.

වැඩ පනිවුඩවල් කරකියා ඔප්පුකරන හැටියට මාගේ වෙරවැයම නිතර ඇතුව තිබුනු නිසාත් තව ඉදිරියටත් ඇතුව තිබෙන නිසාත් තමාය—ඒ ඇර—සියම්දේසයෙන් ආ තානාපති මහත්තැන්ගේ වැඩකාරකෙනෙක් නැවෙහිට ගෙනත් මට බාරකරන හැටියට දුන්නායකියා කියමින් හේවානම් කෙනෙක් එම තානාපති මහත්තැන් මෙතනින් පිටත්වගිය දවසක් දෙදවසකට පස්සෙ කඩදාසි පත්‍රයක් මට ඔප්පුකලා ඒ කියන කඩදාසියෙ පිට වාසගම කියවන්ඩ පුළුවන් කෙනෙක් මේ මැද සම්බ වෙන්ඩ නැතිසෙයින් මේ සමග එවෙනි කඩදාසි පත්‍රයත් පිටත්කර එවනවා සොදෙයිකියා කල්පනාවුනු නිසා එසේ පිටත්කර එව්වා මෙම පත්‍රය, තමුන්නාන්සේ නමට ලියවීතිබෙනවානම් එවිට එම පත්‍රය පොරොත්තු කරගන්ඩ යෙදෙන හැටියටත් නැතුව වෙන හැටියක් නම් එවිට ඒ කඩදාසි පත්‍රයේ ලියවී තිබෙනවග සුරුක්කමෙන් ලියා එන්ඩ යෙදෙන හැටියට පමනක් නොව මෙම පත්‍රය නැවත පිටත්කර එවන්ඩ යෙදෙන හැටියටත් ඉල්ලා හිටියද්දය—තවද මම තමුන්වහන්සේ වෙනුවට මහත් නම්බු ඉස්තුතියක් ඇතුව පසුවෙමින් මෙසේ ලියා පිටත්කලෙ වර්‍ෂ එක්දහස් සත්සිය පනස් හතරක්වූ ජූලි මස සතරවෙනි ගුරුදින කොලොඹනම්කස්තේල්ලේදීය.

ඒ වගත්,

මෙසේ තමුන්නාන්සේගේ වැඩ පනිවුඩ
කෙරීමට අදිප්ප්‍රා මිත්‍රවූ ජෙවන් ගිඩ්ඔන්
ලෝතැන් ගොවැ[illegible]දොරු වම්හ.

Tejó bala prákrama prabala ripu mardana ékacchatra prathula prasiddha Laṅkágra rájéswarawú utum swámidaruwanwahanségé utumwú maha wásalaṭa Siyam désayen sampráptava siṭina Upálí maha terunwahanshéṭa bohósé deviyó węḍa salaswá rakshá karadena pinisa penwá evana waga heṭi nam.

Maṭa oppukarana hęṭiyaṭa tamunwahansége namin apé tánápati Martęn Ręyiṇ unnánséṭa bára karanḍa yedunu liyawili patraya maṭa lębí kiyawá bęlú tęna, tamunnánsé Siyam désayen piṭatwanu tek paṭan é gamanédí kuraccalayakaṭa iḍamak nętuwa sęma dáma hondin siddhawunáya yana waga saha Tríkunámale sęḍi siṭi nilamakkára mahattęn wihin bohósé dayá nambu upakára penwaudat yedunáya yaṇa wagada eyiṇ dakinḍa yedi, eveni ati mitra dáyakawú danwá evíma pinisa mágé mahat satuṭu wímé waga danwaminut mágé sęma puḷuwankamé pamanaṭa siyaḷu prakára-yenma tamunnánséwa prasanna karawímaṭa wenuwa mágé hit adipprá kęmętté waga sattaka karaminut eveni waga walaṭa ati mahatwú sęṭiyakin mama santósa príti wenḍaónęwa tibenuya émak-nisáda kíwot utumwú maha wásalaṭa séma wiswása prasannawú

wẹḍa paniwuḍawal kara kiyá oppukarana hẹṭiyaṭa mágé wẹra wẹ́yama nitara ẹtuwa tibunu nisát tawa idiriyaṭat ẹtuwa tibena nisát tamáya é ẹra Siyam désayen á tánápati mahattẹngé wẹḍa kára kenek nẹvehiṭa genat maṭa bára karana hẹṭiyaṭa dunnáya kiyá kiyamin héwánam kenek ema tánápati mahatten metanin piṭatwagiya dawasak dedawasakaṭa passé kaḍadási patrayak maṭa oppukalá é kiyana kaḍadásiye piṭa wásagama kiyawanḍa puḷuwan kenek mé mẹda sambawenḍa nẹti seyin mé samaga eveni kaḍadási patrayat piṭatkara evanawá sondeyi kiyá kalpanáwunu nisá esé piṭat kara ewwá memapatraya tamunnánsé namaṭa liyawí tibena wánam eviṭa ema patraya porottu karaganḍa yedena hẹṭiyaṭat nẹtuwa wena hẹṭiyaknam ẹviṭa é kaḍadási patrayé liyawí tibena waga surukkamen liyáenḍa yedena hẹṭiyaṭa pamanak nowa mema patraya nẹwata piṭat kara evanda yedena hẹṭiyaṭat illá hiṭiññáya tawada mama tamunwahansé wenuvaṭa mahat nambu istutiyak ẹtuwa pasuwemin mesé liyá piṭat kalé warsha ekdahas satsiya panas hatarakwú Júli masa sataraweni Gurudina Kolonnam Kastélédiya.

E′ vagat mesé tamunnánségé wẹḍa paniwuḍa kerímaṭa adipprá mitrawú

JOVAN GIDION LÓTẸN,
Govẹrṇṇadóru wamha.

Translation.

"May God preserve and prosper the Chief Théra Upáli, who has arrived from Siam at the Great Palace of the Supreme King of Laṅká, illustrious and powerful, victorious over enemies, and exercising universal sway!

"I was greatly delighted to learn from your letter that you sent me by Our Ambassador Marten Reyn, that you had a safe voyage, without any mishap, all the way from Siam, and that a courteous reception was accorded you by the Officials at Trincomalee. I am also glad to inform you that I rejoice at this friendly intimation, as I assure you that my wish is to please you in every way to the best of my ability, and that it gladdens me, since I have always used and will use my best efforts, to perform such service as will please the King.

"Further, a lascoreen handed over to me a paper given to him to be delivered over to me by an attendant of the Ambassadors, who arrived from Siam two or three days after the Ambassadors had left. As no one could be got here who could decipher the address on the said letter, having considered it well to despatch it to you, I have done so; if it is for you you may keep it; if not, please return it, certifying to me of its contents carefully.

"With my greetings and compliments (to you), this is thus written and despatched on Thursday, the 4th of July, in the year 1754, in the Castle at Colombo.

"JOHAN GIDEON LOTEN."

KA'LI KO'VILA.

By Arthur Jayawardana, Esq., *Mudaliyár*.

At Yátrámulla, in Bentoṭa, traces are still to be seen of the site of a very ancient building. The villagers connect it with the *Káli Kóvila*, a temple dedicated to the she-demon *Káli*, which they have heard their elders tell stood on this place in very ancient times.

This demon, and the story of her conversion to Buddhism, is related at length in the *Dampiya Atuwáwa*. It is there stated that she first appeared in this world as a barren woman, and having passed through many successive births in punishment for child-murder, finally attained, under the preaching of Buddha, to the first of the four paths to Nirwána—the path known as "Sówán." In process of time she came to be invested with supernatural powers, and having, in consideration of the offerings she received of rice, &c., for her maintenance, identified herself entirely with the agricultural interests of the country, she came to be regularly resorted to for intercession by the cultivators before they took a single step in the cultivation of their fields. She is also represented as being specially possessed of the power of predicting the times most suited for dry and wet grain cultivation, the failure or success of harvests, and so on.

In short, she appears to have developed into the tutelar deity of the Siṇhalese paddy fields, corresponding to the Ceres of Greek mythology. Indeed, the tradition is still current in Yátrámulla, that the grandparents and great-grandparents of the present generation of adults distinctly remembered the site of this kóvila being looked after by two dumb women, who could be seen at early dawn sweeping the place out clean, and, with a lamp burning in a sort of little watch-hut on the site, patiently awaiting the offerings made thereat by goyiyás on their way to work in their paddy fields.

The site of this temple is within a few yards of the former ferry over the Bentoṭa river. At this spot well-marked traces of the foundation of some superstructure in very old cabook, crumbling almost to dust, are met with to support the tradition. The usual pond that is seen in the immediate vicinity of most of the déwálas and temples is clearly traceable here, even though it is now overgrown with jungle, and filled in with earth enough to admit even of a plantation of cocoanut trees on it. I have it also on the authority of the incumbent of one of the viháraṣ in the neighbourhood, that he had himself removed coral-stones from the site of this pond to his vihára for building purposes. Even at the present day a slab of granite, used as the threshold of the chief entrance to the *Bódimaḷu Vihára*, is admitted to have been removed from the site of this kóvila by Kálávila Terunnansé, a late incumbent of that vihára. It is also said that about thirty years ago, a villager, while removing earth from this site, fell in with a lamp. But I have not been able to trace this lamp to the parties at present in possession of it. The man's descendants disclaim all knowledge. His eldest daughter, however, has a faint recollection of her father having mentioned the discovery of this lamp in the family, but of its subsequent history she is able to say nothing; whether through actual ignorance of the facts, or through fear of confession leading to the confiscation of the article, or to consequences more serious to herself, it is difficult to say. The marked difference, besides, in the appearance of the soil on this supposed site, as compared with the soil all round, is also very suggestive. The soil in almost the whole village is composed of loose sand, much like what might have been thrown up from the river,—indeed if the village was not itself originally the bed of the stream. But on a spot of about fifteen or twenty yards, nearly square, not only is the surface-soil dark-brown in colour, and gravelly, but the deeper you dig the more marked are the traces about the surface of cabook that has already crumbled, and lower down of cabook in course of crumbling; while it is a

well-known fact that the foundation of several houses in the vicinity have been built from the materials dug out of this site.

Of the existence at Bentoṭa of a temple called the *Káli Kóvila*, the evidence on record, though not plentiful, is, to my mind, very conclusive.

In the 86th chapter of the *Maháwaṇsa* it is stated that Parákrama Báhu II., or, as he is also styled, Kali Kála Sahitya Sarwajña Paṇḍita, summoned his Prime Minister Déwa Pratirája, and having represented that the building commenced at the Attanagalla Vihára by his predecessor Upatissa was in ruins, and that the orchard planted by King Nissaṇka at the Bentoṭa Vihára was neglected, asked him to undertake the restoration of these works in the king's name. In obedience to this request the Prime Minister proceeds to the Attanagalla Vihára, erects a three-storied building there, and makes a record of the fact in an inscription on a rock in the temple. He next proceeds to Bentoṭa (*Bhímatittha* in the original), and builds a bridge, eighty-six cubits long, over the *Káli* river. He next visits Keselsénawa, and builds a bridge there one hundred wall-plates* long, then a bridge forty wall-plates long over the Salgama-gaṇga, and another bridge one hundred and fifty cubits long in the Salpiti Kóralé. The Prime Minister returns again to Bentoṭa, and plants a cocoanut garden one *yoduna* long from the Bentoṭa Vihára to the Kaḷu-gaṇga. This took place in the Buddhist year 1781 (1239–1240 A.D.).

From the above it will be seen that so far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, although the village itself went by the name of Bentoṭa, the river on which it stands, or at least a part of it, was called the Káli river (*Kálínadí* in the Páli); that is, it took its name from the temple dedicated to that goddess which stood on its banks; for in no other way can we explain the origin of this particular name for this river.

Again, the poet Ṣrí Ráhula Sthaviro of Toṭagamuwa, about a century and a half later, makes direct reference to

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* One wall-plate is equal to seven cubits in length.

this temple in his *Paravisandésa,* where, in an elegant stanza descriptive of the charms of the nautch girls attached to the temple, he directs the pigeon he was sending with a message to Vishṇu, at Dondra, to refresh himself with a little rest at the *Káli Kóvila,* on the other side of the Bentoṭa river, telling the bird, in another stanza, to sleep for the night at the *Wanawása Vihara,* which is about half a mile from the supposed site of the *Káli Kóvila.*

We have therefore the fact, well-supported, of the existence at Bentoṭa, many centuries back, of a temple known as the *Káli Kóvila;* and I can see no reason why the site that tradition has fixed upon for it should be rejected. For the fact of its being reached only after Toṭagamuwa's pigeon had crossed the river, and of its being nearer the ferry than the *Wanawása Vihára,* places it somewhere between the ferry and the vihára; and the site now claimed for the kóvila exactly fulfils that requirement.

The etymological meaning of the name "Bentoṭa," a corruption of the Páli *Bhímatittha,* or "fearful ferry," is also referred by some local paṇḍits to the awe that the existence on its bank of a temple dedicated to a demon is calculated to inspire on the native mind.

But the more obvious explanation, as urged by others, of the river being indebted for this name to a dangerous current or eddy that may have existed in times past, opposes a very serious objection to the acceptance of this hypothesis. It is none the less true, however, that it is only on the Kaḷutara side that the river for a few fathoms from the shore attains a dangerous depth, the remaining portion—more than two-thirds of the entire width of the river—being one long sandbank, not more than knee-deep, for a very great part of the year. And yet the village on the Kaḷutara bank, when etymologically examined, discloses no clue that would go to warn the intending wayfarer of the danger of the stream before him. It is only after he has crossed it, and has almost waded over the sandbank, that he comes upon a village which is supposed to apprise him of the dangers which he has just safely passed,—a coincidence so rare

in the consideration as almost to justify us in rejecting this explanation of the nomenclature of the river.

Another section of paṇḍits, less courageous in their convictions, explain away the name by a reference to a general belief that the river was looked upon at one time as being haunted by a malicious water-sprite.

As, then, the antiquity of the *Káli Kóvila* seems to be so well established, the excavation of its supposed site cannot fail to be advantageous from an archæological point of view. About fifteen years ago some natives, while in the act of removing gravel from this site, were rewarded with the discovery of an earthen jar containing some old coins. More systematic excavation cannot, therefore, fail to unearth even more valuable treasures. I would therefore suggest that a small sum from the collections now being raised among the Members of the Society for purely archæological purposes be devoted to the exploration of this ancient kóvila, as I feel sure that while a great deal of information of purely archæological interest will be gained, we are likely also to be rewarded with historical information of not less importance.

It is the intention of the people of Bentoṭa to revive the interest in the *Káli Kóvila* by starting a subscription for re-building it. It is also contemplated to inaugurate its completion with a procession, and a fair, after the manner of the Dondra fair; and if it prove a success, it is further intended to hold this fair annually. Of the advantages that will accrue to the people therefrom, the experience gained by the Dondra fair makes it almost superfluous for me to say anything. The facilities such a fair will afford the inhabitants for the sale of local produce cannot be exaggerated; and it will be no small saving to them, if, instead of having to resort to the larger towns, they are enabled to provide themselves with the more expensive of their every-day requirements at their very doors, as they will doubtless be able to do, by the attraction to this fair, if properly advertised, of traders from different parts of the country. The existence, besides, of a shrine in Bentoṭa

itself, in a temple already hallowed by the associations of centuries, will at once do away with the necessity to which suitors at the Gaṇsabháwa are now subjected of having to proceed to the *Kandé Vihára*, in the Pasdun Kóralé, whenever the President in his discretion elects to submit his decision to the ordeal of oath.

The restoration of a heathen temple, as is foreshadowed in this Paper, may perhaps require some explanation in the eyes of those to whose Christian training it may seem an outrage. But Christian missionary effort in the Bentoṭa District, it must be remembered, for the last quarter of a century, or even more, has been attended with absolutely no results, and the people are still strongly wedded to their ancestral beliefs. I have thought it proper, therefore, purely in the material interests of my District, to identify myself with this movement, so as to ensure for it some good practical result. Unless under intelligent guidance, spontaneous undertakings of any kind whatever come to nought among the Siṇhalese people. And where the weight of authority can, in addition, be thrown into the scale, the undertaking may be so conducted as to be attended with good results to the people. Bentoṭa, besides, can lay claim to five of the most ancient Viháras in the Island—*Bentoṭa*, *Wanawása*, *Bódimaḷuwa*, *Galapáta*, and *Bennehera*. The building of the *Káli Kóvila* is supposed to be coeval with that of these temples. And as the goddess is also looked upon as a supporter of Buddhism, and as she is popularly credited with the possession of supernatural powers, the restoration and maintenance of a temple in her honour cannot fail to be pleasing to the people.

BELIGALA.*

By R. W. Ievers, Esq., c.c.s.

That portion of the old Kandyan Kingdom called the Four Kóralés *(Hatara Kóralé)*, which now forms the northern half of the modern District of Kẹgalla, possesses many sites of interest for the historian and antiquary.

From its geographical position the District was very important as a border land between the Kandyans and the Portuguese and Dutch. Hence it was a matter of policy to conciliate the local chiefs, who were accordingly rewarded with *nindagam*,† by both the hill and maritime Governments; and many of the highest chiefs take title from the Four Kóralés. The Beligal Kóralé is the most western, and in it are situated several places which deserve mention, such as Arandara, Dẹdigama, Waṭṭárama, and Mẹnikkaḍawara (the "Manicavaré" of Ribeyro); but I propose in this memorandum to submit only my notes upon the curious rock called Beligala.

As the rock from its position and nature is obviously the place to be selected for security in unsettled times, I think it more than probable that the Kóralé, in the centre of which it lies, has taken its name from the stronghold.

The heirs of Dantakumárayá, son-in-law of a king of Dantapura in the Kálinga country, settled in the Kíraweli Pattuwa, 310 A.D., and there remained until the fifteenth century, intermarrying with the royal race *(Rájáwali)*. Local tradition ascribes the works at Beligala to a Kálinga monarch. I see no reason to doubt that these princes made use of the rock as a stronghold, and that when the

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* I desire to record my obligations to Mr. J. F. Dickson, President of the Society, and to Mr. J. A. Swettenham, for references which I regret I have not had an opportunity of using when writing.

† *Nindagama.*—"A village which, for the time being, is the entire property of the grantee or temporary chief; if definitively granted by the King, with *sannas*, it becomes *paraveni*."—(D'Oyly.)

tooth-relic was in danger from the Tamil invasion, it was brought from its hiding place in Kotmalé to Beligala.

We read in the "Maháwaṇsa," chapter 81 :—

කිඹඤ්ඤදං කලහෙ තස්මිං පුලත්ථිපුරතො පුරා
ගහෙත්වා පත්තධාතුඤ්ච දාඨාධාතුඤ්ච සත්ථුනො

18. නික්ඛමිත්වා මහාථෙරා සබ්බෙ වාචිස්සරාදයො
මායාරට්ඨං සමාගම්ම තත්ථ කොත්ථුමලාචලෙ

19. පදෙසම්හි පනෙකස්මිං ඛෙමට්ඨානම්හි සාදරා
කත්වා භූමිගතං ධාතුද්වයන්තං නිදහිංසු තෙ

20. තතො තෙසු මහාථෙරා කෙචි වාචිස්සරාදයො
ලඞ්කාරක්ඛං ගවෙසන්තා සාසනට්ඨිතිකාරණං

21. උලඞ්ඝිත්වා සමුල්ලොල කල්ලොලම්පි මහණ්ණවං
අගමුං පණ්ඩු චොලාදි රට්ඨං යෙ කරුණාකරා

22. තෙ සබ්බෙ'පි මහාථෙරා රාජා විජයබාහු සො
පෙසෙත්වාන මහාමච්චෙ අව්හාපෙසි තතො පුන

23. ආගතෙ තෙ මහාථෙරෙ වන්දිත්වා පරිපුච්ඡිසො
පතිට්ඨාති කුහිං දාඨා පත්තධාතුද්වයං ඉති

24. අසුකස්මිංහි ඨානෙ'ති වුත්තෙ තෙහි නරාධිපො
අහු සම්පුණ්ණ සබ්බඞ්ගො පඤ්චවණ්ණාය පීතියා

25. පුරක්ඛත්වා මහාථෙරගණන්තං ස මහීපති
අගමී සහ සෙනාය තං කොත්ථුමලාචලං

26. කාරාපෙත්වා මහාපූජං පබ්බතස්මා සමන්තතො
දක්ඛිචත්තමනොදාඨා*පත්තධාතුද්වයං තහිං

27. ලභන්තො විය චක්කාදි රතනං වා මහානිධිං
පප්පොනන්තො†විය නිබ්බාණං තදා පමුදිතාසයො

28. තන්ධාතුද්වය මාදාය මන්ධාතුනිභසම්පදො
උස්සවෙන මහන්තෙන ගාමා ගාමං පුරා පුරං

29. ආනෙත්වා සුජනාරබ්ධස්සනීයමහුස්සවං
ජම්බුද්දොණිපුරං රම්මං ආනෙසි ධරණීස්සරො

අථ ධාතුනමෙතෙසං මහාපූජාවිධිං සුධී
දිනෙ දිනෙ පවත්තෙන්තො රාජා එවමචින්තයි

31. අනාගතම්හි කාලස්මිං ජාතෙ රාජන්තරෙ පන
එතෙසං මුනිධාතූනං පරසන්තූහි සබ්බථා

32. න භවෙය්‍ය යථා පීළා තථා දුග්ගාතරං ථිරං
ඛෙමට්ඨානන්තු සක්කච්චං කාරයිස්සන්ති චින්තිය

* චක්ඛුමනො. † පප්පොනන්තු.

33. විනාදෙවෙහි ආකාසෙ බිලලසෙලං සමන්තතො
යථාපෙරිමනුස්සෙහි භුවිගන්තුං නසක්කතෙ

34. පාකාර ගොපුරාදීහි තථා කත්වා සුරක්ඛිතං
තස්ස මුද්ධනි සෙලස්ස දාඨාධාතුඝරංවරං

35. දෙවලොකාගතං දෙවවිමානංව'මනොරමං
කාරෙත්වා තං සමන්තාච නානා පාසාද මණ්ඩපං

36. රතනිට්ඨානද්වාට්ඨාන පටිසන්තමන සුන්දරං
සඞ්ඝාරාමඤ්ච කාරෙත්වා වාපිපොක්ඛරණීයුතං

37. තස්මිං ධාතුඝරෙ දාඨාපත්තධාතුවයං සුචී
උස්සවෙන මහන්තෙන පතිට්ඨාපෙසි සාදර

38. ධාතුරක්ඛානියුත්තානං ථෙරානං පිරසීලිනං
සඞ්ඝාරාමඤ්ච තං දත්වා දානවට්ටඤ්චපට්ඨපි

39. දිවසෙ දිවසෙ සම්මා පවත්තාසිතුමුත්තමං
චවත්ථාපයි ධාතූනං පූජාවිධිමනුස්සවං

ඒ ඩබරයෙහි අතිකක් කිම පෙරතුව පොළොන්නරුවෙන් ශාස්තෲහුගේ පාත්‍රධාතුව හා දන්තධාතුව ගෙණ වාගීශ්වරාදි සියලු මහා ස්ථවිරයෝ නික්ම මායාරටට අවුත් එහි කොත්මලය නම් පව්වෙහි එක්පියසෙක්හි නිර්භයවූ ස්ථානයෙක්හි සාදරවූවෝ ඒ ධාතුයුග්මය නිධානකළෝ, ඉක්බිත්තෙන් ඔවුන් අතුරෙන් වාගීශ්වරාදී යම් මහාස්ථවිරකෙනෙක් ශාසනස්ථිතියට කාරණවූ ලඞ්කාරක්‍ෂාව සොයමින් අතිශයින් කම්පිතවූ රළමාලා ඇති මහාසමුද්‍රයද තරණය කොට පඬි සොළී ආදී රට ගියහුද, කාරුණ්‍යවට ආකරවූ ඒවිජයබාහු නරෙන්ද්‍රතෙම මහාමාත්‍යයන් යවා ඒසියලු වහන්දෑම නැවත ඒරටින් (මෙහි) කැඳවූයේය. හේතෙමේ ආවාවූ ඒ මහතෙරුන් වැඳ දන්තධාතු පාත්‍රධාතුවය කොතැන තිබෙන්නේදැයි විචාළේය. අසවල් තැනයයි උන්වහන්සේලා වදාළ කල්හි නරේශ්වරතෙම පංචවර්ණ ප්‍රීතියෙන් සම්පූර්ණවූ සර්වාංග ඇතිවූයේය. ඒ මහීපතිතෙම ඒ මහතෙර සමූහයා පෙරටු කොට ඒ කොත්මලපව්වටද සෙන් සමග වැඩියේය. පර්වතය හාත්පස මහපූද කරවා සතුටුසිත් ඇත්තේ දංෂ්ට්‍රා පාත්‍ර ධාතු යුග්මය එහි දුටුයේය. එකල්හි පෘථිවීශ්වරතෙමේ චක්‍රරත්නාදි රතනයන්හෝ මහා නිධානයක් ලබන්නා මෙන්ද නිර්වාණයට පැමිනෙන්නා මෙන්ද සතුටුවූ සිත් ඇත්තේ මන්ධාතු නරෙන්ද්‍රයන් සමාන සම්පත් ඇත්තේ ඒ ධාතුයුග්මය ගෙණ මහත් සැණ කෙළියෙන් යුක්තව ගමින් ගමට පූරයෙන්

දූරස්ථ ගෙණවුත් සජ්ජනයා විසින් ආරබ්ධ දක්ෂිණීය මහොත්සව ඇත්තාවූ රම්‍යවූ දඹදෙණි පුරයට ගෙණගියේය.

පඬිතවූ රජතෙමේ මේ ධාතූන්වහන්සේලාට මහත්වූ පූජා විධියදවසක් දවසක් පාසා පවත්වන්නේ ඉක්බිත්තෙන් මෙසේ සිතුයේය. "සර්වප්‍රකාරයෙන් අනාගත කාලයෙහි අන්‍යනරේන්ද්‍රයෙක් වූකල මේ බුඬ ධාතූන්ට පර සතුරන් ගෙන් යම් සේ පීඩානොවන්නීද එපරිද්දෙන් අතිශයින් දුර්ගම්සම්රවූ නිර්භය ස්ථානයක් සකසා කරවන්නෙම්" යි සිතා යම්සේ අහස්හි දෙවියන් විනා පොළවෙහි පසමිතුරු මිනිසුන් විසින් යනු නොහැකි වේද එපරිද්දෙන්ම බෙලිගල් හාත්පසින් පව්රු දොරටු ආදියෙන් සුරක්ෂිත කොට ඒ ගල මත්තෙහි උතුම්වූ දංෂ්ට්‍රාධාතුමන්දිරයක් දෙව්ලොවින් ආවාවූ දෙව්විමනක් මෙන් මනරම් කොට කරවා, ඒ හාත් පසද නානාවිධ ප්‍රසාද මණ්ඩපාන්විතවූ රාත්‍රිස්ථාන දිවාස්ථාන ප්‍රතික්‍රමණශාලාවෙන් ශොභනවූ වැව්පොකුණින් යුක්තවූ සඞ්ඝාරාමයක් කරවා පඬිතවූ රජතෙමේ ඒ ධාතුමන්දිරයෙහි දංෂ්ට්‍රා පාත්‍ර ධාතුයුග්මය මහත්වූ සැණකෙළියෙන් ආදරසහිතව පිහිටවූසේක. ධාතු රක්ෂාවෙහි නියුක්තවූ ස්ථිර ශිලිවූ ස්ථවිරයන්ට ඒ සඞ්ඝාරාමයදදී දන්වැටද තැබ්බවූයේය. දවසක් දවසක් පාසා ධාතූන්වහන්සෙලාට උතුම්වූ පූජාවිධි මහොත්සවය මනාකොට පවත්වනු පිණිස ව්‍යවස්ථා කරවූයේය.

Translation.

Not to speak of anything else in connection with the said battle, Vágíṣvara, and all the other elderly priests, removed beforehand from Poḷonnáruwa, taking the tooth-relic and bowl-relic of the Teacher, came to Máyá country, and respectfully deposited them in a safe place at certain spot on the Kotmalé mountain. Thereafter, some of the priests, Vágíṣvara, &c., seeking the protection of Laṅká, with a view to secure the establishment of the religion, crossed over the great sea greatly agitated by huge waves, and went to Soli, Páṇḍi, and other countries. The above-mentioned King Vijaya Báhu, a mine of mercy, sent his ministers, and brought them all back from the said countries. He bowed to the priests who returned, and inquired where the two relics could be found. On being informed that they were in such and such a place, the body of the lord of men was filled with five-fold joy. The king, preceded by the great assemblage of priests, went

to the Kotmalé mountain, accompanied by his forces. He caused great offerings to be made about the mountain, and with a gladdened heart, saw the relic and the bowl there; then the lord of the earth being pleased in mind, as if he had obtained either precious treasures such as *chakraratna*, &c., or a great hidden treasure, or as if he was about to attain Nirwáṇa,—being possessed of wealth equal to that of King Mandhátu,—took the two relics, and, with great festivities, carrying them from village to village and from city to city, brought them to the delightful city of Dambadeṇiya, where good people had commenced splendid decorations and festivities. The learned king, after having daily made great offerings to these relics, thought "I will carefully prepare a permanent and safe place very difficult of access, in such wise that hereafter when other kings come (here) these relics may not suffer at the hands of foreign enemies." Having thus thought, he caused to be built a splendid relic house on the top of Beligala, as beautiful as a divine mansion come down from heaven, having first fortified it around in such a way that no earthly enemies could reach it, but only celestial beings. All round it, the learned king caused a monastery to be built—with beautiful tanks, ponds, ambulance-halls, diurnal and nocturnal resting-places, which had many palaces and courts about them: he then respectfully deposited the two relics in the relic-house with great festivities. Upon priests firm in faith and zealous in the protection of the relic, he bestowed the monastery, and established a plan of alms-giving, and made regulations for the careful observance of a system of daily offerings to the relics.

The "Rájaratnakára" has the same account, but makes no mention of taking the relic to Dambadeniya.

From the existing remains I have no doubt that this description is substantially correct.

I take the height of the rock to be about 800 or 1,000 feet. It is situated about two miles north of the 42nd mile on the Kandy-road. Inacessible on all sides, except on the north-east, where the path is steep and narrow, it may have been fairly considered impregnable.

The name would appear to have arisen from a fancied resemblance in the shape of the rock to a *beli** fruit. The

* *Ægle marmelos*, or wood-apple.

analogy of nomenclature of rocks in the District, such as *Alagala*, *Batalagala*, *Urákanda*, &c., make this probable; but tradition has a story that a Bráhmin, travelling with a shoot of the *bó* tree, rested beside a *beli* tree in this village, and placed the sacred shoot on a branch of the *beli* tree, and went to eat his rice; when he came to remove the bowl it was found that the shoot had grown down through the bowl and beside the tree to the ground, and was firmly rooted there.

There is now neither *beli* nor *bó* tree on the rock.

The path to the summit leads out of the courtyard of the dwelling of the old Kórála who lives at the foot of the rock, and who purchased the arable land on the summit from the Crown in 1862. Steps are cut in the bare rock somewhat after the fashion of those on the path to the Peak.

Half-way up, and beside the path, there is a cave, about eighteen yards deep by five yards wide, which tradition calls a *muragé*, or "guard-house." Higher up are the remains of a stone rampart placed after the fashion of those at Sígiri, and a heap of broken pillars and steps, which appear to have been a gateway. Beyond this there is a flat space about fifty yards by twenty, and by this the path went round the summit to the south side, where the King's Palace was situated.

With some difficulty I ascended directly the north platform of the Daḷadá Máligáwa, and I annex a rough sketch showing the positions of the places mentioned. The summit, I think, is about eight or ten acres in extent, but it may be more.

On this site there still remains a quantity of pillars, and stones which appear to have been cornices with a plain moulding, thus:—

A number of pillars have been taken down by the Kórála, along a "shoot" made of *kitul* tree trunks, to form basement of granaries, thresholds, and steps. But as the pillars

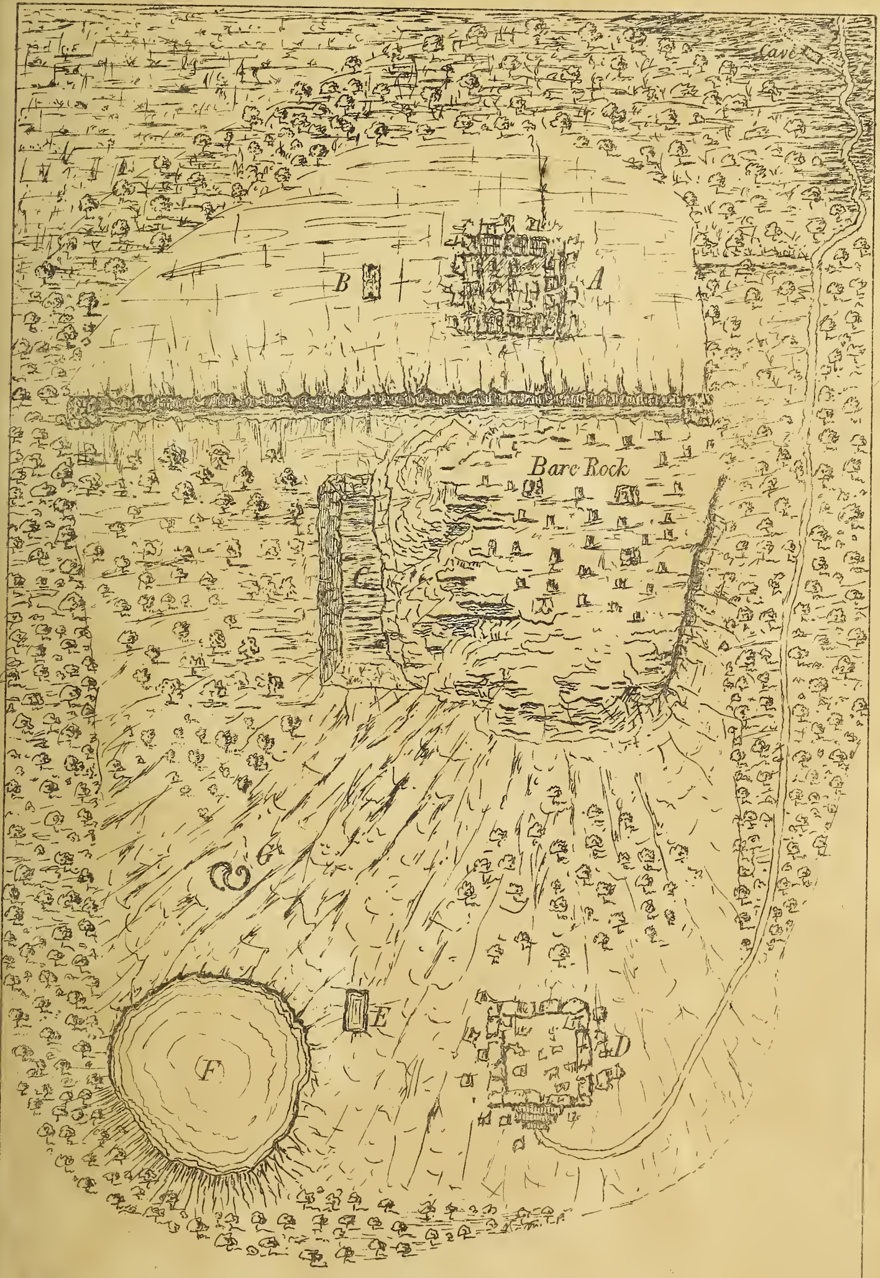
seem devoid of carving or artistic merit, there is not much to regret in the vandalism. Here remain *in situ* two carved trunks of elephants, such as usually crown the summit of a flight of steps, and a stone *pátra*, or "bowl," one and a half foot in diameter.

There is also a curious monolith six and a half feet long, three feet wide, and having at each end a tenon to fit a mortice, thus :—

In the centre is a nicely-carved boss, or omphalos, in relief. This may have been a sidepost of a door, but it seems unnecessarily broad for the purpose, though there are some broader than this at Anurádhapura.

South of this platform we are met by a deep but narrow ravine, which has been banked up at each end as a reservoir for water. It is now dry. Passing over the bund we find the summit of the rock bare of earth, and bowl-shaped, and pierced all over with holes, some square, but nearly all oblong, four inches by two inches, and three inches deep. They seem to have been cut without regard to any plan or in line, and are very close together—not more than two yards apart, and sometimes less. I think these are the holes made to support wooden pillars sustaining a level platform on the top of the rock. West of this rock, and deep below it, lies a natural depression, which has been formed into a tank or *pokuna* twenty yards by eight yards, having a retaining wall on the west side. This no longer holds water.

Descending from this rock on the south side, we reach a large flat space now overgrown by jungle, and here the Palace must have stood. But with the exception of some mounds of brick and rubbish, and some pillars and steps, even the ruins have perished, or have been covered up.



A. Site of Dalada Máligáwa
B. Massive door frame ?
C. Tank
D. King's Palace
E. Small pond cut in rock
F. Large pond with bund
G. Symbol or letter ? cut in rock

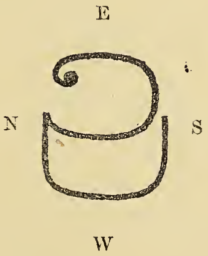
Lith. S.G.O.

BRITISH MUSEUM

On the south-east the rock falls away bare of earth by several platforms to the belt of jungle which surrounds the summit above the cliffs. Here we find two ponds or *pokunu:* one cut in the rock of oblong shape, twenty-five feet by ten feet by six feet; the other lower down, and circular in shape, formed by a large bund, on which large trees grow. This is about twenty yards in diameter. Both these hold water still.

On the north-east side there is said to be a large cave, but the difficulty of descending to its entrance, and want of time, prevented me from making any exploration.

It is curious that no inscriptions are to be found. I was shown a sign, mark, or letter, six inches by three inches, cut in the rock near the small pond, thus:—



I thought at first that it was the sign *Srí*, and it somewhat resembles it from my sketch, but the cut sign was not like *Srí*.

I was shown a species of grass, or "hill-paddy," which looks like a small kind of *ẹl-ví*, growing among the jungle on the top of the rock, and is said to be peculiar to the place. I hope to obtain an opinion from Dr. H. Trimen and Mr. W. Ferguson.

At the foot of the rock, on the east, there remains a bund, or *wẹ́-kanda*, about twenty feet high, through a breach in which the stream flows, the bed of the tank having been converted into paddy fields. This work, as well as an ancient Vihára close by, now falling into ruin, is ascribed to King Kálinga Báhu.

We have no information as to the destruction of the buildings on the Beligala, but I think we may safely ascribe them to the Portuguese, whose religious zeal would not tolerate even a deserted temple of the tooth-relic.

I have little doubt that excavation made here would disclose the foundations of the buildings and possibly carved moonstones (*sandakaḍapahan*); and would be interesting as forming one of the many links of evidence as to the accuracy of the "Maháwaṇsa" chronicle.

NOTE.*

THE principality of Beligala appears in the *Kaḍaimpot*, or old "Boundary-books" of Ceylon, among the districts of Máyá division. That an important temple early stood on, or near, the rock may be gathered from Beligala being included among the thirteen great temples where *bó* trees were planted by Chúlábhaya Rájá.† It is strange that a place of such religious note and natural strength of position should be so briefly noticed in Siṇhalese and Páli works. As a fact there would appear to be no detailed mention of Beligala until the reign of Wijaya Báhu III. (1240–1267 A.D.). This sovereign brought the relic from Kotmalé‡ (where it had been kept concealed during the twenty years of foreign usurpation that ensued on the invasion of the "Damiḷas" under Mágha), first to Dambadeṇiya, his royal capital, and thence to Beligala. He placed it on this rock that it might be safe for the future, and it rested undisturbed there for some thirty years. (*Vide* extract No. ii.)

The Daḷadá-relic was removed from Poḷonnáruwa to Kotmalé by Wágíṣwara and other dignitaries of the Buddhist Church, and though the year of its removal to Kotmalé is not recorded, the last reference to its being in Poḷonnáruwa occurs in the reign of Kírti Niṣṣaṇka (1192–1201 A.D.), who built a temple in which the tooth-relic was placed. (*Vide* extract No. i.)

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* The authorities briefly referred to (p 74) by Mr. Ievers are here given *in extenso*, and supplemented by additional extracts bearing on the history of Beligala.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† See *Suḷu Bodhivaṇsa.*

‡ See *Mah.*, chap. 81, vv. 25–30.

No known record indicates the exact period at which Beligala was first enriched with the palaces, temples, and dágabas, inclosed by huge ramparts, ruins of which still attest its former splendour. But it is reasonable to assign the credit to Wijaya Báhu III. in the absence of other evidence, on the strength of the information to be derived from the "Rájaratnâkara." (*Vide* extract No. ii.)

It is said that the son and successor of Wijaya Báhu III., Kalikála Sáhitya Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu III. (1267–1301 A.D.), improved the buildings on Beligala, repairing the old ones, and adding a new *piriveṇa*, which was known by the name of *Buwaneka Báhu piriveṇa*, after its constructor. (*Vide* extracts Nos. vi. and viii.)

He subsequently brought back the relics from Beligala to his capital "Jambudróṇi" (Dambadeṇiya), where he placed them in a *mandiraya* erected for the purpose near his palace. (*Vide* extracts Nos. v. and vii.) In the "Rájaratnákara" (*vide* extract No. iii.) it is said that he secured the relics in a tooth-relic house named *Wijayasundarárámaya*, constructed by him near his palace. But the "Maháwaṇsa" and the "Pújáwaliya" state that the *Wijayasundarárámaya* was built by his father Wijaya Báhu III., and that new buildings were added to it by Parákrama Báhu III. (1314–1319 A.D.), in one of which the relics were placed after they had been brought from Beligala. (*Vide* extracts Nos. iv., v., and vii.)

From Dambadeṇiya the relics had been carried to Yápahu by Bhuvaneka Báhu I. (1303–1314 A.D.), and had passed into the hands of the Páṇḍians, from whom they were finally recovered by Parákrama Báhu III. Their subsequent history, though full of interest, need not here be recorded.

Extracts.

(i.)—*Rájaratnákaraya.*

කාලිංගයෙන් ආ කීර්තිනිශ්ශංකනම් රජ පොළොන්නරුවේ රුවන්වැලි දාගැබ බඳවා කොත්පළඳවා දළදා මළුවෙහි ශෛලමය දළදා ගෙය සැට පැයකින් කරවා එහිම වටදාගෙයකරවා බලසෙන් සමග සමනලගොස් බුදුන්ගේ ශ්‍රීපාදය වැඳ ලංක්දිව සිසාරා තමන් නමින් අරම් අම්බලම්කරවා දඹුළු වෙහෙර තෙසැටක් මහපිළිම රන්පතින් වසා. රන්ගිරි දඹුල්ලයයි නම්තබා බොහෝ සාසනෝපකාරකොළේය.

Translation.

The King Kírti Nissaṇka, who came from Kálinga, built the *Ruwanwęli Dágęba* at Polonnaruwa, and added a spire to it, and

caused the granite house of the sacred tooth-relic to be built within the premises of the *Daḷadá-maḷuwa*, and had it finished in sixty pęyas (24 hours), and there itself he had the *Waṭadágeya* (circular relic-house) erected. He made a pilgrimage to Samanala (Adam's Peak) with his forces, and paid adoration to the holy foot of Buddha. He caused orchards to be planted and *ambalam* (rest-houses) to be erected in his own name throughout the Island of Laṅká. He had sixty-three images in Dambulla Vihára covered with gold plating, and gave it the name "Raṇgiri Dambulla," and much favoured the Buddhist Church.

(ii.)—*Rájaratnákaraya.*

දෙමළ පරාජිතයෙහි පොළොන්නරුවෙන් දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතූන්වහන්සේ ගෙණ * මහගල්වල්නැගී වනදුර්ග ගිරිදුර්ග ජලදුර්ගයෙන් දුර්ගවූ කොත්මලෙ ගොස් එහිත් රැකලියනොහී භූමිගත නිධානගතකොට සොලී පාණ්ඩිරජයට ගිය ස්ථවිර ගණයා (කාලිංග විජය බාහුනම් මහරජ) මායාරජයට (දඹදෙනියට) ගෙන්වා දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතූන් නොනට බව අසා අති සන්තෝෂව එකෙණෙහි මහසඟ ගණහා මහසෙනග ගෙණ මහත්වූ පූජෝත්සවයෙන් කොත්මල ගොස් දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතූන්වහන්සේ ගෙණ සක්විති රාජ්ජය ලද් දෑක්මෙන් උදාරවූ සන්තෝෂයෙන් ගම ගම මහත්වූ පූජාකරවමින් වඩාගෙණවුත් † මතු පරාජිතයෙක නොනස්නාසේ දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතූන්වහන්සේට ස්ථානයක් කරවමි සිතා බෙලිගල සිසාරා පව්රු පදනම් වාසලින් සුරක්ෂිතකොට ආකාශයෙන්මුත් මනුෂ්‍ය කෙනෙකුන් වැද්ද නොහැකිසේ ඉතා සුරක්ෂිතකොට පර්වත මුදුනෙහි දෙව්ලොවින් බට දිව්‍ය විමානයක්සේ අසමානවූ දළදා ගෙය නංවා රන්පත් සුළුපා මහපා චංක්‍රමණ පැන්පොකුණු ආදියෙන් යුක්තවූ සංඝාරාමකරවා මහත්වූ මංගල්‍යයෙන් දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතූන්වහන්සේ ගෙටවඩා ධාතු ආරක්ෂාවෙහි නියුක්තවූ ස්ථවිරයන්ට සංඝාරාමය පිළිගන්වා දානවෘත්ති තබාදී දවස්පතා පූජා පෙළහර කරණසේ නියෝගකොට—යනාදි.

Translation.

At the defeat sustained from the Tamils (the priests)‡ took the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic from Poḷonnáruwa and crossed over to Kotmalé, impenetrable by reason of inaccessible

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* *Mah.*, chap. 81, v. 17. වාගීශ්වරාදී සියළු ස්ථවිරයෝ, මහාමාත්‍යයන් ඒරටට යවා ගෙන්වා.

† *Mah.*, දඹදෙනියට වඩාගෙණවුත්, දවසක් දවසක් පාසා පූජා පවත්නේ, &c.

‡ *Mah.*, chap. 81, v. 17. The high priest Wágiswara and the other priests.

forests, mountains, and streams of water, passing through vast forests and over huge rocks, and being unable to protect it even there, buried it under ground, and betook themselves to the Soli and Pāṇḍi kingdoms. The king named Kálinga Wijaya Báhu invited them to return to Máyá Region, and having learnt that the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic had not been destroyed, he was exceedingly joyful, and instantly set out and went to Kotmalé, attended by a great company of monks and his forces, making many offerings and festivities, and took the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic, and was overjoyed as if he had obtained the *Chakkravarti* (universal kingdom), brought it [down to Dambadeṇiya, where it was worshipped daily*], causing many offerings to be made in each village. Then the king thinking "I will build a palace for the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic, that they may not be destroyed in a (future) conquest," made a stronghold by raising ramparts, masonry works, and gates around Beligala, making it very secure, so that no human being could enter it, unless through the air (sky); constructed an incomparable tooth-relic house *(Daḷadá-geya)* like a divine mansion descended from heaven on the top of the mountain. And he caused to be built splendid monasteries for the priests, furnished with great and small golden tile buildings, walks and water tanks, and with great pomp conveyed the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic into the palace, and dedicated the monasteries to dignitaries engaged in the protection of the sacred relics, and settled a system of almsgiving for them, and ordered daily offerings and processions to be made, &c.

(iii.)—*Rájaratnakáraya.*

නැවත බෙලිගල වැඩහුන් දළදා පාත්‍රධාතුන්වහන්සේ ගෙන්වා
තමන් වාසභවනයට නුදුරුතැන විජයසුන්දරාරාමනම්වූ දළදා ගෙ
යකුදු කරවා එහි අනගි ආසනයකුදු කරවා දළදාවහන්සේ වැඩ
හුන්සේ මිණිරුවන වැඩු තුණුරුවන්හි පැහැදී බුදුරුවන් උදෙසා
වටරුවන් සැදි අනගි රුවනින් අතුරුනැති විසිතුරු මිණිරුවන්
කරඬුවක් ඒවසා පන්දහසක් ඝනරණින් පස්ලක්‍ෂයක් අගනා ස
නරන්කරඬුවක් කරවා ඒ වසා රිදී තිස්දහසකින් වඩුදෙරියන් ක
රඬුවක්කරවා මෙසේ පූජෝත්සවකොට මේ රජ දවස්පතා පන්
සිල්හා පොහොය අටසිල් සමාදන්ව මහ සාර පොහොයේ මහසඟ
නට මහදන්දී ඒදා රාත්‍රි බණ ඇසීමද තලතෙල් එලගිතෙල් උරු

* *Mah.*, chap. 31, v. 17.

ලැතෙල් කපුරුනැයි මෙසේ පහන් සතරක් දොළොස් හවුරුද්දක් නොකඩකොට පවත්වා—යනාදී.

Translation.

Again, the great king (Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu) took the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic from Beligala, where they rested, and caused a tooth-relic mansion to be erected close to his palace, and called it *Wijayasundarárámaya*, and had constructed there a throne of great value. This king, rejoicing in the three gems (Buddha, his law and church), constructed for the gem of Buddha a beautiful jewelled casket set round continuously with precious stones; and covering this casket he constructed another casket of massive gold, with five thousand pieces of massive gold, worth five laks; and covering this casket he constructed a third casket of two carpenter cubits, with thirty thousand pieces of silver. He made such offerings and festivities as these; and on the four quarter-days of the month he gave much alms to the great priesthood, and in those days caused *bana* to be preached at night, and observed the five precepts every day, and the eight precepts on *póya* days. He had kept burning incessantly for twelve years four lamps of sesamum oil, cow ghee, civet fat, camphor, &c.

(iv.)—*Maháwaṇsa*, chap. 81, p. 252, vv. 51, 52.

51. පතීතං සකනාමෙන ලොකෙ විජයසුන්දරං
ආරාමං සඞ්ඝිකං කත්වා අදා සඞ්ඝස්ස භූපති
52. භික්ඛුචාසාමණෙරචා යෙ සබ්බා පිටකත්තයං
උග්ගණ්හන්ති සදා වාචුග්ගතං කුබ්බන්ති සබ්බථා

මහීපතිතෙමේ ස්වකීය නාමයෙන් ලොකයෙහි ප්‍රසිද්ධවූ විජය සුන්දරනම් ආරාමයක් කරවා සාඞ්ඝිකකොට සඞ්ඝයාට දුන්නේය.

Translation.

The Lord of the Earth (Wijaya Báhu III.) caused the *aráma* (monastical ground) known throughout the world by his own name *Wijayasuadarárάma* to be formed, and granted the same to the Buddhist priesthood.

(v.)—*Maháwansa*, chap. 82, p. 325, vv. 5-12.

5. මමෙ'වාහං කරිස්සාමි ලඞ්කිත්ථිං* න පරස්සිති
මද්දනෙ පරසත්තූනං අභිමානමබන්ධි සො

6. පඨමං මුනිනො දාඨාධාතුපූජං විධාය සො
පච්ඡා දමිලයුද්ධාය ගමිස්සාමීති චින්තිය

7. මහෙන මහතා සද්ධිං තස්මා බිලලමහීධරා
දාඨාධාතුං සමානෙසි ජම්බුද්දොණි පුරුත්තමං

සාදරං තීසු වෙලාසු චින්තෙන්තො චින්තිතෙ ඛණෙ
වන්දිතුං දන්තධාතුමෙම්ජනොද්ද අන්තීත් චින්තයං†

9. අත්තනො භවනස්සෙව සන්තිකෙ ධරණීපති
දන්තධාතුඝරං රම්මං කාරාපෙසි මහග්ඝිකං

10. ආසනං තස්ස මජ්ඣම්හි කාරාපෙත්වා මහාරහං
මහග්ඝිකෙන තං රාජා ඡාදෙස'ත්ථරණෙන සො

11. මහතා මණිනා එකං ආධාරන්දන්තධාතුයා
කාරයිත්වා තතො තස්සාධාරකම්පුන භූපති

12. කාරාපෙසි විචිත්තෙහි මහග්ඝෙහි මණීහි'පි
මනොහරං මහන්තං සො වරං මණිකරණ්ඩකං

හේතෙමේ "මම ලඞ්කාඞ්ගනාව මා අයත්කරන්නෙමි අනිකෙකුට අයත් නොකෙරෙමි" යි පරශත්‍රූන් මැඩීමෙහි අබිමන් බැන්දේය. හේ තෙමේ "පළමුවෙන් සර්‍වඥ දංෂ්ට්‍රාධාතු පූජාව කොට පසුව ද්‍රවිඩ යුද්ධයට යන්නෙමි" යි සිතා මහත්වූ පූජා සමග ඒ දාඨාධාතුන්වහන්සේ බිලලනම් පර්‍වතයෙන් ජම්බුද්‍රෝණිනම් පුරප්‍රවරයට වැඩමවූයේය.

මිහිපල්තෙම තුන්වේලෙහි සිතූ සිතූ කෙණෙහි ආදරසහිතව වඳින්ට මාගෙ අලයක් ඇතැයි සිතමින් තමන් මන්දිරය සමීපයෙහිම රම්‍යවූ දන්තධාතු මන්දිරයක්කරවූයේය. ඒ රජ තෙමේ ඒ (මන්දිරය) මැද මාහැඟි අස්නක්කරවා එය මහඟු ඇතිරියෙකින් ප්‍රතිච්ඡන්නකරවූයේය. මහීපතිතෙම මහාමාණික්‍යයකින් දන්තධාතුවට එක් ආධාරයක් කරවා ඉන්පසු හේතෙමේ නැවතත් විචිත්‍රවූ මාණික්‍යයෙන් ඊට ආධාරවූ මනහර උතුම්වූ මහත් මිණිකරඬුවක් කරවූයේය.

Translation.

He (Pandita Parákrama Báhu III.) saying, "I shall get the fairy of Lanká under me, and shall not allow her to attach herself to anybody else," formed a haughty resolution of crushing foreign

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* ලඞ්කිත්ථිං. † චින්තියං.

enemies. He, with intention first to make offerings to the tooth-relic (of Buddha), and then to go to the Dravidian war, brought the relic in great state from the rock Billa to his capital Jambud dróṇi.

The Protector of the Earth, with the desire reverently to worship the relic at all times when he might wish to do so during the three portions of the day, caused a beautiful tooth-relic house *(mandiraya)* to be erected in close proximity to his own palace. In the middle of the house an elegant throne was placed, and covered with a very costly cloth. He made a shrine studded with gems for the relic, which was afterwards placed in a more beautifully ornamented shrine studded with finer gems.

(vi.)—*Mahâwaṇsa*, chap. 85, vv. 59–62.

අත්තනො යුවරාජේන රාජා තන්නාමතො'පි සො
බිල්ලසෙලවිහාරම්හි භුවනෙකභුජව්හයං

60. පරිවෙණඤ්ච පාසාදමණ්ඩපාදිවිභූසිතං
කාරෙත්වා නගරෙ තස්මිං සිරිවඩ්ඪනනාමකෙ

61. වුත්තක්කමෙන සබ්බෙහි පූජාවත්ථූහි සාදරං
වත්ථුත්තයස්ස මහාපූජං සත්තාහානි පවත්තයි

ඒ රජතෙමේ (පණ්ඩිත පරාක්‍රමබාහු) සියනමින්ම තමන් යුවරජු ලවා බෙලිගල්වෙහෙර බුවනෙකබාහුනම්වූ ප්‍රාසාද මණ්ඩපාදියෙන් හෙබියාවූ පිරිවෙණක් කරවා ඒ ශ්‍රීවර්ධනනම් පුරයෙහි කී ක්‍රමයෙන්............සත්දවසක් තුණුරුවන්ට මහාපූජා පැවැත්විය.

Translation.

That king (Paṇḍita Parákrama Báhu) having got his heir-apparent to cause the erection in his own name of a *piriveṇa* (monastery), called *Buwanekabáhu*, on the site of the Beligal vihára, which is embellished with *prásáda* (inner temples), *maṇḍapa* (open buildings with pulpits), &c., made great offerings to the three gems (Buddha, his doctrine, and his priests) during seven days, as he had done at Ṣríwardhanapura, as before related.

(vii.)—*Pújáwaliya.*

තවද පියරජහු කැරවූ විජයසුන්දරාරාමය සිසාරා සාරමස මහාප
වුරුලවා එහි තුන්මහල් අලුත් දළදාගෙය දිව්‍යවිමානයක්සේ කරවා

විචිත්‍ර කර්මාන්තයෙන් අසමානකොට නිමවා මහපෙරහැරින් දළදා වඩා ශ්‍රීවර්ධනපුරයෙහි කළපරිද්දෙන්ම මහ පූජාකළහ.

Translation.

Moreover, he (Paṇḍita Parákkrama Báhu III.) having in four months' time caused great ramparts to be erected round the *Wijayasundaráráma* formed by the king his father, and having improved its new three-storied tooth-relic house, so as to make it resemble the abode of a deity, and having finished and embellished it with unequalled paintings, brought the Daḷadá relic thither in a great procession, and made great offerings to it as he had done at Ṣríwardhanapura.

(viii.)—*Pújáwaliya.*

තවද භුවනෛකබාහුනම් මල්යුවරජහු ලවා බෙලිගල්පායෙහි ඔහු නමින්ම පිරිවෙණක් හා රජමහා විහාරයක් කරවා ශ්‍රීවර්ධනපුර යෙහි කී පරිද්දෙන්ම සත්දවසක් මහත්වූ තුණුරුවන් පූජාවකළහ.

Translation.

He caused his younger brother Bhuwanaika Báhu, the heir-apparent, to construct in his own name, within the precincts of the palace on Beligala, a monastery *(piriveṇa)* and a royal temple *(rája-mahá vihára)*, and he made offerings (there) to the three great gems during seven days, as he had done at Ṣríwardhanapura, as before related.

(ix.)—*Attanagaluwaṅsa*, chap. 11, sec. 3.

3. තතො පුබ්බෙ ජයමහාබොධිදුම්න්දෙන සහ සකලජම්බුදීපාධිපතිනා දිනකර කුලතිලකෙන ධම්මාසොක නරින්දෙන පෙසිතානං අත්තනා සමානගොත්තානං රාජ පුත්තානං නත්තපනත්තාදිපරම්පරාගතස්ස විජයමල්ල නරාධිපස්ස ඔරසපුත්තො විජයබාහු නරින්දෙනාම රාජ සුවිඤ්ඤාතසබ්බසමයන්තරොසතත සමාචිණ්ණසුනීතිපථො සම්පන්නබලවාහනො ජම්බුද්දොණිංනාම පුරවරං මාපෙත්වා තත්ථ වසන්තො මහතා බලකායෙන කතසකලපච්චත්ථි විජයොමලයභූමිප්පදෙසතො භගවතොදාඨාධාතුඤ්ච [illegible]ාර කං පත්තධාතුවරඤ්ච ආහරාපෙත්වා සුරසදනසදිසම්’තිවිරො චමානං විමානං මාපෙත්වා තස්මිං තං ධාතුයුගලං නිවෙ සෙත්වා මහතා උපහාරවිධිනා සාදරමු’පට්ඨහන්තො භගව තො චතුරාසීතිධම්මක්ඛන්ධසහස්සානි තත්ථකෙහෙ’ව කහාපණෙහි සම්පූජෙත්වා සුගතසාසනෙ මහන්තං පුඤ්ඤ පදනං ජනයන්තො.

ඍටගිය දවස සියලු දස දහසක් යොදුන් දඹදිවට නායකවූ සූය්‍ය්‍ය වංශයට තිලකාභරණයක් වැනිවූ ධර්‍මාශොක නම් රජහු විසින් තමහට මිත්‍රවූ දෙවනපෑතිස් රජහට ශ්‍රී මහා බොධීන්වහන්සේ වඩා ගෙණෙන දවස් කැටුව එවනලද තමන්හා සමානවූ ගොත්‍රඇති රාජකුමාරවරුන්ගේ දරු මුනු බුරු පරම්පරායෙන් පැවත ආවාවූ විජය මල්ලනම් රාජෝත්තමයාහට ඖරස පුත්‍රවූ විජයබාහු නම් මහරජතෙම විශෙෂයෙන් දන්නාලද සියලු සමයාන්තර ඇත්තේ නිරන්තරයෙන් සවකීයවූ ඥාන ශක්තියෙන් පුරුදුකරණලද ලෝක නීති ධර්‍ම නීති සංඛ්‍යාත නීතිමාර්ගයන් ඇත්තේ සමෘධවූ චතුරඞ්ගිනී සේනාව ඇත්තේ දඹදෙණි නම් නුවරක් කරවා එහි වාසය කරන්නේ මහත්වූ සිව්රඟ සෙනඟින් ජයගන්නාලද පරසතුරන්ඇත්තේ කොත්මලයෙහි නිධානකළදළදා පාත්‍රධාතුන්වහන්සේ ගෙන්වාගෙණ දිව්‍ය විමානයක්හා සමානවූ විශෙෂයෙන් බබලන්නාවූ දළදා ගෙයක් කරවා එහි දළදා පාත්‍රධාතුන්වහන්සේ වඩා මහත්වූ පූජාසත්කාර කිරීමෙන් ආදර සම්භාවනා කරන්නේ භාග්‍යවත්වූ සර්‍වඥයන්වහන්සේගේ සුවාසූදහසක් ධර්‍මස්කන්ධයට එපමණවූම කාර්ෂාපණයෙන් පූජාකොට බුදු සස්නෙහි මහත්වූ කුශල චරිතයන් කරන්නේ

Translation.

In by-gone times (there was) a king named Wijaya Báhu, the legitimate son of Wijaya Malla, descendant of the sons and grandsons* of the princes of a family equal to Dharmmáṣóka, who accompanied the glorious *mahábódhi* on the day when it was sent to his friend the King Devenipẹtissa by (the said) King Dharmmáṣóka, who is like a *tilaka* ornament of the solar race, and the Emperor of the whole Dambadiva of 10,000 yoduns in extent. He (Wijaya Báhu) was acquainted with the different kinds of religious systems; he by the strength of his own intellect acquired a familiar knowledge of political science and the customs and manners of mankind; he had a powerful four-fold army. He built a city called Dambadeṇi, and resided there; and by means of his four-fold forces overcame (his) enemies, and caused to be brought from Kotmalaya the venerable tooth-relic of Buddha and his almsbowl-relic; there he caused to be built a highly splendid edifice, like unto a mansion of the gods;

* Pali: "Grandsons and great grandsons."

deposited therein those two relics, and, with great endowments, affectionately maintained the same. He offered unto the 84,000 *dhammakkhanda* of Buddha, an equal number of *kahápaṇa*, and performed highly meritorious acts in conformity with Buddhism.

(x.)

මෙලෙසින් සිරිලක්දිව සසුන් නටකල්හි ජයමහබෝ වඩා අා සිරිසඟබෝ වංසයෙන් නොනැසී පැවත අා විජයබාහුනම් රජතුමෙක් මායා රජය අත්ගෙණ, ඔළු මොළ බල මුලක් ගෙණ දෙමළ පිරිස් පොලොන්නරු වරා ලුහු බඳවා මුතු මිණි ගිහින සිවුරඟ බල ඇණි පැනි (?) ලකඟන මුඳුන් මිණි දඹ දෙණි පුරවරෙහි රජ කෙරෙමින් මහරජ දෙමළ වියවුලෙන් පරදෙසඟිය පවර තෙර මහ තෙරුන්වහන්සේ ඇතුළුවූ මහසඟ ගෙන්වා දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතුන්වහන්සේ නිධාන ගත් කොත්මලයේ වැඩවුන් නියාව අසා තෙරුන්වහන්සේ හා සමග පුදකෙරෙමින් නොලස්ව කොත්මල ගොස් දළදා පත්‍ර ධාතුන්වහන්සේ බෙලි ගලට වඩා ගෙණවුත් සිරිබර සුරපුරෙන් බට සුරවිමනක් මෙන් බඳුවූ තුන්මාලිගාවද සංඝාරාමකරවා මහපූජා සත්කාරයෙන් දළදා පාත්‍රධාතුන්වහන්සේ ගෙට වඩා කළමනා සියලු ව්‍යසථා කරවා අා සඟ සමඟ කැරමළු කම් පුදකරවා බණපොත් ලියවා සුන්දරවූ විජය සුන්දරාරාමනම් මහ පායක්කරවා අපාය දුරුකොට දවස දහස් ගණින් සඟහට සිව් පසය පවත්වා ලෝසසුන් වැඩ පිණිස අකුරු කරවා දහමින් රජ කෙරෙමින් පරලෝගියපසු, ඔහු පුත් පැරකුම් විකුම් ඇති පැරකුම්බා නම් රජුතුමෙක් දසරජ දහමින් රජ පැමිණ දළදා පාත්‍රධාතුන්වහන්සේ දඹදෙණි නුවරට ගෙන්වා ගෙණ ඇතුළු රාජාංගණයෙහි මාහැඟි දළදා ගෙයක් කරවා එහි වඩා දළදා ස්වාමීන්ට අනඟිවූ රුවන් කරඬුවක්ද එය වසා සිටිනාසේ පන්දහසක රත්රණින් ඝනරන් කරඬුවක්ද, එය වසා සිටිනාසේ තිස් දහසකින් වඩුරියන් රිදී කරඬුවක්ද කරවා දඹදෙණි නුවරසිටි සශ්‍රීකවූ ශ්‍රීවර්ධන නම් පුරය දක්වා මහවල් හැර තනා කළුවැලිපියා සුදුවැලෙලන් තවරා තැන තැන තොරණ පුන් කලස රඹ තුරු අතුරු නොව දෙපසෙහි සලසා නොයෙක් පුද පෙරහරින් දළදා පාත්‍රධාතුන්වහන්සේ සියතමින් කරවූ පිරිවෙණට වඩා පුද වෙසෙස් පවත්වමින් රන් රුවන් මුතුමැණික් ඈ පඬුරු යවා තම්ලිංගපුර සිටි දසදික්හි පතළ ධර්මකීර්ති ඇති ධර්ම කීර්ති නම් මහතෙර කෙණෙකුන්වහන්සේහා මහ සංඝයාවහන්සේ ගෙන්වා පළමු දෙමළ වියවුල්හි හිනන නිකායවූ මහ

සඟ සමඟ කරවා තෙවළා දහම් නොවලා උගන්වා අටවරෙ
ක්හි මළුකම් පුද කරවා තෙර මාතෙර අයාතැන් ආදී පදවි ප
මුණුවා කතිකාවක් ලියවා කපුයෙහි පට නටන් (?) එකඳ කැට
වියවා කෙළින් සිවුරු අසූවක් කරවා පිරිකර සමඟ එමඳම
අතුරුවා මුළුලොව යස පතුරුවා ඉකුත්සඳ ඒ රජු පුත්විජය
බාහු නම් නර පවර රජ පැමිණි දඹ දෙණි නුවරින් මහ
පෙරහරින් දළදා පාත්‍ර ධාතූන්වහන්සේ පොලොන්නරුනම්
නුවරට වඩා ගෙණ ගොස් මහ පුද කෙරෙමින්නේ දහස් දන
විසඳා එක් දහස් සසියයක් පමණ සඟ රැස්කරවා දහස් තොට
මාහැඟි මළු කම් පූජාවක් කරවා මහ සඞ්ඝයාවහන්සේට
මහදන් පවත්වා දෙලොව වැඩ සාධා ඉකුත් පසු ඔහු මල්
ලෝකෙක බාහු භුවනේක බාහු නම් රජෙක් සුන්දර ගිරිනම්
යාපව් නුවර ඇපා මාපා ඇමතිගණ පිරිවරා තුන් රජය එක්
සත් කර රජසිරි විඳිමින් මළු කම් පුදකරවා බණපොත්
ලියවා දළදාවහන්සේට බොහෝ පූජා පවත්වා විපුලව් කුසල්
රැස්කෙරෙමින් ලෝසසුන් වැඩකැර සුරසිරිරැස්වී. ඒරජහුගේ
රාජාන්තරයෙහි (?) පාණ්ඩි පස්බෑ නිරිඳුගෙන් බලපිරිස් (ලැබ ?)
ආරි සක්විති නම් ඇමතියෙක් ලක්දිව බැස ලෝසසුන් නසා
දළදාවහන්සේ ගෙණ ගොස් කුලසේකර නම් පඬිනිරිඳුට
පාවා දුන්නේය. එකල විජයබාහු නිරිඳුපුත් පෙරඹ නම්
රජෙක් ලක්දිව රජපැමිණ රට ගොස් පඬිනිරිඳුන් පහදවා
දළදා සාමීන් වඩා ගෙණවුත් පොලොන්නරු පැමිණ රජ
කරණසඳ, භුවනේක බාහු නිරිඳු පිත් ශ්‍රී නිවාස බාහු
අවිතීය බාහු විතීය භුවනේක බාහුනම් රාජෝත්තමයෙක්
රජ සිරි පැමිණ දළදා වහන්සේ විමසා එපවත් අසා තමන්
බෙලෙන් නොබා ගොස් එපැරකුම් විකුමාදිය ලදින් (?) දළදා
වහන්සේ සියපුරට වඩා ගෙණ අපමණවූ පූදකෙරෙමින්
මහසඞ්ඝයා වහන්සේට සිවුපසයෙන් සතතයෙන් උපස්ථාන
කෙරෙමින් සසුන් වැඩපිණිස නව මහ මළුකමක් කරවා
අකුරු කරවා තෙර මාතෙර අයා තැන් මාහිමි කරවා සසුන්
වැඩ සාධා සග මොක් සුවපතා කෙළින් සිවුරු අටපිරිකර
දන් දෙමින් තුණුරුවන් විෂයෙහි මහසත්කාර කෙරෙමින්
සුරපුරට පැමිණියේය.

Translation.

During the decline of the (Buddhist) religion, as aforesaid, in the illustrious Laṅká, a mighty Prince, Wijaya Báhu by name,—a lineal descendant of the race of Siri Saṅgabó, who brought the great and victorious *bó* tree,—took possession of the kingdom of

Máyá division. Armed with a strong body of warriors, he surrounded Poḷonnáruwa and drove out the Tamils.

He ruled in the great city of Dambadeṇiya, which is the crest-jewel of the Laṅká lady, richly adorned with pearls and precious stones, and possessed of a four-fold army and powerful forces. He brought back the great priests who had gone to foreign countries during the wars with the Tamils, and, having heard that the tooth-relic and bowl-relic were buried in Kotmalé, went thither without delay with the priests in great procession, and brought them to Beligala. Then he caused to be built a monastery and a three-storied palace, which is like unto a divine mansion fallen from the blissful celestial regions, and caused the relics to be brought into the house with great honour and many offerings; enacted all the necessary regulations; reconciled the priests who returned; held an ordination; caused *baṇa*-books to be written; and a large and beautiful palace, *Wijayasundarárámа* by name, to be built; avoided hell; daily presented one thousand priests with the four requisities; encouraged learning for the good of the Church and state, and reigned in the practice of justice. On his demise, his son, a great Prince, named Pẹrakumbâ (Parákrama Báhu), of mighty valour, attained sovereignity, being endowed with the ten royal virtues. He brought the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic to the city of Dambadeṇiya; caused a costly tooth-relic house to be built within the inner royal compound; deposited them therein; made a priceless gem-studded shrine for the tooth-relic, and, in order to cover it, made a casket of solid gold with five thousand (pieces of coin), and to cover this a silver casket of a carpenter's cubit (worth) thirty thousand (pieces of coin). He cleared the jungle from Dambadeṇiya to the prosperous city Sríwardhanapura; made a road, removed the black sand and spread it with white sand, erected triumphal arches on each side, placed pots filled with scented water and plantain trees in continuous row, and, with many offerings and great pomp, brought the tooth-relic and the bowl-relic to the monastery called after his own name. He sent presents of gold, precious stones, pearls, &c., and brought back from Tamaliṅgama, the priest Dharmmakírti, famed for austerity, whose name had spread in the ten directions, and the other priests; reconciled the priests who had become schismatics during the former wars with the Tamils; freely instructed them in the Tripiṭaka doctrines, held ordination eight times, created such grades as *Tera*, *Maha Tera*, *Ayáteṇ*;

wrote a regulation book, in one day spun and wove robes, and offered eighty *kaṭhina* robes, together with the other priestly requisites, and spread his fame throughout the world. His successor was Wijaya Báhu, who brought the relics from Dambadeṇiya to Poḷonnaruwa. He made great offerings, spending thousands of coins, assembled about 1,600 priests, held a grand ordination festival at Dahastoṭa, and kept up a system of alms-giving to the great priesthood, and, on his death, which took place after he had done good as regards both the worlds, his younger brother, Bhuvaneka Báhu, the sole arm of the world, attended by his ministers of every grade, made the beautiful rock Yápaw his seat of Government, and enjoyed royal prosperity, having reduced the three-fold Laṅká under one banner ; he held an ordination festival ; caused *baṇa*-books to be written ; made great offerings to the tooth-relic ; became renowned, and, acquiring merit, did good to his subjects and to the cause of the Buddhist religion, and attained heavenly bliss.

During his reign, a minister, Arisakwiti by name, came to Ceylon with the powerful army of the five Páṇḍi brother Princes ; destroyed the Church and State ; carried away the tooth-relic and gave it to a Páṇḍi King called Kulasékara. Then Peramba, a son of King Wijaya Báhu, having become King of Ceylon, went over to the (Páṇḍi) country, conciliated its King, brought back the relic and deposited it at Poḷonnaruwa.

A second Bhuvaneka Báhu, of matchless arm, son of King Bhuvaneka Báhu, whose arm was the abode of the goddess of property, came to the throne, made inquiries about the tooth-relic, and having ascertained the fact, fearlessly went out, ... brought it back to his own city, and regularly made great offerings to the relic and to the priests with the four priestly requisites ; he caused nine (?) ordinations to be held in the interests of the religion, patronised learning, created such grades as *Tera*, *Má Tera*, *Ayáteṇ*, *Má Himi*, promoted the cause of the religion, and in the hope of attaining heaven and final release, he bestowed *kaṭhina* robes and the eight requisites, highly honoured the three gems, and went to heaven.

(xi.)—*Kaḍaim-pota.*

දෙවිසි වැනිව කියනලද බෙලිගල රාජ්ජයනම් බෙලි ශිවුල් ආදියෙහිද ගල්ගුහා ආදියෙහිද මුතුහා පබළු හා සත්රුවන් පහළවූ හෙයින් බෙලිපල කෙටූ ගල්ටැම් සතරක් සතර

කොණ කඩවසමට තිබූ හෙයින් පෙර රජකුට බෙලි ඵලයක් පූර්වසතුදී ප්‍රවේණි සැලැස්මට එක්තරා කෙළඹි පුත්‍රයෙක් බිම ගත් හෙයින්ද බෙලිගල් පායට ඉඳුරැදිග ගල්පර්වත ඡිද්‍රා වක බෙලි රැකක් පිහිටි හෙයින්ද සෑම මල්වතු පිහිටි හෙයින්ද රජුන්ට බෙලිමල් පසිඳුනා හෙයින්ද බෙලිගල් රාජ්ජ යයි නම් ලද බෙලිගල් පර්වතයට බටහිර දෙණිපතක මල් වත්තක් සැදූ හෙයින් මල් දෙණිය නම් පියසෙක් ඇත.

Translation.

The twenty-second (division) is known as the principality of Beligala. It was so called, because pearls, corals, and the seven treasures* were found in *beli*,† *givul*,‡ and other trees, and in its rock caves (*galguhá*) &c., because of four stone monoliths, which stood as boundary marks at the four corners (of the rock), with a *beli*-fruit carved on each; because a certain rich man obtained the land in perpetuity by giving a *beli* fruit full of treasure to a former King; because a *beli* tree grew in a crevice of the rock on the east of Beligal palace; and because there were situated all the flower gardens from which *beli* flowers were culled for the King.

As a flower garden was laid out on a low land *(deṇi pata)* to the west of Beligala rock, there is a tract called *Maldeṇiya*.

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* Seven treasures, *i.e.*, gold, silver, pearls, gems, diamonds, cat's-eyes, and coral.

† *Ægle marmelos.*

‡ *Feronia elephantum*, or elephant apple.

AṆ-KEḶIYA.

By C. J. R. Le Mesurier, Esq., C.C.S., F.G.S., F.A.S.LON., F.C.I.

(*Read 4th October*, 1884.)

There is a short description of this Siṇhalese National game in Mr. Leopold Ludovici's Paper on "The Sports and Games of the Siṇhalese" (C. A. S. Journal, 1873),* and a more detailed account of it may not be without interest. Mr. Ludovici, moreover, describes the game as it is played with elk or deer horns, a very tame affair when compared with the *aṇ-ẹdíma* of horns made out of the roots of trees. The tug which precedes the swinging of the *henakanda*, and the art used in the arrangement of the ropes about the horns before they are hooked into one another,—two of the most important and curious features of the game,—are not described by him; while the amount of strength that is required to break an ordinary deer horn is not to be compared to that which is exerted, and often exerted in vain, to break the large and strong roots that are used in the true game. I witnessed the game once while on circuit in Uḍapaláta in the Kandy District of the Central Province, and on the third or fourth day two horns were adjusted, which not the united strength of almost all the men and boys in the village, and that not by any means a small one, could break, and which I afterwards learnt never were broken, on that occasion at least.

The *aṇ-keḷiya*, as its name implies, is a game (*keḷiya*) played with horns (*aṇ*). It is also called *aṇ-ẹdíma* "horn-pulling", and *aṇ-keḷi-pújáwa* "the offering of the horn game." It was, and is for the most part still, a purely religious game, sacred to the goddess Pattini, and is usually

* Note (1) *d*.

performed on the occasion of some epidemic ascribed to her interference. Though seldom witnessed now, it was formerly the one great national game of the Siṇhalese, and was performed in many places on a scale of great magnificence, and in the presence of thousands of spectators.

I have been unable to trace out the true origin of the game, though its mythological one, as believed in Uḍapaláta at any rate, is as follows:—The goddess Pattini was out one day with her husband Pálaṇga, gathering *sapu** flowers. To enable them to reach the flowers, they had long hooked sticks, and while they were stretching out together, their two sticks caught in each other in the tree, and they could not extricate them. While they were considering what they should do, the three sons of Mahá Vishṇu came by, and on being appealed to by the goddess, they good-naturedly took hold of the ends of the two sticks, and with "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether," broke the crook of the husband's stick, and so liberated them both. The goddess was so pleased with the performance that she suggested a game after the model of what she had just seen. So the game of *aṇ-keḷiya* was inaugurated, and whenever it is necessary to appease the goddess, the game of which she is said to be so fond, is performed to propitiate her and to rid the country of the particular scourge, which she is considered in her anger to have brought upon it.†

The game is played as follows:—A flat piece of ground *(aṇ-piṭiya)* having been selected,—the esplanade in Kandy is said to have been once a favourite place,—the trunk of a large tree (*aṇ-gaha*) is planted in the centre, (unless there is a large enough tree growing there already) and strong coils of jungle creepers called *péreḥe* are loosely wound round its base. About four or five yards in front of this tree an oblong hole is dug, 6 or 7 feet long, by 3 or 3½ feet broad, and from 4 to 5 feet deep. The exact distance from the tree depends on the description of horns to be used in the game. The sides of this hole are lined with cocoanut

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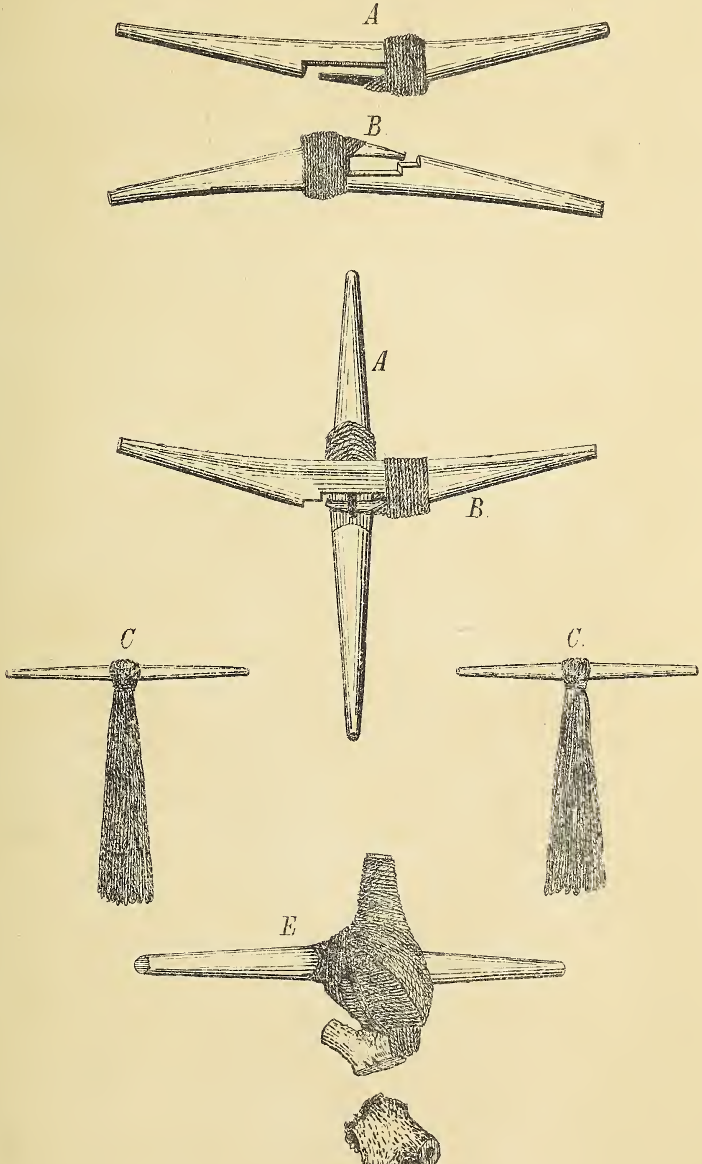
* *Micheliá champaká.* † Note (2).

stumps, and inside it is erected upside down a log of a cocoanut tree, about 24 feet long, with the roots shaved so as to have a heavy top. The post is called the *henakanda* or the *waligaha*. The hole at its base is large enough to allow of the post having a considerable amount of "play" backwards and forwards, and the heavy top is to add to the leverage and the strain, as will be described hereafter, on the horns. As in the case of the *an̥-gaha*, strong bands of creepers are coiled loosely round the base, a short distance above the level of the ground, and two long and strong ropes or jungle creepers are tied to the top; these ropes are called *waliwel̥*, and are intended to be held by the persons taking part in the game, about fifteen yards off. On opposite sides of the *an̥-gaha* two sheds are put up to keep the horns, with a platform erected in each.

In some places deer horns are used. The brow antler is shortened to about two inches, and the branch to about six, and at the end of the latter a strong piece of wood is tied crosswise. Two of these of equal size are a pair, and are fitted against each other in the game. Horns such as these are, however, only used when the game is played on a small scale, and more for amusement than as a religious ceremony, or where the root horns are not procurable. There is not so much detail in this description of the game, and certainly nothing like the enthusiasm in it that *an̥-kel̥iya* proper calls forth. In *an̥-kel̥iya* proper many kinds of roots are in use, the most important being those of the *andara*,* *petan*,† and *ẹṭṭériya*‡ trees. The greatest care is taken in selecting and preparing these, for the slightest flaw or split in the horn would seal its fate in the game. The *Yaṭipila*, or "under-side," horns must be curved, though not to such a sharp angle as a deer horn, while the *Uḍu-pila*, or "upper-side," horns are nearly straight. When required for use they are tied to the centre of long and stout pieces of wood prepared for the purpose, the length and girth of which depend on the size of the horns, though a

* *Dichrostachys cinerea.* † *Bauhinia tomentosa.* ‡ *Murraya exotica.*



Lith: S.G.O.

K.M.P.

horn six inches in girth would require a support of seven or eight feet long, and about one and a-half feet round. These supports are called *an̥-móla*, and the process of trying on the horn is always performed by an expert, and is one which requires the greatest care. The thicker end of the horn is tied to the *an̥-móla* with ropes made out of the *belipaṭṭá** tree, and the ropes must be arranged so as not to let the horn slip during the tug, for no re-arrangment is afterwards allowed. The position, too, in which the horns are tied to the *an̥-mól* is of paramount importance, for, as the whole strain is to fall on the horn, the position and manner in which it is attached to its support must necessarily add to or decrease its power of bearing the strain. The *an̥-mól* are cut away a little so as to allow the opposing horn and *an̥-móla* to fit closely to each other in the contest.†

The only other requisites are two coils of rope containing a specified number of coils, with a stick attached in such a way as to admit of its twisting the coils tightly when necessary. These are called the *wáram* and their size and strength depend on those of the horns.

When all is ready the *an̥-mól* and the *wáram* are carried in a procession to the *an̥-piṭiya*, the captain (*waṭṭáḍiyá*) of each side bearing the *an̥-mól*. At the *an̥-piṭiya* they are put on the platform in the sheds (*an̥-maḍu*) prepared for them where they are sprinkled with scented water, and some rosin is burnt under them. They are then taken to the *an̥-gaha*, and the horns are carefully measured against each other. They must be as nearly as possible of the same size, or the game will be postponed until two of equal size are produced. The Kapurála, or minister of Pattini, is then called in, and he invokes the aid of the goddess. During the invocation the captains take the horns round the *an̥-gaha* followed by the Kapurála,

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* *Hibiscus tiliaceus.*

† See Plate: A B are *Uḍupila* and *Yaṭipila* wooden "horns"; C C, *madu*, attached to sticks *(riṭi)*; D E, elk "horns."

and the tom-tom beaters. When it is over, the *Uḍupila* horn is taken back to the shed, and the coil of ropes belonging to the *Yaṭipila* horn is arranged by an expert over and under the *Yaṭipila* horn, in such a manner as is best calculated to support it, the loose ends of the coil being held in the meantime by the *Yaṭipila* adherents, who sit round in a ring and pull, press in, or twist the coils as directed by the expert. The coils belonging to the *Yaṭipila* having been arranged, the *Uḍupila* expert steps forward and arranges his coil over the ropes already laid in the manner he thinks will assist his horn, and increase the strain on the other, the loose ends of the coil being held and manipulated as before by the *Uḍupila* men. When he has finished, the *Uḍupila* horn is brought up and artfully adjusted through the coils of the ropes on to the other, and directly this is done, the two sides stand up, the ropes are pulled and twisted tightly into their places, and the ends of the coils are pulled by each party in different directions, with the object, if possible, of breaking one of the horns. If in about half an hour of this tugging neither of the horns has given way, the coils round the *Yaṭipila* are tied round those of the creepers at the base of the *an̥-gaha*, and similarly the *Uḍupila wárama* to those round the *henakanda.* Both parties then lay hold indiscriminately of the ropes tied to the top of the *henakanda*, and singing a refrain in praise of their own particular horn the while, pull with long jerks or swings, until one of the horns break off or is cracked. While the tug continues, the *an̥-mól* are carefully held in their places by one or more (according to their size) of each party.* The leverage afforded by the length of the post, its heavy top, and the "play" it has at the base, puts an enormous strain on the horns, and as a rule they break soon enough, but occasionally they last for days, and are sometimes not broken after all.

A few words on the meaning of the words *Uḍupila* and *Yaṭipila*, and what the names imply. The *Yaṭipila* is the

* When the *an̥-mól* are very large, sometimes as many as ten or twelve persons are required to hold each.

horn whose point is fixed vertically, so as to curve upwards from below and from under the *Uḍupila*, which is placed horizontally over and across the middle of the curve of the *Yaṭipila*, and at right angles to it. The two parties represented by the horns belong to either side by descent, and not by selection or choice, it being considered that every Siṅhalese family belongs from ancient time to one or the other side. It sometimes happens that members of the same family belong to different sides, but this is very rare, and indeed, to prevent its possibility, it is said that intermarriages between families of different sides were forbidden in times past. It is rarer still to find any person who has voluntarily abandoned one side for the other, and when this is done, it is owing to very bitter family quarrels. Thus every Siṅhalese who attends at an *aṅ-keḷiya*, has a close interest in the game, and knows his place in the field.

To return, directly a horn cracks or is broken, it is extricated from its ropes and its *aṅ-móla*, and a rush is made for the broken pieces (*tóḍu*) ; the *aṅ-móla* is left against the *aṅ-gaha*, and the captain of the losing side having satisfied himself that the winning horn is intact, admits that he has lost. As soon as the admission is made, a rope is tied between the *aṅ-gaha* and the *henakanda*, and the losing party are made to stand on one side of it, while the winners, one or two of whom carry the pieces of the broken horn, dance round them, hoot at them, revile them, and make themselves as disagreeable as they can without actually assaulting them. In some places indecent expressions and contemptuous reference to absent persons are forbidden ; but, as a rule, there is little or no restraint on the language that may be, and is, used.

The losers are bound to submit in silence ; but occasionally some one of them is stung beyond endurance by the taunts of his opponents, and retorts, and then there is a general fight. Should one of the winners in the whirl of the dance, or carried away by his feelings, touch one of the losing side, if he is not at once handed over to be soundly thrashed by them, a quarrel ensues, and a free-fight is the result. These quarrels, though they seldom happen, have

frequently very serious results, but, strange to say, legal proceedings are very rarely if ever instituted for the actual assault. It seems to be considered an offence *contra bonos mores*, or an insult to the goddess, to bring a case for anything that has occurred during *aṉ-keḷiya*, so that, whatever accidents may happen there, the courts hear nothing of them.

When the winners are tired of dancing round and insulting their opponents, the latter are set at liberty, and the winning horn is taken in procession to a Déwálé, or some other place specially prepared for its reception, where it remains until the following day, and is then brought back to the *aṉ-piṭiya.* The losers of the day before come prepared with another horn, which may be as much as one-fourth larger than its adversary, and the game is proceeded with as before, the previous losers being, however, as a preliminary, subjected to a repetition of yesterday's insults. If the old horn breaks, its adherents are repaid their unpleasantness of the day before, with interest; but, if it is again victorious, the losers are insulted as before; so the game proceeds until it is found impossible to break a horn within a certain prearranged time, or until the *Uḍupila* wins twice, or the *Yaṭipila* three times successively, when the game is brought to a close.*

The horns that have been victorious on several occasions are prized very highly by their possessors, and the names given to them are often very curious. I annex a few:—

Pandakuná = "the rotten tailed:" the larger end of this horn is particularly rotten. *Benarája* = "the hollow king:" the horn has a hollow in its thicker end. *Kalissa* = "the prawn:" this horn once slipped out of its *aṉ-móla* during the tug. *Ginipelikoṭa* = "the short firebrand:" it was accidentally found with some partly burnt firewood. *Gorokgaspáluwa* = "the destroyer of the *goraka* trees:" this horn was once used, and was victorious when the *aṉ-gaha* was a *goraka* tree, and came down during the struggle.

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* It is believed that Pattini is better pleased when the *Uḍupila* horn (which represents her husband's stick in the *sapu* tree) is broken.

NOTES.*

(1)

Previous notices of the Sinhalese *aṇ-keḷiya* are here brought together to further illustrate this semi-religious game :—

(*a*)

A Play or a Sacrifice.—There is another sport, which generally all people used with much delight, being, as they called it, a sacrifice to one of their gods, to wit, Potting Dio [Pattini Deviyó.] And the benefit of it is, that it frees the countrey from grief and diseases. For the beastliness of the exercise they never celebrated it near any town, nor in sight of women, but in a remote place. The manner of the game is thus. They have two crooked sticks like elbows, one hooked into the other, and so with contrivances they pull with ropes, until the one break the other; some siding with one stick and some with the other; but never is money laid on either side. Upon the breaking of the stick, that party that hath won doth not a little rejoyce. Which rejoycing is exprest by dancing and singing, and uttering such sordid beastly expressions, together with postures of their bodies, as I omit to write them, as being their shame in acting, and would be mine in rehearsing. For he is at that time most renowned that behaves himself most shamelessly and beast-like.

This filthy solemnity was formerly much in use among them; and even the King himself hath spent time in it, but now lately he hath absolutely forbidden it under penalty of a forfeiture of money. So that now the practice hereof is quite left off.

But though it is thus gone into disuse, yet, out of the great delight the people had in it, they of Gompala [Gampola] would revive it again; and did. Which coming to the King's ear, he sent one of his noblemen to take a fine from them for it. The nobleman knew the people would not come to pay a fine, and therefore was fain to go to work by a stratagem. Pitching, therefore, his tents by a pond, he gave orders to call all the people to his assistance to catch fish for the King's use. Which they were very ready to do, hoping to have the refuse fish for themselves. And when they were all thus assembled together with their tools and necessary instruments for that purpose, the nobleman charged them all in the King's name, according to the countries fashion, which was by pulling off his cap, and falling down upon the ground three times, that not a man of them should budge till they had paid such a sum of money, which was so much a piece, for reviving that play that the King had forbid. Which they were forced to do before they departed from the pond side. And the money was carried into the King's exchequer.—Knox, *Ceilon*, 1681, pp. 98, 99.

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* Added with Mr. Le Mesurier's approval.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

(*b*)

Ceremony of "Pulling of Horns" (March 1, 1830).—The ceremony of "Pulling Horns" is now taking place in this village, and I went this evening to see it. In passing through the village I was surprised to see so very few people in their houses, but when I got near the place I found they were all there. A place in the jungle is cleared, in the middle of which a deep hollow is dug. In this hole is put a cocoa-nut tree, about ten or twelve feet high, which has been rooted up for the purpose, with its root upwards. The people of the village divide themselves into two parties, called the "Upper Party" (*uḍa pila*) and the "Lower Party" (*yaṭi pila*), and each party has a large branch of a tree with the bark peeled off, notched in the middle, and another piece of wood very strong fastened tight across it, so as to resemble a hook. In some places the horns of the elk are used. When they have linked the two together they are fastened to the cocoa-nut tree by very strong topes or creeping plants (*wẹl*), and each party pulls with all their strength, at the same time making a tremendous noise, till one of the horns break. The broken horn is put into a little cadjan bungalow built on one side, and the other is carried in procession on a man's shoulder, wrapped in white cloth, together with the ropes with which it was fastened, round the cocoa-nut tree about a dozen times, under a canopy supported by four men. They then stop at a tree, in the middle of which is placed a cocoa-nut shell used as a lamp, and putting the victorious, that is, the unbroken horn, in it, they repeat some verses in Singhalese, the object of which is to invoke the goddess Pattini to take away the "great sickness" (the small-pox) which is now prevalent among them. Having concluded the verse, they worship the "horn," with their hands clasped and raised to their foreheads, in the same manner as they worship Buddha at the temples. They continue afterwards to go round the cocoa-nut tree as before, dancing and singing and blowing the conques, and beating the tom-toms; and then the conquered party sit down in the ground, and being separated from the other by a rope, they suffer themselves to have all the abuse which the Singhalese language supplies heaped upon them. This, however, though spoken with apparent earnestness, consits merely in words which are repeated, or rather sung, by the head of the party, the rest joining in it by way of chorus.—SELKIRK, *Recollections of Ceylon*, 1844, pp. 398–9.

(*c*)

Ceremony to drive away Small-pox (May 2, 1838).—A few nights ago I went to the *aṇ-piṭiya*, or place where the ceremony of "pulling the horns" takes place. (See March 1, 1830, *supra*.) In the midst of a large open space of ground a high pole is erected, generally an areka-nut tree, with the bunch of leaves at the top cut off. From the top of this pole, ropes, made of parts of the cocoa-nut leaf, are extended to the four corners of an enclosed place. A burning lamp is fixed on the top, and there are

several other lamps in other places. A large hole is dug in the ground, in which is placed the lower part of a dug-up cocoa-nut tree, about ten feet long, with the roots upwards. Between this and a large tree about twelve yards distant, are fastened two large horns, and the thick and tough jungle-creepers, with which they are bound together, are fastened to the tree on one side, and to the stump of the cocoa-tree on the other. On each side are from sixty to one hundred men, trying with all their might to break the horn. If the horn of either party breaks, that party is conquered, and submits patiently to a great deal of abuse from the other party. The conquering party, after the performance of some ceremony at the tree, carry their horn to a small *maḍuwa* prepared for it at another part of the village, in geat triumph, and at the end of a certain number of days the Kapuwás, or devil-priests, are called, and a grand ceremony takes place. The people firmly believe that "pulling horns" is the only way to get rid of the small-pox, which they call the "great disease." And they say, too, that when this disease is prevalent in the country, the gods in the other world are in the habit of pulling horns at night to stop it. In proof of this a man told me a few days ago that his father was once travelling at night, and on his way he heard at a short distance a noise such as is made at the pulling of horns.* And when he came to the place he found nobody, and he was sure the noise could only proceed from the gods. The poor man, however, was so frightened, that he went home and died soon after.

The great ceremony usual when the "pulling of horns" is ended took place to-night. In a distant part of the village of Cotta, the people had erected three *maḍu*, one of which was very large. It was filled with women and children. In one of the two smaller ones was the devil-priest, and in the other were many things that he makes use of in his ceremonies. There were two tom-tom-beaters and large crowds of people. The Kapuwá was dressed very fantastically, and had six or eight little bells on each leg. He first danced with a lighted torch in each hand, then with a bunch of areka-flowers, then with a pitcher of water, and at last with a broken chatty, in which was burning charcoal. He put himself into all sorts of attitudes, with each of these in his hands, and neither burnt his long beard, which he seemed in great danger of doing, from carrying, as he did, the two lighted torches, the one on one shoulder and the other on the other, nor spilled the water, nor shed the hot embers. All the time he was dancing he continued to throw handfuls of powdered *dummala*, or resin, into the torches, which went off in a sudden blaze like gunpowder. All this was done at the beat of tom-tom, accompanied with singing, by the men beating them. I remained to witness it till twelve o'clock, and the dancing was still going on and

* The noise made on this occasion is very great, and may be heard to a great distance. It always reminded me of I. Kings, xviii., 27.

would continue till sunrise. At 8 P.M., at 12, and at 4 A.M., plates of rice and seven different sorts of curry are placed in small covered maduwas, made for the purpose, as offerings to the devil.—*Id.*, pp. 505-8.

(*d*)

Among the religious games the first in the *aṉ-ẹdíma*, or "Pulling of Horns," the idea of the merry-thought of European superstition developed on a gigantic scale. It is not a game in celebration of a victory, nor in commemoration of any great national event, like the games of classic Greece and Rome, but rather in propitiation of some offended diety; and whether sickness has visited the people, murrain attacked the cattle, insects and grubs settled on the young rice fields, or a protracted drought threatened calamity to man and beast, the alarmed Siṉghalese peasant know of no more efficacious remedy than an appeal to Vishṇu or Síva, Pattini-deviyó, Katarágam-deviyó, or Basnairá-deviyó, through the medium of an *aṉ-ẹdîma.* The village elders, as soon as they awake to a sense of the impending danger, wait in solemn deputation on the Kapurála, or priest of the district *kówila*, or temple, carrying presents with them for the seer, (very much after the manner of Saul when he waited on Samuel to learn the name of the particular deity that ought to be appeased,) and generally to concert measures for the due and proper celebration of the games. The Kapurâla promises to obtain the desired information, but as this must be done at a lucky hour, on an auspicious day, and after sundry ablutions and purifications, he dismisses his visitors with a promise to communicate with them on a subsequent day. He next proceeds to consult the oracle, and fixes a day for the celebration of the game, taking care, however, that it should be sufficiently removed to allow of the real crisis of the danger to be passed. The day fixed upon is communicated to the elders, who invite the villagers interested, by distribution of betel leaves; and preparations for the celebration commence in earnest. The villagers next divide into two parties or teams, the upper and the lower. This distinction is merely topographical, the villages lying towards the head of a valley or stream being the upper and those further down being the lower.* Each party next chooses its captain or champion, who brings with him the stout branch of an elk horn with the frontlet stang on. This horn is held in proportionate veneration according to the number of victories it may have achieved, and there are some handed down from father to son—for the championship is hereditary—that have come

"O'er a' the ills o' life victorious"

for a hundred years. The place appropriated for the game is called the *aṉ-piṭiya*, an open place in some central situation, and generally under

* Not so; the *Uḍupila* and *Yaṭipila* are hereditary distinctions.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

the shade of an over-spreading *bó* tree, thus making the tree sacred to Buddha participate in a purely Hindú ceremony. At one end of the *aṅ-piṭiya*

"Stands there a stump six feet high, the ruins of a tree,
"Yet unrotted by rain and tempests' force."

The stump selected is generally that of a cocoanut tree put loosely into a deep hole, with the root-end up, and is called the *henakanda*, or "thunderbolt." A hole large enough for a man's arm to pass is cut or burnt through this upper end. The respective teams are now ready with stout ropes made of buffalo-hide and strong jungle creepers, when the Kapurála opens the game, proclaiming, like Pelides at the funeral pyre of Patroclus,

"Come ye that list this prize to win, and ye this bout decide."

The men of the upper team now pass a stout buffalo-hide rope through the hole in the *henakanda* and firmly make fast to its end the elk horn of their champion. The horn of the lower team is similarly got ready and tied to the nearest tree; the *henakanda* is now leaned forward, and the two champions hook the horns one into the other, and lash them together with cords. The two champions grasp the horns in their hands to prevent their turning or slipping, and the word is given to pull. Both teams now unite and haul at the rope passed through *henakanda*, while some half a dozen men of both parties lay hold of the *henakanda* and sway it up and down, as the rope in the hands of the pullers is tightened or relaxed. The two champions hold on to the horns like grim death, and are swayed hither and thither with every motion of the rope. The contest lasts for hours, the snapping of a rope only serving to prolong it with a fresh splice, until one of the horns yields, and the pullers go rolling and sprawling on the ground.*

All the time the mighty tug has been going on, the Kapurála is engaged at a small booth constructed of white olas under the *bó* tree, chanting the sacred hymns appropriate to the occasion, jingling the *halamba*, or consecrated armlets, and burning incense to the accompaniment of tom-tom, fife, and cymbal. After the contest has been decided the whole assembly go in procession through the villages that participated in the ceremony, the Kapurála leading with a chant, the champion carrying the victorious horn in a basket on his hand, and every one joining in the "*hóyiyá*" chorus at the proper stops. By the time the procession returns to the ground, a feast, consisting of rice boiled in

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* In this, as well as in the striking of cocoa-nuts *(poropol gẹhima)*, it is considered a bad omen should the horn or cocoa-nut of the upper team break. such an accident is looked upon as the consequence of the continual displeasure of the offended deity. Hence it is not unusual to concede the victory to the upper team by opposing a weaker horn.

cocoa-nut milk, vegetable curries (for flesh of any kind is forbidden), tire, and honey is laid out on green plantain leaves. The feasting over, they all rise at a sign from the Kapurâla, and give one united shout "*hóyiyá*," and then disperse. The Kapurâla receives the customary presents, and the victorious elk horn is again laid up in "lavender," if a liberal sprinkling of oil of resin may be so called, until some other threatened danger brings it out.—L. Ludovici, *C. A. S. Journ.*, 1873, pp. 20-24.

(*e*)

"*Aṉ-keḷiya*," *or* "*Pulling of Horns.*" March 3, 1883.—Witnessed this superstitious game of the Siṉhalese to-day, at Kaḷubôvila in the Salpiṭi Kóralé, Western Province. Small-pox had been prevailing in the villages round for some time, and the wiseacres, as usual in case of such epidemics, had decided to worst the particular demon or demons responsible, by invoking the aid of *Pattini-deviyó*, the patroness of the sport, with *aṉ-keḷi-pújáva.*

[It is customary with the Siṉhalese, when any malignant type of disease attacks man or beast, to meet and consider what form of ceremony, *aṉ-keḷiya*, *porapol gẹhîma*, &c., the remedy had best take. The aid of the Kapurâla, or lay priest of a Dévâlé, is called in to name time and place. Should *aṉ-keḷiya* be decided upon, the villagers, attended by a Kapurâla (sometimes by two, one for each side), proceed to the spot selected (*aṉ-piṭiya*; *aṉ-piṭṭaniya*) at the hour fixed, after the necessary purification of themselves. The ground has already been sanctified by the erection of a post adorned with cocoanut flowers (*kap hiṭavanavá*) and two horns selected by the Kapurâla, and handed over to the *aṉ-waṭṭáḍiyá*, or captain, of either side. A shed is put up, ornamented with various flowers and tender cocoanut leaves, which the Kapurâla hallows by prayer accompanied by the sprinkling of saffron-water, the waving of incense, and jangling of the sacred *deyiran*, or bangles. Meanwhile, the foot of a tree (*aṉ-gaha*) is cleared, and a narrow pit dug to receive the cocoanut stump (*henakanda*; *waligaha*), and lined with planks. Through the upper part of this cocoanut stump (which is inserted in the pit with the shaved root upwards) a hole is bored and a stout rope passed: strong nooses of *kirindi** or *kaḷu* creeper of a single link or more are also made round the lower part of the *aṉ-gaha* and the *henakanda.*]

The game had been running on for a week or two, and fortune had steadily inclined to the *Yaṭipila* (lit. "Under-party") side, the special *protegés* of the goddess Pattini, as the *Uḍupila* (lit. "Upper-party") are of her husband, Pálaṉga. The *aṉ-piṭiya*, or arena selected, was in the jungle, but not far from habitations. On arrival (4 P.M.) found the

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* *Rourea santaloides*, W. and A.

Yaṭipila party busily preparing for the struggle by cutting the *kón** socket (into which the horn itself was let), so as to allow the two horns to meet closely. Here the "horns" consist of two pieces of hard, well-seasoned wood, *tarana*† and *andara*‡ respectively,—six to eight inches in length and one and a half or two inches thick,—tapering slightly towards their points. These had been fitted into the sockets, and bound down fast with the tough bark of a shrub (*beli paṭṭá*§), to add to their strength.

Meanwhile the Kapurála was performing an initiatory service in the shed (*maḍuwa*) common to both parties. At the side of the tree (*aṇ-gaha*) and cocoanut stump (*henakanda*) to which the horns were to be attached prior to the actual "pulling," stood the *mal-pęla*, or small cadjan-roofed shed for flowers and other offerings of either party. In these were kept, till wanted, the horns and bark strands (*madu*) used for tying up the horns when finally adjusted across each other. Festoons of young cocoanut leaves connected the three sheds together, being carried across high poles, at the top of which rag torches were fixed —a proof that all were prepared to carry on the stern, if bloodless, fray "till utter darkness closed her wing." From time to time the Kapurála might be heard muttering some incantations in the *maḍuwa*, where he was assisted by a *Uḍupila* and *Yaṭipila* boy. On a shelf in the *maḍuwa* were ranged chatties, in which the money offerings (*panḍuru*) of both sides were placed, a chank, and an old horn (hero of many a gallant fight) carefully wrapped in white cloth and decked with flowers: *panḍuru* were noticed, too, hung to the roof of each *mal-pęla* inside.

When the *Yaṭipila* horn socket had been shaped so as to satisfy the very scrupulous ideas of both sides, the *Yaṭipila* party brought their *madu* (five skeins of *beli paṭṭá*) and placed them to the best advantage round their horn,—a most important part of the business, and closely watched by the *Uḍupila* faction, it being quite possible so to arrange the strings as to put the "enemy" at a serious disadvantage in the ensuing "tug of war." Much time was wasted, *more Indico*, in the adjusting of the *madu*, strong language being freely bandied with friends and foes alike. When the *Yaṭipila* party had at length finished placing their *madu* to their own satisfaction, it seemed as if the *Uḍupila* men would decline the contest on the score of some fancied unfair arrangement of the strings. Undoubtedly, they had been laid with great skill, skein by skein,—nay, strand by strand,—and beaten down by careful hands, so as to leave no weak point for the opponents to profit by. Ultimately the *Uḍupila* party consented to take their chance and try

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* *Schleichera trijuga*, or Ceylon oak, Willd.

† *Debera corymbosa*, Willd.

‡ *Dichrostachys cinerea*.

§ *Hiibcus tiliaceus*.

conclusions. Their *madu* were then brought and similarly arranged over those of the *Yaṭipila*. Next the *Uḍupila* horn itself was carried in semi-procession from their own *mal-pęla*—the more zealous of the party adoring it *en route*—and inserted through the *madu* across the *Yaṭipila* horn at right-angles.

Yaṭipila having won at the last two "pulls" the *Uḍupila* side was allowed on this occasion an *andara* horn as against one of *tarana*, a supposed weaker wood. Throughout the whole process of arranging the *madu* and the horns, only eighteen men were permitted to take part—eight of *Uḍupila*, ten of *Yaṭipila*.

Immediately the horns were fairly hooked together a mighty struggle ensued between the eighteen champions in their endeavour to twist their own *madu* more quickly and tightly than their opponents. Here and there the seething mass of men was borne writhing and swaying.

"They tug, they strain! down, down, they go!"

till the sweat poured down apace, and utterly exhausted, both parties mutually agreed to say "Hold, enough"—but not until many a flesh-wound had been gained in the senseless "scrimmage."

As neither horn had snapped in this preliminary trial of strength, they were brought to the *Yaṭipila* tree *(aṇ-gaha)*, and the *Yaṭipila madu* bound to the creeper noose *(pérẹssa)* which encircled the trunk near the bottom. The *henakanda*, or *Udupila* stump, was then swung over in its narrow pit so as to approach the *Yaṭipila* tree as closely as possible; and when about two yards off to its *pérẹssa*, or double-link noose, was joined the *Uḍupila madu*. All being now ready for the real tug, the *henakanda* was slowly pushed over to the further end of the pit, thus effectually tightening up the nooses, *madu* and horns, between the *aṇ-gaha* and *waligaha*. Thereupon all present, irrespective of party, seized the rope attached to the other side of the *henakanda*, dragging it towards them by repeated jerks,* leaving only the eighteen picked men to steady the horns, one of the *Uḍupila* champions standing on the *Yaṭipila* socket and keeping the *Uḍupila* socket perpendicular. Sometimes days elapse before either horn snaps—occasionally they cannot be broken at all. In this instance the ominous click was heard within ten minutes of the "pulling." The horns were at once unloosed, and the *andara*, or *Uḍupila* horn, found to be broken. A scene followed baffling description. The victorious *Yaṭipila* party rushed madly about, shouting for joy, and shaking the broken pieces of the horn in the faces of their humbled opponents—looking in the growing darkness like veritable demons, as they dashed wildly from place to place. The triumphant horn itself was carried by a few of its admirers thrice round the *maḍuwa*, where the Kapurála recited further incantations.

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* The noise of the *henakanda* striking the end of the pit in each pull or jerk is called *walivẹtenavá*, and may be heard at a great distance.

After a short interval a rope was stretched from the *aṅ-gaha*, and the *Uḍupila* party all made to stand on one side of it, whilst their *Yaṭipila* conquerors contemned them by raising an abusive refrain couched in terms of which the less said the better. It commenced thus, one man at a time giving vent to his impromptu sarcasm and abuse, the rest striking in after each line with "*hóyiyó*":—

Hondada, puté, *Hóyiyó!* *Aṅ-keḷiyá,* *Hóyiyó!*	"Good, my boy, was'nt it, Ha! ha! Your pulling the horns, Ha! ha!"

[The evident relish with which the foulest expressions, coined *extempore* by the *Yaṭipila* "*coryphæus*," would appear to be appreciated by his fellows, leaves on the mind no enhanced respect for the Siṅhalese villager in his lighter mood. To the credit of the vanquished be it said, they usually submit to the incessant volley of "Billingsgate" with perfect, if sullen, silence, worthy of a better cause.]*

As I quitted the wierd scene now lit by the dim torches, the "fun" (save the mark!) began to wax fast and furious, and would probably be carried on for hours.

[From the day of commencing the ceremonies attending *aṅ-keḷiya*, the villagers should cleanse themselves, and their houses, and refrain from eating prohibited flesh, in order to keep free of all uncleanness (*kili*). After the lapse of some days, and when one or two horns have been broken, arrangements are made for the *péli*, or procession round the villages. The Kapurála and Kaṭṭáḍiyá inform the people of the days fixed for the procession, who, as a rule, then send necessary requirements, as provisions, cloth, money, &c., to the *aṅ-piṭiya*, for their use. On the procession day the inmates of each house bathe, anoint their heads, and get together money (to be offered to the sacred *deyiran* box), earthen pots adorned with cocoanut flowers, and saffron-water for sprinkling. Those accompanying the procession provide themselves with tambourins, tom-toms, trumpets, and all kinds of Siṅhalese music.

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* A story is told of a Mudaliyár and his servant, passing together near an *aṅ-piṭiyak*, the latter holding a talipot leaf umbrella over his master's head. Suddenly the cry "*hóyiyó*" arose from the victorious side, to which the servant belonged, the Mudaliyár being of the vanquished party. Thereupon the servant began to dance for joy behind the Mudaliyár, ever and anon shouting "*hóyiyó*," and tapping the great man's head with the talipot leaf. The Mudaliyár, naturally surprised and angry, turned upon him with "How now, fellow!" ("*Mokada, bola!*"), to which the servant replied, "See, sir, *we* have won!" ("*Ané, Hámuduruvané, api dinuvá.*") Without another word the Mudaliyár passed on, shamed.

Some of these players and dancers precede, whilst others follow, the victorious "horn," which, wrapped in white cloth, incensed and sprinkled with saffron-water, is carried on the head of the Kaṭṭáḍiyá, dressed in spotless white, under a white canopy, attended by the Kapurálas with *deyiran* on their heads. The people, as they march with lighted torches and censers, give vent to loud "hurrahs," at the same time extolling the virtues of the goddess Pattini, and of I'śwara, Vishṇu, and Kandakumára. Every house of the victorious side is visited, and on its inmates blessings invoked with the *deyiran:* in return, these offer refreshments of milk, rice, jaggery, coffee, &c. All the houses and gardens should be well cleaned, and the former whitewashed for the reception of the Kapurála and the others conducting the procession; otherwise they will not be entered, and thus lose the benefit of the general exorcism. This procession is continued for seven days, at the end of which a grand feast is given to the people at the *aṇ-piṭṭaniya**.—H. C. P. Bell.

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(2)

The mythical history of *Pattini Deviyó*, whose aid the Siṇhalese so readily invoke to rid them not only of *maha leḍa*, "the great sickness," or small-pox, but of every form of epidemic

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* Compare the Tamil *veḷvé* at Trincomalie (as described in the "North Christian Herald," for March, 1879), which forms the concluding part of the *grámasánti* ("village propitiation") ceremony "to perfect what was lacking in the former." It is so arranged that the services of the temple (Kónásar) or their benefits became available for every house and part of the town. *Kumbam* were carried round from every temporary shrine along all the streets, accompanied by every sort of native music, and decorated in truly oriental style. An *álavaṭṭam* made of leaves and clothes, a flag, an umbrella, and the large sacrificial knife by which the goats had been killed, were carried round and exhibited at every house. The owners of the houses were expected to decorate their gates with leaves and plantain trees, and place outside a *niṛai-kuḍam*, or a pot of water on a white cloth, decorated with palm and mango leaves, on a table under which was placed a betel stand containing betel leaves, arecanuts, and grain, burning lamp, and smoking incense. The *kumbam* were carried on the heads of men who professed to be under diabolical influence, and who, smeared with sacred dung, danced through the streets to the sound of tom-toms, uttering cries and groans which were taken to be the voices of evil spirits. At every house before which they stopped water was poured over them and a young cocoanut was given them to drink, so that it is not surprising to hear that next day two of them were struck down by heat apoplexy.

disease, is contained in a collection of thirty-five "books," styled *Pan-tis-kólmuré*, only to be found complete in the hands of a few of her lay priests. Among the episodes of the goddess' life on earth is related the occurrence which originated the national game *aṇ-keḷiya*. It may be read, *inter alia*, in a small Siṇhalese pamphlet, under the title *Aṇkeḷi-upata*, or *Pattini-málava*. This poem contains seventy-seven four-line stanzas, and some additional verses, written in simple colloquial style.

Aṇ-keḷi-upata.

Stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, relate the goddess' birth in "the mango grove" of King Páṇḍi, whose eyes she put out in the presence of Indra (*Sakra Deva*). Thence she proceeds to the city of Madurá to meet Prince Pálaṇga, and be married to him. Stanzas 5, 6, and 7: Prelude to description of *aṇ-keḷiya*.

8

සොලී රටෙන් බැස පාලඟ කුමරී ඳු
මායාරජුගේ පත්තිනි දෙවි ඳු
වලලු ඇන්න ආවයි සිත් පුරු ඳු
සරණ මගුල් කර පාවා දෙවි ඳු

9

පාලඟ කුමරුන් පත්තිනි දෙවි යෝ
උයනට වඩිමින් කෙළකෙළ සිටි යෝ
එතනට සපුමල් කුසුමක් ඇරී යෝ
මෙවෙන් උපාකර පත්තිනි දෙවි යෝ

10

මෙමල දකින්නට සිඹිසඳ ගොසෙ දූ
මෙමල දකින්නට විළහස යෙමු දූ
එදු ගොසින් විල් අසල නොවේ දූ
උදු එමල් විමසා අපි යෙමු දූ

8

From *Solí* country came Prince Pálaṇga;
Máyá King's daughter the goddess Pattini
Came, as her wont, to buy bangles;
By the gods they were wedded.

9

As Prince Pálaṇga and goddess Pattini
Were sporting in the orchard,
A *sapu** flower to bud caused Pattini;
A playful trick she planned.

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* *Michelia champaka.*

10

“How, love, am I to see this flower ?
Shall we go to the tank to find it ?
Went we not near the tank that day ?
Let us go to seek it in the morning.”

After due offerings to the gods to ensure a successful quest (11, 12),

13

ගොසින් බැසපුවසි මානෙල් විල   වා
ඔතන නොවෙයි සිමි තවයන් එපි   වා
ගොසින් බැසපුවසි නාමල් විල   වා
ඔතන නොවෙයි සිමි තවයන් එපි   වා

Wending their way a tank of water lilies they reached,
“This is not the spot, love! let us go on;”
Next a grove of *ná* trees they entered.
“This is not the spot, love! let us go on.”

Thence to groves of *veṭakeyiyá* * and *dunukeyiyá* † fruitlessly (14), till at length, within a *champak* grove, Pálaṇga sees a flower reflected in a pond (15). Essaying to climb the tree (16), god Viṣva-karma aids by bringing a golden ladder (17). In vain Pálaṇga scans the boughs, north, east, west, and south for the flower (18, 19), but sees it at last out of reach on the topmost bough (20). They both lament their ill-luck, until Pálaṇga, with divine eyes, discovers a sandalwood hooked (sapling) (21). Again Viṣva-karma assists, providing a golden arekanut cutter with which to cut the hooks (22).

23

කොකි දෙක ඇද ගසමුලට වඩි   න්   නේ
එරන් එ ඉණිමග ගහට තබ   න්   නේ
පාලඟ ඉස්සර ගහට වඩි   න්   නේ
පත්තිනි බිමසිට කොකි උඩ දූ   න්   නේ

24

දෙවතුව පත්තිනි ගහට වඩි   න්   නේ
පාලඟ උඩකඳ බලාවඩි   න්   නේ
පත්තිනි යටි කඳ බලා වඩි   න්   නේ
දෙන්නම කොකි දෙක මලට පොව   න්   නේ

25

සැක්‍රදෙවිඳු මේ මවිත බල   න්   නේ
මලෙන් වැරදි කොකි දෙක ඇවිලෙ   න්   නේ
කොකි ඇදලා අත්දෙක රතුවෙ   න්   නේ
බැරිය කියාලා බිමට බසි   න්   නේ

---

* *Pandanus odoratissimus*, or screw pine. † *P. humilis.*

26

නුවරට ගමනුත් පිටත්ව ය න් නේ
අඟනුන් දහසක් ඒක කඩ න් නේ
පිරිමින් දහසක් එක්කරග න් නේ
දෙවනුව දෙවියන් ගොසින් දකි න් නේ

27

අඟනුද පත්තිනි යටිපිල සිටි න් නේ
පිරිමිද පාලඟ උඩුපිල සිටි න් නේ
දෙපිලට සිට කෙකි දෙකද අදි න් නේ
පාලඟ කුමරුගෙ කෙක්ක බිදෙ න් නේ

28

හීයොයි කියා යටිපිල සමුදා වා
කියා නටති අන්කෙළි වාරා වා
කියති ඉතින් කුල්වාරන් බෝ වා
ඉදිති බලා සිත ලැජ්ජා බෝ වා

23

To the foot of the tree the hooks they took,
And deftly placed the golden ladder ;
Pálaṅga is first to mount the tree,
To him Pattini hands the hooks.

24

Then goddess Pattini climbed the tree,
To a higher bough ascended Pálaṅga,
On a lower bough remained Pattini ;
With their hooks both touched the flower.

25

God Ṣakra beheld this wondrous act ;
Missing the flower the two hooks caught ;
Pulling at the hooks their hands grew red ;
Unable to part them, both descended.

26

Then to the city they returned ;
(To pull the hooks) a thousand maids
And a thousand men were summoned ;
Again Pálaṅga and Pattini) went to see the gods.

27

All the maids with Pattini were on the lower side (*Yaṭipila*),
All the men with Pálaṅga were on the upper side (*Uḍupila*) ;
Ranging (themselves) they pulled the two hooks ;
Prince Pálaṅga's hook it was that broke.

28

The *Yaṭipila* assemblage, crying " *hîyoyi*,"
Danced, reciting horn-pulling songs
As they sang their scornful ditties;
(The *Uḍupila* party) stood silent in their shame.

Enraged at his defeat Pâlaṇga cries "Cut down and bring me hither hooks from all places where hooks may be had" (29). Collecting 7,000 oxen and loading them with seven *amunam* of arekanuts, he sent men to bring *andara** wood (30). Traversing the hill-country (*Uḍaraṭa*), they rested in *Hévâheṭa* and *Haṇguranketa;* thence through *Maturaṭa* to "the city," and on through *Tunkinda* to *Kaḍawata;* passing *Wẹllawáya* and *Kurugama* by winding paths they crossed the ferry at *Yadalangamuva,* and spread their gunny bags (of arekanuts) in *Usaṇgoḍa* (32). Skirting "the two ponds" they went through "the city" to *Kataragama* (temple); there they made offerings and started afresh the next morning (33). Arriving at *Katagamuva* in *Máwatkaḍa*, and passing over "the tank built of gods," they beheld the villages *Mîrávilá* and *Sitrávila*, where they rested after crossing the *Kirindi-gaṇga* (34). Proceeding, they traversed the great salt pans of *Koholankaḍa*, crossed the *Walawé-gaṇga* to *Mágama;* thence through *Doḷos-giruva* and *Mátoṭa* (Mâtara) to *Devundara* (Dondra), where they opened their bags afresh (35).

Learning that they had come from *Máyá-raṭa* in search of *andara* wood, the natives provided a thousand *andara* sticks in exchange for the seven *amunam* of dried arekanuts (36, 37). Stanzas 38 and 39 describe the return route, through *Mátoṭa*, across the *Walawé-gaṇga* to *Mágama,* and past *Buttala* and *Palaṭupána* to *Andun-oruva* and *Kẹbilitta;* thence on through *Kavudáva*, *Márava*, *Múdavapun*, and *Báháré*, till they struck *Dambagalla* and the *Koṭabóva* road, where they rested awhile. At length they reach *Wellassa*, and emptied out the thousand *andara* sticks on the ground,

41

විස්ම කරුම අං කනුව සදා ලා
සැක්‍රදෙවිඳු රඹ තොරණ මවා ලා
තල්වලු පොල්වළු වට බන්දා ලා
පොල්මල් රුක්මල් බැඳ පිහිටා ලා

42

අහසේ ඉර හඳ පහන් ලබා ලා
පොළවේ මිහිකත කලස්දරා ලා
සතොසින් සැම දෙවි දිවස් බලා ලා
මෙලෙසින් කෙළියට ආසිරි දී ලා

* *Dichrostachys cinerea.*

43

නාගලොවෙන් පේරැස්ද ගෙණෙ   න්   නේ
රුසිවරයින්නෙන් වෙළුවද දු   න්   නේ
කඳකුමරුන්නෙන් රිකිල්ල දු   න්   නේ
පත්මක මුල ලා අඟ බැඳග   න්   නේ

44

අන් කෙළියට රන් මන්ද එපා   දූ
එම විගසට රන්මන්ද කොයින්   දූ
රන්මදු ගන්නට හයිය එපා   දූ
ඊට උපායක් කියනු කොසේ   දූ

45

ඊනකුලේ රොඩියාගෙන් න   න්   නේ
එලහන් මීහන් වරද ගෙණෙ   න්   නේ
බඹයට වක්කර මදු ගලන   න්   නේ
සියක් පොටක් මදු අං වර දු   න්   නේ

41

God Vișmakarma made the horn-pulling post;
The arch of plantains, God *Ṣakra* raised,
With bunches of palmyrah and cocoanut fruit,
Entwined with flowers of cocoanut and *ruk.**

42

Brightly shone sun and moon that tide,
Earth's goddess bore *kalas*† in her hand,
All the gods with divine eyes beholding,
With gladness bestowed blessings on the sport.

43

From the Nága world *pérẹs*‡ were brought,
Veḷuva§ was given by the Risis,
Strong *rikilla*‖ by Kandakumaru ;
To a *patmaka* root the hooks were joined.

44

"For horn-pulling sport is not *ran̥-manda* needed?
Where at this time can we find *ran̥-manda?*
When obtained it must be strong,
Oh! for some plan (by which to obtain it)."

---

* *Myristica Horsfieldea*, Bl.
† A pot with cocoanut flower inserted, on which a light burns.
‡ Double-link noose.
§ Lit., "bandage": creeper, &c., for tying the horns.
‖ The cross sticks of "horns", fastened to the nooses.

45

The low-caste Roḍiyá was called ;
Ox and buffalo hide thongs were brought,
And twisted into *madu* of a fathom length ;
A hundred *madu* coils were given for horn-pulling thongs.

The price of the *madu* settled (46)

47

සැමදෙවි පාලඟ උඩුපිල සිට ලා
පත්තිනි මිහිකත යටිපිල සිට ලා
එක කහ අත්තක් සුරත වඩා ලා
අන්දර දහසම බිඳිමි කියා ලා

48

දහස් ගණන් අං බිඳ වාදය වෙ ච් චි
වෙනස්වෙලා සිට ලැජ්ජ වෙ ච් චි
නසින්ඩ පාලඟ ලැජ්ජ වෙ ච් චි
දිවස් බලා පත්තිනි දුක්වෙ ච් චි

49

මාගේ හිමිසඳ උරණ නොව න් නේ
මාගේ තෙදබල පෑමි බොල න් නේ
දෙපිලට සරියේ දිනුන් කිය න් නේ
කියා පතිනි දෙවි වරද මුද න් නේ

47

All the gods with Pálaṇga were on the upper side,
Earth's goddess and Pattini were on the lower side ;
Taking a saffron root in her right hand,
"I will break the thousand *andara* hooks" cried (Pattini).

48

Breaking thousands of hooks the contest grew (hot),
And (Pálaṇga) standing aloof was shamed,
Even to death was he shamed,
And Pattini by her divine power aware, felt pity.

49

"O! my love, be not angry ;
My majestic power I displayed,
Both parties were alike victorious,"
With gentle words she pacified him.

After thus pulling horns at *Wellassa*, and breaking 100,000, two only remained ; these they bore to *Bintẹnna* (50) Stanza 51 ; *Mayiyangana*, the city of three gold spires, known as *Baranẹs*, to rid it of curses. Crossing the *Mahawẹli-gaṇga*, and surmounting "the hill of stone steps," with joy they beheld the lights of *Dumbara* (52); then passing the two

Denuwara they reached *Senkaḍagala* (Kandy), and, dispelling all ills there (53) stood upon the horn-pulling meadow (*aṇ-piṭiya*).

54

අංපිටියක් සරසා ලා
සත් දවසක් අං කෙළ ලා
පෙරහැර පැන් වක්කර ලා
මෙලෙසින් උවදුරු ඇර ලා

A meadow they decorated for pulling the horns,
And pulled horns for seven days,
Then sprinkled (the country) with *Perahęra pęn*,*
By these means dispelling diseases.

Thus were all evils driven to the great ocean (55).

56

මානබලා බැඳගණ එක එ ල් ලේ
ගාණ සඳුන් පිනිදිය එක එ ල් ලේ
තැල්ල තාන කරලාගණ බෙ ල් ලේ
උවදුරු ඇර යෙයි මෙගම මුළු ල් ලේ

57

ආලවඩන සුසිරු අංකෙළි යේ
කහලි නැතුව අන් කෙළියොත් සරි යේ
සත් පත්තිනි දෙවි උවදුරු ඇරි යේ
ලෙඩක් ඉතින් නොතිබෙයි ගමහරි යේ

56

Duly the horns are measured and tied;
Daubing (their bodies) with lines of sandal wood unguent,
And putting *tęlla* and *tána* ornaments round their necks,
They marched through the village driving away diseases.

57

Ah! delightful horn-pulling sport, fraught with blessing,
It is meet to pull horns guilelessly;
Goddess Sat-Pattini banished all ill;
Henceforth will no sickness rage in the village.

59

වෙසක් මහට පූජා ඇරග න් නේ
ඇහැළ මහට පෙරහැර කරප න් නේ
මැදින් දිනට අං කෙළිය කෙළි න් නේ
මෙලෙසින් උවදුරු ලොව ඇරය න් නේ

---

* Lit., Processional water.

"In *Vesak* month receive offerings,
In *Ẹsaḷa* make processions,
In *Mẹdindina* hold *aṇ-keḷiya*;
Thus will all diseases quit the world."

The remaining Stanzas (60–77) relate in incoherent fashion Pattini's birth and certain incidents connected with the origin of *aṇ-keḷiya.**

The extra verses would seem to cover an alternative version of the former half (Stanzas 1–54) of "*Aṇkeḷi upata.*" They commence—

ඉරට කිළුට ඇද්ද මෙ සේ
සඳට කිළුට ඇද්ද මෙ සේ
සඳුන් පුවද මල් නෙළුම ට
අපට කිළුට ඇද්ද මෙ සේ

Is the (mighty) sun unclean?
Is the (gentle) moon unclean?
Are we also (held) unclean
To pluck the fragrant sandal flower?

They then proceed to describe the efforts of Pattini and Pálaṇga to pluck the flower. The gods provide a cord and staff of gold; Pattini spares six of her waist-robes in succession (for a rope ladder); Pálaṇga mounts the tree, and on the topmost bough descries "the fiery *champak* flower" (*gini sapu mal*) :—

මාදිය කලයක් විලස ට
සත්රියනක් නැටිට ඇති ව ට
දහසක් කැකුළු ඇ ති
පෙති දහසක් ඉසිරග ති
බඹරුනාද රොන්ගණී ති
දෙබරුනාද බිඟුකෙළි ති

"Like a huge water-pot,
With stalk of seven cubits,
Countless petals surrounding thousand buds,
There the bee sucks and wasp and hornet sport."

Sandal wood hooks and a gold arekanut-cutter are miraculously forthcoming, and, in striving to reach the flower, the two hooks catch. Unable to unloose them, Pattini and Pálaṇga weep "till their eyes are red." The god of the sky then sends a thousand of his ministering spirits and the goddess of earth a thousand of her train, to aid in pulling the hooks asunder. Pálaṇga's hook is broken, and, in wrath, he proceeds in search of horns through the lands of *Holi*, *Kaliṇga*, *Teliṇga*, *Kási*, *Baṇgáli* as far as *Andara désa*, where he at last obtains a thousand horns. Placing these on the backs of a thousand oxen, he recrossed the sea to

* These stanzas have probably been interpolated into the original poem, and add nothing to its interest.

Wellassa, and there "pulled horns," and collecting the broken pieces into a heap, named that place *An̥goḍa*. With nine remaining hooks he reached *Navagamuva*, and again "pulled horns"; finally, with but two hooks, he came to *Pérádeniya*, and pulled them at *An̥-pitiya.*

So far the legendary origin of *an̥-keḷiya*, which clearly connects it with the continent of India, whence it may have been imported into Ceylon—possibly under some form unsuited till modified to the nature of the people—with the rest of Hindú rites and ceremonies at present overlying and marring the simpler Buddhism of the Island. For it is not perhaps unreasonable to recognise in the two "horns" *uḍupila* and *yaṭipila*, and the ceremonial attending their "pulling," the Sin̥halese development (albeit unknown to themselves) of that mysterious worship of the emblems of Nature, which from early times has formed an important element in the Hindú cult. The forms in which the *lin̥ga* or male nature, the type of Síva, the Regenerator, is represented in mystical connection with the *yóni* or *bhaga*, the female power. Ṣíva's *sakti* or energy, Párvatí, are as countless as the names of those gods, and may well have come to assume on Ceylon soil the disguise of united opposing "horns." The struggle of the votaries of "Pálan̥ga" and "Pattini" (? Mahá Deva and Bhaváni) on the *an̥-piṭiya*, to be witnessed almost any day in one district or other of the Island, recalls a legend related in the *Servarasa.*

"When Sati, after the close of her existence as the daughter of Daksha, sprang again to life in the character of Párvatí, or mountain-born, she was reunited in marriage to Mahá Deva. This divine pair had once a dispute on the comparative influence of sexes in producing animated beings; and each resolved, by mutual agreement, to create apart a new race of men. The race produced by Mahá Deva was very numerous, and devoted themselves exclusively to the worship of the male deity; but their intellects were dull, their bodies feeble, their limbs distorted, and their complexions of different hues. Párvatí had at the same time created a multitude of human beings, who adored the female power only; and they were all well-shaped, with sweet aspects and fine complexions. A furious contest ensued between the two races, and the Lin̥gajas were defeated in battle. But Mahá Deva, enraged against the Yónijas, would have destroyed them with the fire of his eye, if Párvatí had not interposed and appeased him: but he would spare them only on condition that they should instantly quit the country, to return no more. And from the Yóni, which they adored as the sole cause of their existence, they were named Yavanas." *

* Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 387.

The *aṉ-keḷi-pújáwa* is not complete without the *péli*, or torch-light procession round the infected villages,—a relic of the primeval worship of Agni, the fire-god, cleansing and hallowing, which has passed into the superstitious observance of widely separated countries, and is not unknown even in Christian England,—witness the Easter fires, those of St. John's Day, Michaelmas, Martinmas, and Christmas. The Midsummer or St. John's Day fires, which were kindled at the season of the summer solstice, were of three kinds: first, bonfires; second, procession with burning brands round the fields; third, wheels blazing and set rolling. The bonfires were lighted for the purpose of scaring away the dragons that poison the waters with the slime that fell from them at that hot season, and therefore bones and all sorts of filth were thrown into the fire that the smoke might be the fouler and more offensive to the dragons. "Need fires" especially have retained their heathen character unaltered, and are for the most part not confined to particular days.

They used to be lighted on the occasion of epidemics occurring among cattle, and the custom is still observed here and there to this day. Wherever it can be traced among people of German or Scandinavian descent, the fire is always kindled by the friction of a wooden axle in the nave of a waggon wheel, or in holes bored in one or two posts. In either case the axle or roller is worked with a rope, which is wound round it, and pulled to and fro with the greatest possible speed by two opposite groups of able-bodied men.*

The axle working in the nave is equally symbolic of Nature's creative energies, and the two forms of worship existed side by side in England, certainly up to the thirteenth century. Kemble ("The Saxons in England") quotes from the Chronicle of Lanercost for 1268 A.D. how "certain bestial persons, monks in garb but not in mind, taught the country people to extract fire from wood by friction, and to set up a 'simulacrum Priapi' as a means of preserving their cattle from an epidemic pneumonia.†"—B. *Hon. Sec.*

* Kelly, *Indo-European Folk-lore*, p. 48. † *Id.*, p. 50.

GEORGE J. A. SKEEN, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, COLOMBO, CEYLON.